

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL
CONVENTION

OF

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT PORTLAND, OREGON

October 1 to 12, Inclusive

1923



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OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1923-1924

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R331

DELEGATES

TO THE

Forty-Third Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Actors and Artists of America, Associated.....	2	39 38	Harry Mountford, 1440 Broadway, New York N. Y. Frank Gilmore, 115 West 47th St., New York, N. Y.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and.....	1	20	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Benham St., Elmhurst, L. I., New York.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	3	77 76 76	A. A. Myrup, 2719 Best Ave., Chicago, Ill. Peter Beisel, 4100 S. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. J. Goldstone, 1823 Holland Ave., Bronx, New York, N. Y.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	87 87 86 86 86	Jas. C. Shanessy, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana. Jacob Fischer, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana. Leon Worthall, 1 Hammersmith Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada. M. E. Mehl, P. O. Box 15, San Antonio, Texas. Roe H. Baker, 112 Valencia St., San Francisco, California.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	16	John Jilson, 607 Garrick Theatre Bldg., 64 West Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25 25	James W. Kline, 2922 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois. Wm. G. Powlesland, 250 Beatrice St., Toronto, Canada.
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	4	49 49 48 48	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas. Joseph Reed, care of 524 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Missouri. M. J. McGuire, 288 Guerrero St., San Francisco, California. John Dohney, 7915 South Sangamon St., Chicago, Illinois.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	43 43 43	Walter N. Reddick, 307 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. Felix J. Belair, 307 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. Mrs. Augusta J. Frincke, 442 South Washington St., Denver, Colorado.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	80 80 80 79	Collis Lovely, 246 Summer St., Boston, Massachusetts. Charles L. Baine, 246 Summer St., Boston, Massachusetts. John A. Brennan, 32 Blaine St., Brockton, Massachusetts. Fay L. Carlin, 32 Maitland Ave., Brockton, Massachusetts. Miss Mary Noonan, United Home Bldg., 211 North 7th St., St. Louis, Missouri.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	56	Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		55	Albert J. Kugler, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		55	John Sullivan, 126 E. 98th St., New York, New York.
		117	Thomas R. Preece, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis Indiana.
		117	John Corcoran, care of University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.....	6	117	P. A. Doyle, care of University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		117	Wm. J. Skinner, 415 East 187th St., New York, New York.
		116	Bert Childs, Hotel Poinsettia, St. Petersburg, Florida.
		116	Oscar W. Horne, care of University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	2	24	Frank Kasten, Suite 309, 327 So. LaSalle St., Chicago, Illinois.
		24	Wm. Tracy, Suite 309, 327 So. LaSalle St., Chicago, Illinois.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	3	49	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		49	Edward Ryan, 3841 W. Monroe St., Chicago, Illinois.
		48	John O'Brien, care of 1615 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis, Missouri.
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International.....	1	7	Will R. Boyer, 853 King Place, Chicago, Illinois.
Building Service Employees' International Union.....	2	39	William F. Quesse, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.
		39	John P. Rankin, Room 203, Labor Temple, Seattle, Washington.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....	4	400	Martin F. Ryan, 503 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
		400	J. W. Buckley, 7 Victoria St., Mount Dennis, Ont., Canada.
		400	T. P. Hyland, Box 401, Horton, Kansas.
		400	R. M. Ware, 600 North Francis St., Terrell, Texas.
		394	Wm. L. Hutcheson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		394	Frank Duffy, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		394	W. M. Michaels, 308 East First St., Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	394	W. T. Allen, 1803 Spring Garden St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		394	J. H. Weaver, 49 Oglethorpe, Ave., Atlanta, Georgia.
		394	Alex. Kelso, 12 St. Marks Place, New York, New York.
		393	Wm. J. Kelly, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		393	Wm. C. White, 4219 No. Leavett St., Chicago, Ill.
		78	G. W. Perkins, 620-508 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	4	77	Samuel Gompers, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		77	W. A. Campbell, 620, 508 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.
		77	R. S. Sexton, 620, 508 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.
		45	Thos. F. Flaherty, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....	4	45	William P. Hohman, 309 Lincoln Inn Court, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		45	Charles Redfern, 9 Ed. th St., Rochester, New York.
		45	Abram M. Steckle, 805 Interstate Bldg., Portland, Oregon.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
		193	J. H. Sylvester, Room 211, 9 South Clinton St., Madison Terminal Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.
		192	Wade Shurtleff, care Labor, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	5	192	J. Louie England, 510 Slaughter Bldg., Dallas, Texas.
		192	A. J. Pickett, 254 Field Bldg., St. Louis, Missouri.
		192	P. J. Kelly, 7311 S. Marshfield Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail.....	2	52	W. G. Desepte, 2940 16th St., San Francisco, California.
		51	H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
Conductors, Order Sleeping Car.....	1	23	A. H. Funte, 260 East 6th St., North, Portland, Oregon.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	1	6	Michael J. Browne, 1812 Roosevelt Road, Chicago, Illinois.
		203	James P. Noonan, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		203	F. L. McNulty, 209 North 6th St., Newark, N. J.
		203	G. M. Bugniazet, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7	203	Miss Julia S. O'Connor, 1109 Tremont Bldg., Boston, Massachusetts.
		203	Edw. Barton, 5737 W. Ohio St., Chicago, Illinois.
		203	Martin T. Joyce, 12 Pemberton Bldg., 12 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass.
		202	H. H. Kirkland, 882 E. Davis St., Portland, Oregon.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	2	26	Frank Peeney, 391 Fulton St., Brooklyn, New York.
		26	James J. McAndrews, 175 West Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.
		68	A. M. Huddell, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating.....	4	68	Dave Evans, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		68	Albert Peterson, 2501 North Spaulding Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		67	M. A. McConville, 336 East 59th St., New York, New York.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	2	33	Matthew Woll, Room 701, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.
		32	Peter J. Brady, Municipal Bldg., New York, New York.
		53	Luther C. Steward, 1423 New York Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Federal Employes, National Federation of.....	4	53	J. C. Grady, Box 4256, Portland, Oregon.
		53	H. W. McManus, Box 4256, Portland, Oregon.
		53	Grace E. Talbott, P. O. Box 3308, Portland, Oregon.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	2	80	Fred W. Baer, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		80	L. N. Riley, 811 Front St., Portland, Oregon.
		42	Timothy Healy, 229 East 47th St., New York, New York.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	3	41	Robt. W. Beattie, Union Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		41	Joseph W. Morton, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.
		20	Leonard Holtschult, Room 400, Sawyer Bldg., 815 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Missouri.
Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of.....	2	20	Arthur Austin, 212 Hill Bldg., 2604 Gravois Ave., St. Louis, Missouri.

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Fur Workers' Union of the United State and Canada, International.....	1	92	Morris Kaufman, 1383 Clay Ave., Bronx, New York.
		96	T. A. Rickert, Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Illinois.
		95	B. A. Larger, 118 Bible House, New York, New York.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	95	F. Doyle, Room 210, 59 Canal St., Boston, Massachusetts.
		95	A. Adamski, 547 Doat St., Buffalo, New York.
		95	Mrs. D. A. Houck, 635 Marsh Strong Bldg., Los Angeles, California.
		152	Morris Sigman, 3 West 16 St., New York, New York.
		152	Louis Langer, 130 East 55th St., New York, New York.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	6	152	Max Amdur, care of Joint Board Cloak Makers, 232 No. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		152	Luigi Antonini, care of Local No. 89, 8 West 21st St., New York, New York.
		152	Harry Greenberg, care of Local No. 91, 7 East 15th St., New York, New York.
		152	Louis Pinkofsky, 130 East 25th St., New York, New York.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	35	John A. Voll, 1006 Colonial Trust Bldg., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		35	John J. Dall, 1833 East Chase St., Baltimore, Maryland.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....	3	27	Wm. P. Clarke, 337-40 Ohio Bldg., Toledo, Ohio.
		27	Charles J. Shipman, 337-40 Ohio Bldg., Toledo, Ohio.
		27	John B. Easton, Box 86, Williamstown, West Virginia.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	3	32	Sam Squibb, 25 School St., Quincy, Massachusetts.
		32	James Duran, 25 Gilmore St., Quincy, Massachusetts.
		31	James Reid, 123 Beulah St., San Francisco, California.
		39	Martin Lawlor, 88 Bible House, New York, New York.
Hatters of North America, United.....	3	38	Bernhard Hollander, 118 Market St., Newark, New Jersey.
		38	Hugh C. Shalvoy, 303 Main St., Danbury, Connecticut.
		95	D. D'Alesandro, 25 School St., Quincy, Massachusetts.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....	5	95	J. V. Moreschi, P. O. Box 183, Chicago, Illinois.
		95	Joseph Marshall, 200 Guerrero St., San Francisco, California.
		95	J. B. Etchison, 120 North Noble St., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		95	Arthur Davies, 4241 Greenwood Ave., Seattle, Washington.
Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen.....	1	20	Hubert S. Marshall, Room 605, Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		77	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Ave., Buffalo, New York.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	5	77	Jere L. Sullivan, Commercial Tribune Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		77	Thomas S. Farrell, 1303 W. Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio.
		77	Emanuel Kovelski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, New York.
		76	John J. McDevitt, 2908 Aramingo St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....	3	39	Michael F. Tighe, 510 Fourth Ave. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		39	William E. Brewster, 2164 L. St. Granite City Illinois.
		39	Francis W. Wheale, 126 N. Cranden Ave., Niles, Ohio.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	1	22	A. Greenstein, Rooms 714-17, 1674 Broadway, New York, New York.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	3	27	Wm. J. McSorley, 401 Superior Bldg Cleveland, Ohio.
		27	Chas. J. Case, 31 E. 12th St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		26	J. H. Duty, 507 Washington Trust Company Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Laundry Workers' International Union.....	2	28	James F. Brock, 799 Second Ave., Troy, New York.
		27	Charles Keegan, 1011a Shotwell St., San Francisco, California.
Leather Workers, United, International Union.....	1	20	W. E. Bryan, 504-5 Postal Bldg., Kansas City, Missouri.
		65	Edward J. Gainor, 404 A. F. of L. Bldg. Washington, D. C.
		65	Edward J. Cantwell, 407 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	5	65	Charles D. Duffy, 834 Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Illinois.
		65	John T. Mugavin, 621 Main St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		65	Luther E. Swartz, Stahlman Bldg. Nashville, Tennessee.
Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural.....	1	6	Robert Askew, 829 Jefferson St., Salt Lake City, Utah.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	1	63	Philip Bock, 499 Chestnut St., Brooklyn, New York.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	1	343	J. A. Madsen, 704 Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo, New York.
		163	Wm. H. Johnston, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		162	N. P. Good, 414 Moorewood Bldg., E. E. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		162	D. P. Haggerty, care of T. W. Howard, 208 Labor Temple, 16th and Capp Sts. San Francisco, California.
Machinists, International Association of.....	6	162	Geo. Marshall, care of 6th Floor, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		162	Wm. Larkin, 28 June St., Lowell, Massachusetts.
		162	J. F. Murray, 258 State St., Schenectady, New York.
		76	F. J. Fljoridal, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
		76	E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, United Brotherhood of.....	5	75	T. C. Carroll, Room 19, Cohen Bldg., 18 Pike St., Covington, Kentucky.
		75	E. E. Clark, Room 200, Manhattan Bldg., Kansas City, Missouri.
		75	F. C. Gassman 2nd Floor, Nevada Trust Co., Nevada, Missouri.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers' International Association of.....	1	23	Stephen C. Hogan, 632 Eagle Ave., New York, New York.

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Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	3	35	Patrick E. Gorman, 900 Fehr Ave., Louisville, Kentucky.
		35	Dennis Lane, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.
		34	C. S. Hartwig, 4th and Jefferson Sts., Portland, Oregon.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....	4	63	John J. Hynes, 32 Long Ave., Allston, Massachusetts.
		63	Robert C. Barrett, Fern Post Office, Tacoma, Washington.
		62	James J. Ryan, 113 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of.....	2	62	Arthur J. Crawford, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		41	Chas. H. Moyer, 500 Mercantile Bldg., Denver, Colorado.
		40	John McMillen, 512 S. Montana St., Butte, Montana.
		507	John L. Lewis, 1114 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		506	William Green, 1107 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		506	Philip Murray, 408 Columbia Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	506	Thomas Kennedy, 54 Seager Bldg., Hazelton, Pennsylvania.
		506	Fred Mooney, Box 1332, Charleston, West Virginia.
		506	Frank Farrington, Illinois Miners' Building, Springfield, Illinois.
		506	John Moore, 506 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		506	Lee Hall, 75 Ruggery Bldg., Columbus, Ohio.
		188	Jos. N. Weber, 110 West 40th St., New York, New York.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	4	188	David A. Carey, 170 Montrose Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		187	C. A. Weaver, Musicians' Club, Des Moines, Iowa.
		187	Edward Canavan, 958 8th Ave., New York, New York.
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.....	1	25	R. H. Stickel, Box 1779, Fort Worth, Texas.
		155	Chas. J. Lammert, Painters' Bldg., Lafayette, Indiana.
		155	Stephen J. Angleton, 6 Morse St., Natick, Massachusetts.
Painters, Decorators and Paper-hangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	155	John J. Doyle, 54 Norwalk Ave., Buffalo, New York.
		155	Christian M. Madsen, 3220 Cortez St., Chicago, Illinois.
		154	N. F. Smith, 2882 Howard St., San Francisco, California.
		154	O. R. Hartwig, Labor Temple, Portland Oregon.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	35	J. T. Carey, 25 South Hawk St., Albany, New York.
		35	M. H. Parker, 2310 Park Ave., Richmond, Virginia.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	1	80	James Wilson, Rooms 1008-9 Second National Bank Bldg., 9th and Main Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	20	Edward I. Hannah, 336 East 59th St., New York, New York.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.....	1	24	Carl Bergstrom, Lock Box 130, Rockport, Massachusetts.

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Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	4	63 63 63 63 70 70	Ed. J. McGivern, 17 Robbins Road, Arlington Heights, Massachusetts. John Donlin, 500 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. Peter G. Cook, 36 Union Road, Roselle, New Jersey. William A. Brennan, 3306 Bronxwood Ave., New York, New York. John Coefield, 1138 North Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois. Thomas E. Burke, 1138 North Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	5	70 70 70 70 34	Wm. McLaughlin, care of 1138 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois. Charles Anderson, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Wm. Gunther, 126 West Randolph St., Chicago, Illinois. W. W. Britton, 408 Neave Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Polishers', Metal, International Union.....	2	33 31	H. C. Diehl, 11523 Harvard Ave., Chicago, Illinois. John T. Wood, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	3	30 30	James Bailey, New Hillrest St., Pennington Road, R. F. D. No. 6, Trenton, New Jersey. Geo. H. Cartledge, 1010 American Mechanics Bldg., Trenton, New Jersey.
Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	12	Thomas McQuade, 1130 Montello Ave., N. E., Washington, D. C.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5	74 74 74 74 23 23	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee. Daniel J. McDonald, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee. Frederick M. Youngs, care of New England Newspaper Supply Co., Worcester, Massachusetts. M. L. Peters, 328 Stack St., Portland, Oregon. W. C. Krause, 531 Alberta St., Portland, Oregon. John P. Burke, Drawer V., Fort Edward, New York. S. Ed. Launer, Box 460, Green Bay, Wisconsin.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	2	24	Fred W. Suito, Scampini Bldg., Barre, Vermont.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.....	1	200 200 200 200 200 42 42 42 41	W. D. Mahon, 260 E. High St., Detroit, Michigan. Wm. Quinlan, 328-38 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Illinois. Fred Schultz, Labor Temple, 2536 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. James Rogers, 433 Gravier St., 2nd Floor, New Orleans, Louisiana. A. Conn, 167 Church St., Toronto, Ont., Canada. William M. Collins, Room 300, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. Charles Brown, 3411 E. 14th St., Kansas City, Missouri. B. E. Thompson, 916 14th St., N. W., Apt. 3, Washington, D. C. A. A. Sutton, 4431 No. Spaulding Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	5		
Railway Mail Association.....	4		
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	1	30	Peter J. O'Brien, 162 E. 102nd St., New York, New York.

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Seamen's Union of America, International.....	2	90	Andrew Furuseth, 59 Clay St., San Francisco, California.
		89	Paul Scharrenberg, 525 Market St., San Francisco, California.
		30	Daniel W. Helt, 4750 N. Kimball Ave. Chicago, Illinois.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad.....	3	30	Wm. R. Cage, 1718 Chilton Ave., Baltimore, Maryland.
		29	D. C. Cone, Box 56 Landing, New Jersey.
		49	Wm. F. Canavan, 416a Shaw Ave., St. Louis, Missouri.
Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	49	P. J. Ryan, 448 Clarke St., Quebec, Que. Canada.
		49	John Suarez, 1434 N. Garrison Ave., St. Louis Missouri.
		49	Thomas Malloy, 59 East Van Buren St., Chicago, Illinois.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	1	62	James J. Freel, 56 Gould Ave., Caldwell, New Jersey.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	1	49	James A. Short, 1245 Farwell Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	18	W. L. Funder Burk, 6466 E. Jefferson St., Detroit, Michigan.
		44	Thomas C. Cashen, 39 North St., Buffalo, New York.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	2	43	James B. Connors, 5441 South Halsted St., Chicago, Illinois.
		40	Thos. Sweeney, 6753 Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	3	40	M. J. Sillinsky, 2536 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		39	Gus Soderberg, 219 South Dearborn St., Room 205, Chicago, Illinois.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	1	46	E. E. Schwartztrauber, R. F. D., No. 5, Box 16, Portland, Oregon.
		122	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		121	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	121	John M. Gillespie, 15 Allston Heights, Allston (34), Massachusetts.
		121	Wm. A. Neer, 220 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
		121	Michael Casey, 295 Sanchez St., San Francisco, California.
		121	Daniel Rox, 475 W. 57th St., New York, New York.
		100	E. J. Manion, Missouri State Life Bldg., St. Louis, Missouri.
		100	D. G. Ramsey, Room 1628, 127 No. Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	5	100	H. B. Perham, 1378 Montclair Ave., St. Louis, Missouri.
		100	D. C. Smart, 603 Webster Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.
		100	J. H. Williams, Box 356, Richmond, Virginia.
Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial.....	1	26	Percy Thomas, 44 Broad St., Room 504, New York, New York.
		75	Thomas F. McMahon, 110 Bible House, New York, New York.
		75	Sara A. Conboy, 110 Bible House, New York, New York.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	4	75	Gustave Geiges, 2530 North 4th St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		75	Horace A. Riviere, 361 Lake Ave., Manchester, New Hampshire.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	1	19	W. R. Walden, 50-53 Our Home Life Insurance Bldg., Louisville, Kentucky.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....	1	30	Tito Pacelli, 206 E. 128th St., New York, New York.
		114	Charles P. Howard, 611 Bankers Trust Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		114	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		114	Max S. Hayes, 2829 Coventry Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
Typographical Union, International.....	6	113	A. A. Couch, 710 Oak Park Ave., Des Moines, Iowa.
		113	William Young, 1530 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		113	T. W. McCullough, 2005 Manderson St., Omaha, Nebraska.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	1	73	William Kohn, 230 East 58th St., New York, New York.
Building Trades Department.....	1	1	William J. Spencer, Room 500 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	James O'Connell, Room 400-403 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employes Department.....	1	1	B. M. Jewell, Riviera Building, 4750 Broadway, Chicago, Illinois.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	John J. Manning, Room 202 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Arkansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	G. E. Mikel, Jenny Lind, Arkansas.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank Walsh, 26a Day Street, San Francisco, California.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John G. Valentino, 623 E. 36th Street Savannah, Georgia.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John H. Walker, 728 Illinois Mine Workers' Bldg., Springfield, Illinois.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	T. N. Taylor, 1260 Lafayette Ave., Terre Haute, Indiana.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. M. Smith, 1211 W. 15th Street Davenport, Iowa.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William E. Hulsbeck, 1406 Vine Street Cincinnati Ohio.
Louisiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thos. J. Greer, 1028 Market Street, Shreveport, La.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jeremiah F. Driscoll, care of Room 12, Pemberton Bldg., Boston, Mass.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. G. Hall, 4124 Bryant Ave., South Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Stephen Fly, P. O. Box 1152, Helena, Montana.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George W. Adams, 653 S. Olden Ave., Trenton, New Jersey.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James P. Holland, 229 E. 47th St., New York, New York.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Arnold Bill, 5214 Luther Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. J. Stack, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. J. Riley, care of 430 North Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Work- ingmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, Box 270, San Juan, Porto Rico.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Victor Altman, care of 212 8th Ave. Nashville, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George W. Fisher, 2614 Travis Ave., Fort Worth, Texas.
Utah State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	F. E. Morris, 1053 Lake St., Salt Lake City, Utah.
Washington State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. M. Short, 508 Maynard Bldg., Seattle, Washington.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	H. L. Franklin, P. O. Box 138, Charleston, West Virginia.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Henry Ohl, Jr., 306 Pereless Bldg., 85 Oneida St., Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Harry W. Fox, 615 31st St., Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Aberdeen, Washington, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Andrew Winberg, 302 W. 3rd St., Aberdeen, Washington.
Alliance, Ohio, Central Labor Union....	1	1	Will J. Robinson, 64 Rice St., Alliance, Ohio.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	Carl Karston, 42 Killian St., Atlanta, Georgia.
Balboa Heights, Canal Zone, Panama, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. C. Hushing, 1241 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Bellingham, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Charles E. Rooney, 1310 Grant St., Bellingham, Washington.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council.....	1	1	Lewis Bowen, 910 Farley Bldg., Birmingham, Alabama.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union....	1	1	John J. Kearney, 1160 Washington St., Boston, Massachusetts.
Bremerton, Wash., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Foster J. Pratt, P. O. Box 623, Bremerton, Washington.
Casper, Wyoming, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Thomas Freshney, Casper, Wyoming.
Centralia, Washington, Twin City Central Labor Union of Chehalis and Centralia.....	1	1	H. P. Leonard, Centralia, Washington
Chicago, Illinois, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	David A. McVey, 804 Read Court, Chicago, Illinois.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank Hammer, 217 West 12th St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clarksburg, W. Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Brooks Watson, 790 Locust St., Clarksburg, West Virginia.
Covington, Ky., Kenton and Campbell Counties' Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Phil Finley, 128 West Front St., Newport, Kentucky.
Denver, Colorado, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	May Hill, 1556 Central St., Denver, Colorado.
Elkhart, Ind., Central Labor Union....	1	1	S. S. Van Patten, 811 Cleveland Ave., Elkhart, Indiana.
El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union....	1	1	William J. Moran, care of Labor Advocate, El Paso, Texas.
Fall River, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jas. F. Burke, care of 53 Stetson St., Fall River, Massachusetts.
Fremont County, Wyoming, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Peter Sturm, Lander, Wyoming.
Hamilton, Ont., Canada, Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. O'Dell, 20 Rutherford Ave. Hamilton, Ont., Canada.
Harrisburg, Illinois, Trades Council....	1	1	Charles Grace, Harrisburg, Illinois.
Houston, Texas, Labor Council.....	1	1	L. M. Andler, Labor Temple, Houston, Texas.
Kansas City, Kansas, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	M. J. McSpadden, 751 Stewart Ave., Kansas City, Kansas.
Kansas City, Missouri, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. B. Nelson, 1322 Monroe Ave., Kansas City, Missouri.
Kelso, Wash., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Frank Keckler, 110 So. Front St., Kelso, Washington.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Kensington, Illinois, Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	Steve Sumner, 7349 Constance St., Chicago, Illinois.
Klamath Falls, Oregon, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. F. Duffy, care of Box 386, Klamath Falls, Oregon.
Linton, Indiana, Central Labor Union	1	1	J. L. Sims, Lock Box 161, Linton, Ind.
Long Beach, California, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. C. Coulter, Long Beach, California.
Los Angeles, California, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	John S. Horn, 538 Maple Ave., Los Angeles, California.
Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Fred J. Dempsey, 18 Monroe St., Lynn, Massachusetts.
Minneapolis, Minnesota, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	D. W. Stevens, 225 South Fifth St., Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Moberly, Missouri, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	David A. Frampton, Moberly Trust Bldg., Moberly, Missouri.
Montgomery, Ala., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mrs. W. F. Martin, 309 Madison Ave., Montgomery, Alabama.
Morgantown, W. Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	D. A. Anderson, 40 Edge Hill St., Morgantown, West Virginia.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.....	1	1	Joseph S. McDonagh, 287 Broadway, New York, New York.
Pendleton, Ore., Central Labor Union	1	1	Alex. Manning, 612 W. Webb St., Pendleton, Oregon.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	David Hickey, 407 Columbia Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council	1	1	G. A. Von Schrittz, 101 Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Reading, Pennsylvania, Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	A. P. Bower, 105 North Sixth St., Reading, Pennsylvania.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	David Kreyling, 2228 Olive Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	J. F. Emme, 282 East 6th Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Salem, Oregon, Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. N. Ganiard, Labor Temple, Salem, Ore.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council.....	1	1	Theodore Johnson, care of Labor Temple, San Francisco, California.
San Pedro, California, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	John C. Blair, Box, 912, San Pedro, Calif.
Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly	1	1	John M. Horrigan, 350 Veeder Ave., Schenectady, New York.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity.....	1	1	James A. Duncan, 965 22nd Ave., Seattle, Washington.
Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John Howat, P. O. Box 515, Shreveport, Louisiana.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	C. M. Paulson, care of 7750 South Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois.
Spokane, Washington, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Carl S. Evans, Labor Temple, Spokane, Washington.
Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	R. T. Wood, 1530 N. Douglas Ave., Springfield, Missouri.
Stockton, Calif., San Joaquin County Central Labor Council.....	1	1	William Meyer, 725 East Main St., Stockton, California.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Tacoma, Washington, Central Labor Council of Tacoma and Vicinity.....	1	1	T. F. Burns, 1151½ Broadway, Tacoma, Washington.
Toronto, Ont., Canada, District Labor Council.....	1	1	Wm. Covert, Labor Temple, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Vancouver, B. C., Canada, Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	R. P. Pettipiece, 621 Lakewood Drive, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.
Walla Walla, Washington, Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Thad Stevens, Labor Temple, Walla Walla, Washington.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. E. Giles, Room 606 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Williamsport, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	S. Herman Alter, 938 Erie Ave., Williamsport, Pennsylvania.
Wilmington, Delaware, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John C. Saylor, 415 Shipley St., Wilmington, Delaware.
Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress of Mahoning County.....	1	1	Michael J. Tyden, 153 South Jackson St., Youngstown, Ohio.
Bookkeepers' Stenographers' and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York City.....	2	2	Ernest Bohm, 3 W. 16th St., New York, New York.
Federal Labor Union No. 14636, Portland, Oregon.....	1	1	H. Jacques, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Cloth Examiners' and Shrinkers' Union No. 11680, New York, N. Y.	1	1	Joseph F. Mezzacapo, 1123 Broadway, New York, New York.
Federal Labor Union No. 17712, San Juan, Porto Rico.....	1	1	Luis Munoz Marin, care of Box 270, San Juan, Porto Rico.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 16982, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.....	1	1	Jordan Rogers, Winston-Salem, N. C.
Gardeners' and Florists' Union 10615, Chicago, Illinois.....	1	1	Arthur J. Olsen, care of 2033 N. Kimball Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Massachusetts.....	1	1	Michael J. Flynn, Box 1646, Boston, Massachusetts.
Rubber Workers' Union No. 17656, Akron, Ohio.....	1	1	Ben Murphy, Box 611, Kenmore, Ohio.
Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872, Chicago, Illinois.....	1	1	George Rincker, General Delivery, Villa Park, Illinois.
Stenographers', Typewriters', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.....	1	1	E. J. Tracy, Room 608 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Stenographers', Typewriters', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Union 15251, Los Angeles, California.....	1	1	Florent Sesma, care, The Citizen, Labor Temple, 540 Maple Ave., Los Angeles, California.
Stenographers', Typewriters', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Union No. 16304, Seattle, Washington.....	1	1	Ruby Belknap, 508-9 Maynard Bldg., Seattle, Washington.
Stenographers', Typewriters', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Union No. 17655, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	1	H. M. Sherman, care of 6203 Hawthorne Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Watchmen's Union No. 13130, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1	1	N. Elliott, care of 512 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	R. B. Walker, 72 Acton St., Gray's Inn Road, London, W. C. 1, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	1	1	W. C. Robinson, Derby Chambers, 6 Fleet St., Bury, England.
Women's International Union Label League.....		1	James A. Sullivan, 105 Loche St., South Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
National Women's Trade Union League of America.....			Anna Fitzgerald, 124 S. Waller Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
			Mathilde Lindsay, Calhoun Hotel, Seattle, Wash.

Number of Unions.	NAME	Number of Delegates..	Number of Votes.
92	National and International.....	271	28,482
4	Departments.....	4	4
24	States.....	24	24
60	Central.....	60	60
14	Trades and Federal Labor Unions.....	14	15
4	Fraternal Organizations.....	5	3
198		378	28,588

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909. Samuel Gompers. *1915. 1911. James Duncan. *1917. 1913. George W. Perkins

To British Trades Union Congress.			
1895 Samuel Gompers.	1903 John A. Moffitt.	***1915 W. D. Mahon.	
1896 P. J. McGuire.	1906 James Wood.	1916 Matthew Woll.	
Adolph Strasser.	1907 Frank K. Foster.	1917 W. D. Mahon.	
1897 Martin Fox.	James Wilson.	Matthew Woll.	
1898 Geo. E. McNeill.	1907 John T. Dempsey.	John Golden.	
James Duncan.	W. E. Klapetzky.	James Lord.	
1899 Harry Lloyd.	1908 Andrew Furuseth.	1918 J. A. Franklin.	
James O'Connell.	James J. Creamer.	Wm. J. Bowen.	
1900 Thomas F. Tracy.	1909 John P. Frey.	Wm. L. Hutcheson.	
J. M. Hunter.	B. A. Larger.	1919 John J. Hynes.	
1901 Sidney J. Kent.	1910 W. B. Wilson.	Timothy Healy.	
Daniel J. Keefe.	T. V. O'Connor.	1920 Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	
1902 Eugeng F. O'Rourke.	1911 Wm. B. Macfarlane.	1921 Wm. J. Spencer.	
Patrick Dolan.	Daniel J. Tobin.	James J. Forrester.	
1903 Henry Blackmore.	1912 George L. Berry.	Benjamin Schlesinger.	
Max S. Hayes.	1913 John H. Walker.	E. J. McGivern.	
1904 Martin Lawlor.	Chas. L. Baine.	Peter Shaughnessy.	
W. D. Ryan.	1914 Louis Kemper.	1923 Anthony J. Chlopek.	
D. D. Driscoll.	W. D. Mahon.	1924 Peter J. Brady.	
	Matthew Woll.	Edward J. Gainer	

From British Trades Union Congress.

1894 John Burns.	1904 William Abraham.	***1914 C. G. Ammon.	
David Holmes.	James Wignall.	1915 E. Bevin.	
1895 Edward Cowey.	1905 William Mosses.	H. Gosling.	
James Mawdsley.	David Gilmour.	1916 W. White, eld.	
Sam Woods.	Allen Gee.	1917 John Hill.	
1896 John Mallinson.	1906 J. N. Bell.	Arthur Hayday.	
Edward Harford.	1907 David J. Shackleton.	F. Hall.	
1897 J. Havelock Wilson.	John Hodge.	Miss Margaret Bondfield.	
William Inskip.	1908 John Wadsworth.	S. Finney.	
1898 William Thorne.	H. Skinner.	Miss Margaret Bondfield.	
James Haslam.	1909 A. H. Gill.	1919 J. W. Ogden.	
Alexander Wilkie.	J. R. Clynes.	J. Jones.	
1900 John Weir.	1910 W. Brace.	J. H. Thomas.	
Pete Curran.	Ben. Turner.	James Walker.	
1901 Frank Chandler.	1911 G. H. Roberts.	E. L. Poulton.	
Ben Tillet.	J. Crinion.	H. Smith.	
1902 M. Arrandale.	1912 J. A. Seddon.	1923 W. C. Robinson	
E. Edwards.	R. Smilie.		
1903 William Mullin.	1913 I. H. Gwynne.		
James O'Grady.	T. Greenall.		

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1908 Hugh Frayne.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1909 Jerome Jones.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1910 John J. Manning.	1919 Sam Griggs.	
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1920 W. G. Shea.	
1903 John Coleman.	1912 John T. Smith.	1921 John O'Hara.	
1904 John H. Richards.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.	
1905 Frank Feehey.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.	
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1924 Walter W. Britton	

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898 David A. Carey.	1907 W. R. Trotter.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson	
1899 David A. Carey.	1908 P. M. Draper.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	
1900 David A. Carey.	1909 F. Bancroft.	1918 Thos. Moore.	
1901 P. M. Draper.	1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1911 Wm. Glockling.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	
1903 James Simpson.	1912 John W. Bruce.	1921 U. M. F. Bush.	
1904 John A. Flett.	1913 Gus Franco.	1922 Ernest Robinson.	
1905 William V. Todd.	1914 R. A. Rigg.	1923 James A. Sullivan	
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1915 Fred Bancroft.		

*No convention.

**No delegates.

***Delegates did not attend.

Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year.	City and State.	Date.
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Cal.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Cal.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oregon	October 1-12.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1923-1924

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have

no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

Sec. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

Sec. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

Sec. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31 preceding the Annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the thirty-first day of December succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

* ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

Sec. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Sec. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement

of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

Sec. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be \$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$3.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

Sec. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

Sec. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, twenty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, five cents per member per month; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1. Article X, has been paid in full to August 31 preceding the Convention.

Sec. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when

such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exists. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, or take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organizations have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

Sec. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

Sec. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm, or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

Sec. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an

International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

Sec. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes, or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

Sec. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

Sec. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

Section 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

Sec. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

Section 1. The moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

Sec. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized

to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

Sec. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (\$7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Sec. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than seventy-five (75) cents per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 or more than \$10.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of 25 cents for reinstatement stamp.

Sec. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sec. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall disband so long as seven members desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation,

by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal Labor or Local Unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings of the unions or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments, or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

Sec. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be

made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

Sec. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

Sec. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

Sec. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

Sec. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

Forty-Third Annual Convention

OF THE

American Federation of Labor

1923

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

First Day—Monday Morning Session

Portland, Oregon, October 1, 1923.

Pursuant to law, the forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m., in the Municipal Auditorium by Mr. G. A. Von Schriltz, President of the Portland Central Labor Council.

The Portland Symphony Orchestra, directed by Mr. Carl Denton, gave the following musical program previous to the opening of the convention:

"Star Spangled Banner"	
Overture Raymond	Thomas
Two Hungarian Dances.....	Brahms
Triumphal Entry of the Bajaren.....	
.....	Halvorsen

The invocation was delivered by Rev. Walter Taylor Sumner, Bishop of the Episcopal Church.

ADDRESS OF MR. G. A. VON SCHRILTZ

Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am justly proud of the honor of acting as temporary chairman of the 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

In my judgment there is no organization that so truly represents the producers of wealth, the working people of this great country of ours, as the dele-

gates to the American Federation of Labor. The deliberations of this convention will be noted by millions of people, and in this reorganization or reconstruction period great problems and great responsibilities rest upon the delegates. Through the efforts of the trade union movement, conditions and wages are better in this country than in any country in the world, and we stand ready at all times to uphold those traditions and principles.

The citizens of Portland and of this State are of the opinion that Portland is the greatest convention city in America, and we trust that your stay in our city will be so pleasant and profitable that before the deliberations of this convention have been concluded you will share that belief with us.

In behalf of the Central Labor Council of Portland and vicinity I extend to you one and all a most cordial and hearty welcome.

Chairman Von Schriltz introduced to the convention Mr. George L. Baker, Mayor of Portland; Mr. Walter M. Pierce, Governor of Oregon, and Mr. Otto Hartwig, President of the Oregon State Federation of Labor.

ADDRESS OF MAYOR GEORGE L. BAKER.

Mr. Chairman and Officers of the American Federation of Labor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I welcome you to the city of Portland. Personally, I have a great deal of confidence in the American Federa-

tion of Labor because I believe it is the safety valve of the nation's industry. I may have differed with this, that, or the other decision of the Federation and the members locally may have differed with me in my acts as mayor, representing both sides of all controversies, but through it all we have welcomed the continued growth of the organization, because behind the little differences that have arisen we have seen the American Federation of Labor standing as the well organized and well managed balance wheel that keeps labor on an even keel and at the same time gives to the laboring man the protection he requires for himself and his family.

In its endeavor to strip itself of the radical element, the American Federation of Labor has come out with its feet firmly planted on a policy against Reds and Radicals. True, it has been a battle and it is yet, possibly, but our confidence in the result has been established since the organization has made clear by its words and its acts that it stands unalterably opposed to the I. W. W., the Communists and the rest of the "isms" and theoretical cults that have for their purpose the overthrow of our government. A fair man who is willing to work for a living needs no further protection than that accorded by the American Federation of Labor. There is no room for the I. W. W. or the rest of the Bolshevik element that has no regard for decency or fair play and that would substitute plunder and force of arms for honest labor.

The American Federation of Labor has passed through an era of strife and has come out with the American flag still in the breeze, and I am satisfied that this policy will continue. If organized labor had accomplished nothing more in its history, this achievement would entitle the organization to the thanks of the public of the United States.

I welcome you to the city of Portland because it means much to our city and State. It means that you men of vision can see what we have in our great Northwest. We hope that you will take time to go out over the State and view with your own eyes the great possibilities of this country. We have resources aplenty, we have the raw materials to furnish all the industries of the United States. We can raise anything on our soil that can be grown in any country in the world, except the citrous or tropical fruits. We have a country here that will furnish twenty thousand hundred-acre farms, and it will give an opportunity to the man who wants to build a home and come out here on God's green carpet, under the blue canopy of heaven, where the great, tall trees rear their heads skyward, where we never have a drought, where we never have anything but crops—no failures. We have in

this country an opportunity for you to send to us from your congested districts in the great cities of the east your people. We want your people, we want the kind of Americans that you represent, we want men who believe in the United States and its institutions; we want you to come west, and look us over. Before you go home we are going to give you a good time, before you leave we are going to make good every promise that any member of organized labor has made to you.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR PIERCE.

I am highly flattered by your hearty welcome, highly flattered, indeed, at the introduction of my friend. About a year ago in Eastern Oregon, about the time I had dreamed that I might land, I was introduced to an audience, and the person introducing me said: "This is Walter N. Pierce, one of Oregon's most noted private citizens; may he ever remain such." Not very long ago the same man, introducing me to another audience, said: "This is Walter N. Pierce, heavily laden with official duties; may he soon be relieved."

As governor of the State of Oregon I extend to you a most hearty welcome, and the warmest greetings of all Oregon are extended today to the American Federation of Labor that meets in this city, in this State. It is fitting and proper that your great convention should assemble in Portland and in Oregon, for the American Federation of Labor as represented in the unions of this State for years has so conducted itself as to win the support and the friendship of all classes of the people of this State, of whatever fortune. The labor unions have won their place in the hearts of the American people by their steadfast conduct and conscientious work in defense of American principles. That which our fathers fought for, that which they were striving for, is fully exemplified in your unions as we know them in this State.

And so you are welcome here, doubly welcome on account of the groundwork made by those who have been working with you and in your organizations here. We are proud of Oregon, a State that has the largest quantity of standing timber of any State in the nation, the largest amount of undeveloped electric horse power of any State in the nation—the great white coal deposit that God gave us. We have two millions of acres of land irrigable when the time is ready, that will support an empire, and it is yet untouched. We have wonderful resources, we await only the hand of those who want to use them. I sincerely hope that when you close your deliberations here you will take the time to ride over our magnificent highways and view our unsurpassed scenery, for we feel that if you get acquainted with us many of you who live in climates less hos-

pitiable may find it in your hearts to cast your lot with us. We will welcome you to the State of Oregon to be part and parcel of the building of this great State, which is just commencing to take its place among the great States of this Union. You will find red-blooded Americans ready to welcome you, of whatever creed or clan you may be.

Oregon is a State today that is just beginning to develop. We are exceedingly anxious to protect the wonderful resources of this State for the heritage of American sons and daughters. We are unequivocally opposed to the Mongolian invasion; likewise we build for all time against the Mexican peon at the south or the great masses of Europe who are knocking at our doors and crying for admission, but for those who cannot be assimilated we shut the doors tight. Perhaps in years gone by the great masses of southeastern Europe have been admitted freely. Let them become assimilated and breathe in the spirit of Americanism before we further fill up our cities with the great masses that you find it so hard to teach the principles of our government and what it means to be an American citizen.

There is another thing that, in my mind, is basic and all-important, fundamentally. It is a thing for which your great organization stands, and for which every true American should pray and hope, and that is that the time shall never come to pass in this country when the American boy and girl cannot feel that this is the land of the free and the land of opportunity.

Every boy and girl in America must know and feel that they have the right to earn an honest living in an honest way, with enough over to care for old age, and when because of class or caste, so foreign in our land, that boy or girl cannot feel that that chance is theirs, and find it not, then we feel that trouble serious will come to the greatest government that has ever existed.

The farmer today is wondering what is in store. Prices today are confiscating the product of his labor. When you men buy three dollars' worth of articles from the farmer, only one-third goes into the pockets of the man who produces those articles; the other two-thirds are taken by distribution, commission and profits, and that is decidedly too large a percentage to be taken in toll from the hand that produces and the mouth that consumes.

Civilization may be likened to a tree, the roots of which are horticultural and agricultural, the trunk manufacturing, the limbs transportation, the leaves wholesale and retail. If the roots of the tree starve, the leaves will wither and fall, the limbs will break off with the wind, and finally the tree will fall over.

It is the same with civilization—if the horticultural and agricultural roots of the tree of civilization starve, ill betide the whole structure. For forty years or more a farmer, I have been in close

touch with the agricultural problem, and I can truly say that, when measured in the articles that wheat and cattle will buy, excepting perhaps one year, they have never been as cheap as they are today; and still when you men consume those articles you are paying practically lower prices. There is not an equitable distribution of the rewards of human toil.

Some one said long years ago that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." It is; we should not, one of us, let one single item or act of ours break the chain or the trend of our struggle for a greater, grander country, with all that it means and all that it implies. Long years ago one of England's sweetest singers said:

"Tis ever thus, and true in every soul,
"That those who think must govern
those who toil."

Our fathers, when they conceived this Republic, gave the right of governors and rulers into the hands of the toilers. They believed that the right to govern came from the mass, and not from the clouds, as in centuries gone. Those words are true today, and if we continue to be the rulers of America we must be the thinkers. One hundred and fifty years and more the grass has grown green where lie the mortal remains of Oliver Goldsmith, but his words are true today, "Those who think will govern."

Let us be thankful that our lot was cast at this time in human history, with all its wonderful achievements, with all its grandeur, the lights, the automobiles, the roads, the railroads and everything that makes life worth while, and let us dedicate ourselves to the task of seeing that these institutions and all that they imply are carried over to generations yet to be, so that they may have and enjoy.

ADDRESS OF MR. OTTO HARTWIG President Oregon State Federation of Labor.

This is indeed a wonderful opportunity. It does not often fall to the lot of one of my age to be privileged to say a few words at the opening of the greatest convention of the greatest organization in this world. I have been charmed by the remarks of the previous speakers who have so fully set forth the position of the trade union movement of the State of Oregon to you who are assembled here. It would not be proper for me, in the presence of men so much more experienced than I, to attempt to give an analysis of the history of the trade union movement of this country, and I am sure that each delegate and every visitor and each speaker today agrees with me, and shares with me the anticipation of hearing the one whom I will have the privilege of presenting to you today.

Briefly, I want to say to you fellow delegates and visitors to this convention, that this should prove to be one of the greatest opportunities on the part of the trade union movement of this State to find out how the great movement of

labor functions. It should prove to be, and is, a wonderful opportunity for the great citizenship of Oregon to see first hand how the American labor movement is made up and how it performs. To me, one who has been active in the trade union movement a comparatively short time, not more than eighteen or twenty years, I can see a wonderful development, and I count the development of the American Federation of Labor as the greatest achievement of all time.

Here in Oregon we have but a small state, numerically speaking. In matters of miles or distances we hold our own with any other state with the possible exception of Texas, but our trade union movement is necessarily small. However, I want to say here and now, and I am positive that my colleagues in the trade union movement in the city of Portland will agree with me, that though we are few in number we are large and complete in our understanding of the fundamental principles upon which the movement of this country functions.

We are positive that progress is made along constructive lines by the trade union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor in this country, and for that reason Portland and Oregon will perhaps not be heard of as much as other localities, but I want to say to you that when you have finished your convention and you have mingled with the trade unionists of this city and state, as you will have the opportunity to do, and when you have visited our Labor Temple, as you will do, you will go away with the opinion and the impression that you have been in a city of real trade unionism, that you have had the opportunity to judge us as trade unionists, and that you will be of the firm opinion that in a small way we are making an effort to support the greatest institution of all time.

And now, Mr. Chairman, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I present to you a man who has been a leader in the forefront of organized labor for more years than I am old, one who is regarded by all, both in and out of the trade union movement, as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, man of modern times. I take pleasure and I express my appreciation at having this opportunity in presenting to you Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT GOMPERS

Mr. Chairman, His Excellency the Governor of Oregon, His Honor the Mayor of Portland, the President of the Oregon State Federation of Labor, and the President of the Central Labor Council of Portland:

In so far as I have the authority to speak—and I believe that I bespeak the sentiments of the delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor, as well as I express my own innermost feelings—I thank you in their name and in my own for the welcome you have extended to the officers and delegates of this forty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor,

not only for the earnest and cordial welcome which you have extended to us, but for the sentiments in which you have couched that welcome, as well as the historical events which you have pointed out to us, and for the friendly solicitude you have expressed for our welfare and success.

It has been now nearly thirty-eight years ago since I first visited Portland and other cities of your great State. I think those of you men of Oregon will agree that in that time it was part of the great Woolly West. Today it is not only large and great and wonderful in its resources, but in its development of man. The resources of Oregon are great, and several of them have been pointed out to us, but the resources of Oregon are not comparable with the resources of the men and the women and the children of Oregon, as the resources of our great America, wonderful and boundless and fruitful as they are, are no comparison to the one hundred and ten millions of Americans within our borders.

And it is for the protection and the promotion of the rights, the welfare and the interests of these one hundred and ten millions of America's citizenship that the American Federation of Labor functions. Having the human equation in the development of America, we cannot leave out of consideration one of the vital questions with which the American people are confronted. Modern history, modern industrial development, has brought in its wake not only great civilizing influences, but it has brought evils of great moment and menace. There can be no greater menace to the progress and civilization of our time than the sacrifice of young and innocent children upon the altar of Mammon. The conscience of the American people has been awakened, and a cry has gone forth from one end of America to the other that the child life of our country must be conserved at all hazards.

To say to this universal demand of our people that the Constitution of the United States is impotent for the people to protect the children of our time is begging the question. The courts have decided that two laws which the Congress of the United States enacted, upon the demand of the people of our country for the passage of laws to protect children and minors from undue exploitation, are null and void, are unconstitutional. That the people, through their chosen representatives, cannot pass a law to protect the child life of America, the children of today upon whom the perpetuity of our Republic and our civilization depend—that is to lay the greatest indictment against our competency.

When the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall, during the course of this day, be presented to you, you will observe a report and recommendation to this convention upon this subject which we regard—and I desire to emphasize this—as the vital question of the hour. This movement of ours, commonly

known as the labor movement and, as we term it, the trade union movement, and this, its Federation, is not born necessarily out of an idea; it is born of necessity, it is the result of conditions; it is born in the beginning by hunger—hunger for food, hunger for shelter, hunger for better food, hunger for better shelter, and as time in its course developed new conditions, hunger for still better food, hunger for still better shelter, better homes, hunger for rest, hunger for recreation, hunger for music, for the arts, for literature, for all that goes to make up a fuller, a broader and a higher life—hunger to make this life and world better for our being in it and contributing our share of our work and our service in the solution of the great problems yet before us.

Reference has been made here this morning to reds and radicals. With the reference to those who come under the general terminology of "reds," I fully agree, and those who know me or know anything of me and the work that I have tried to perform and the service I have endeavored to give know that I am not even pink. But I think that there is some general misconception of the term "radical." There are so many varieties of them.

I believe in the expression of conservative demands, radical in the effort to get them. The devil of the thing is that those who would label themselves as "radicals," as a rule, know nothing of the great, fundamental principles of the labor movement or of the ideals toward which it is striving. It takes all sorts of people to make up a nation, and it takes all sorts of people to make up a labor movement. All we ask is that this labor movement of America and all America shall be and continue to be a movement of wage-earners, for wage-earners, and by wage-earners.

We are not always able to determine who these shall be. The trade union movement has not the choice of the material with which it must work. Big Business, large employers of labor, have kept a wide open channel for years for the purpose of bringing peoples to our country so far below the standards of life and work which prevail in America that it has been a matter of little choice with us.

We have held and hold, that if the hordes of men from these backward countries of Europe are brought into the United States, with all of the omissions and commissions upon their heads, if they are good enough to be brought to our America for profit they are good enough for us to try to organize them and make better Americans out of them. And if, here and there, there is a red or a radical, it is not our fault, but the sin must be upon the heads of those who brought them to America. We realize that so long as they are wage-earners and organizable we will organize them, not as reds and radicals, but to try to make better men and better citizens of them. And not only do they

regard us as an opponent worthy of their steel, but they have felt its point of contact.

While sitting upon this platform this morning we heard a beautiful orchestra rendering sweet, artistic music. It brought a thought to my mind quite apropos of this matter which I have just for a few moments been presenting to you, and it occurred to me—what, after all, is music but a succession of harmonious sounds? Now, one member of that splendid orchestra might entertain us with his renditions, but there were about a hundred of them. Suppose they had, by a majority of ninety-eight to two, decided they would work in harmony and then render their pieces of music in harmony with each other to attain one common purpose—this succession of harmonious sounds; and suppose, for instance, the piccolo player and the drummer, being the two in the minority, would say, "No, we will not be bound by you ninety-eight, you reactionaries."

One of them will say, "I am going to blow my piccolo just when I feel like it," and the other one will say, "I'll beat the drum to beat the band." I wonder if any such a performance had been given this morning you would have risen and given the cheers of approval to this wonderful orchestra, each man knowing the part that he has to play in the accomplishment of the given whole, harmonious sound. The application is exactly the same with our trade union movement.

Your Governor, both your Governor and our friend, and His Honor the Mayor, have spoken well and truthfully upon the condition of the farmers of our country. I wonder when the time shall come—and let us pray that it may be soon—when the men on the farm and the men in the factory and workshop and mine shall come together for the purpose of protecting each other and all against their common enemy, their common exploiter.

When I had the honor and the privilege of addressing the wheat conference at Chicago a few months ago, upon the invitation of the committee having the conference in charge, I called attention to this specific thing: that the difficulty with the farmers, the trouble with the farmers, was that they were led by gentlemen farmers, by political farmers, by trust farmers, by manure trust farmers and magazine owner farmers, and that what they wanted and the goal to which I believed they should strive was, as the American trade union movement is made up of wage-earners, for wage-earners and by wage-earners, they wanted a movement of dirt farmers, real farmers who are working upon the soil.

The antagonists, natural or ignorant, have at all times and up to the present time fairly successfully kept the agricultural and industrial workers from each other. They have consistently interjected something as a schism between the two. Some of the statisticians employed by that particular interest to which I have referred have pointed out

a certain class of workers and a comparison of their daily wage with the income of farmers upon certain products. No reference was made to the fabulous profits made by the stock jobber, by the exchanges, by the money lenders and the intermediary commissioners, and on both sides.

Who of the population of America are the greatest users and consumers of the farmer's products, if not the great mass of the wage-earners? And who are those who use and consume the products of man's industrial labor if not the farmers? The profiteers on both sides have taken more out of the product of each than was given in the form of returns to the farmers and wages to the workers.

There is an abiding faith I have that in our America, slow moving as we often are, the trend of events and the intelligence and stamina of our people will bring the farmer and the worker in industry together in the solution of the great problems confronting both.

Reference has been made to the American labor movement in post-war activities. And may I add a word, perhaps not informing to the seasoned delegates to the American Federation of Labor, but to those who may be uninformed, what the activities of the organized workers of America were before the war and during the war, as well as after the war; and there has been no group of citizens in all America or in all the world who stood more firmly and sacrificially behind their government in determining to beat down and overwhelm political and military autocracy than the much misunderstood organized labor movement of America. It was with bad grace that men of big business and high finance, almost immediately after Armistice Day, organized and undertook to drive the men of labor down in their standards of life and work and to destroy or weaken the only body which stands and has stood as the defender, the protector and the advocate of the rights and interests of American labor.

To refer to the falsely termed "open shop" and the treasonable appellation of that as the "American Plan." The American Plan must consist of a virile citizenship, and American workers can only maintain that virility and vision and insistence upon progress when they are united and federated. Well, the drive was on and wage reductions were demanded. In some instances we had to yield some things, yet despite the calamitous howls of the interests it was the most fortunate thing for our country and our people that in 1922 the organized working men and women of America resisted reductions. To paraphrase the old couplet that "it is better to have loved and lost than not to have loved at all," "it is better to resist and lose than not to resist at all."

The results of that resistance in 1922 gave the employing interests and Big Business to understand this, that even if they succeeded in wage reductions it would cost them more in the end than

to pay the scale which prevails, and as for the losses to the working people, we have little to lose and can afford to lose it.

With the prevention of wage reductions, to turn the tide of industry as we have, to secure that which we have lost and to go forward, we will soon make up the losses which we sustained during the contest. I don't want any man to believe that I am an advocate of strikes or strifes, but I do hold that when the time shall come in the history of industry when men cannot maintain themselves and those dependent upon them in a manner conforming to the standards of American life, if they would not strike they would write themselves down as cowards and poltroons.

I thought of this period often when there were more than five millions of American workers unemployed, walking the streets and highways and byways of our country vainly seeking for employment. To put into effect at that time a drive for wage reductions—was that the way out? To cut wages and reduce the using, purchasing and consuming power of the people, whose wages had been reduced? When you reduce the purchasing, using and consuming power you necessarily throw others out of employment, and when they are unemployed the same thing goes on like an endless chain, until it reaches the lowest rung in the industrial ladder; then it begins over and over again, from the top down, cutting more and more and more.

If there is anyone who can give me any good cause for the transition from this terrible situation of unemployment and the return to what we are pleased to call industrial activity and industrial prosperity, except the movement of labor of America in resisting these wage reductions (and in many instances succeeding in their resistance, which brought about the return of men to their employments, and as workers when employed, giving the opportunity for others to work and use and consume), if there be any other cause that anyone can ascribe than the one which I have just inadequately mentioned, I would like to know it.

We are now in a most fortunate position. Our movement is growing. The spirit of our movement has caught the idealists as well as the practical men and women of America. They are beginning to understand us better, that we have not a purely selfish motive and purpose to serve. Selfishness? In part, yes, but that higher and nobler selfishness which recognizes that this is a world of activity, that service and good faith, honor, progress and civilization are the ends to be served.

We have many grievances of which we justly complain, and giving credit to any and all countries which have striven and are striving to reach the goal of freedom and democracy, we still hold, yes, and I, as an adopted citizen of the United States of America, declare verily and on my honor as a man that I be-

lieve the Republic of the United States of America is the best government on the face of the globe. I said I was an adopted citizen. Out of my seventy-three years of life I have been in America sixty years, longer than most Americans have lived here.

I repeat that we have many grievances against which we protest, and we are going to make our protest effective. Wonderful and splendid as is our American Republic, it is not good enough for us or for those who are yet to come, and we are going to do our duty under the laws of our country; and our labor movement, conforming to those laws and to the ideals of our Republic, will help to contribute its share toward making this not only the most wonderfully productive country in the world, but the leader in the onward march of progress and civilization.

To our fraternal delegates from Great Britain, Brother Robinson and Brother Walker, to the fraternal delegate from the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, Brother Sullivan, in the name of this convention I bid you a hearty welcome, and to Mrs. Robinson, the good wife of Fraternal Delegate Robinson, I also extend a cordial welcome in the name of this convention and our movement. And to all of you, my fellow delegates, welcome to Portland and to Oregon in this great north-west part of America. To you visitors, welcome; come here; see us at work; you will see us at our best and at our worst. Go away with whatever impressions our discussions may make upon your minds, but while you are here respect yourselves by silence and give us the opportunity to carry on our work as seems best to us and as the light is given us.

I thank you very much for your attention.

I declare this forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor now in formal and official session.

Vice-President Duncan presiding.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Portland, Ore., October 1, 1923.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Third Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor:

Your Credentials Committee, duly appointed by President Gompers, as provided by Section 4, Article 3, of the Constitution, herewith submits the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 366 delegates, representing 89 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 22 State Branches, 57 Central Bodies, 11 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and 4 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—Harry Mountford, Frank Gillmore, 77 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 20 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Peter Beisel, J. Goldstone, 229 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—James C. Shanessy, Jacob Fischer, Leon Worthall, M. E. Mehl, Roe H. Baker, 432 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—John Jilson, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—James W. Kline, William G. Powlesland, 50 votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, Charles F. Scott, M. J. McGuire, John Dohney, 194 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—Walter N. Reddick, Felix J. Belair, Mrs. Augusta J. Frincke, 129 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—Collis Lovely, Charles L. Baine, John A. Brennan, Fay L. Carlin, Miss Mary Noonan, 399 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obergfell, Albert J. Kugler, John Sullivan, 166 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—P. A. Doyle, Peter S. Shaughnessy, Walter V. Price, Thomas R. Preece, William J. Skinner, Bert Childs, 700 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, William Tracy, 48 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, Edward Ryan, M. J. Cunnane, 146 votes.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International—Will R. Boyer, 7 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—William F. Quesse, John P. Rankin, 78 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin F. Ryan, J. W. Buckley, T. P. Hyland, R. M. Ware, 1600 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—William L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, W. M. Michaels, W. T. Allen, J. H. Weaver, Alex. Kelso, William J. Kelly, William C. White, 3150 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, W. A. Campbell, R. S. Sexton, 309 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Thomas F. Flaherty, William P. Hohman, Charles Redfern, 180 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—E. H. Fitzgerald, Wade Shurtleff, J. H. Sylvester, J. Louie England, A. J. Pickett, P. J. Kelly, 961 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—W. G. Desepthe, H. J. Conway, 103 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—A. H. Funte, 23 votes.

Draftsmen's Union, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—Michael J. Browne, 6 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—James P. Noonan, F. J. McNulty, G. M. Bugniazet, Miss Julia S. O'Connor, Edward Barton, Martin T. Joyce, H. H. Kirkland, 1420 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, James J. McAndrews, 52 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—A. M. Huddell, Dave Evans, Albert Peterson, M. A. McConville, 271 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, 65 votes.

Federal Employees, National Federation of—Luther C. Steward, J. C. Grady, H. W. McManiss, Grace E. Talbott, 212 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, L. N. Riley, 160 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, Joseph W. Morton, 124 votes.

Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of—Leonard Holtschult, Arthur Austin, 40 votes.

Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada, International—Moris Kaufman, 92 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, F. Doyle, A. Adamski, Mrs. D. A. Houck, 476 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Morris Sigman, Louis Langer, Max Amdur, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Louis Pinkofsky, 912 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—John A. Voll, John J. Dall, 70 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—William P. Clarke, Charles J. Shipman, John B. Easton, 81 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Sam Squibb, James Duncan, James Reid, 95 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, Bernhard Hollander, Hugh C. Shalvoy, 115 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—D. D'Alesandro, J. V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, J. B. Etchison, Arthur Davies, 475 votes.

Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, 20 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, Emanuel Kovelski, John J. McDevitt, 384 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—Michael F. Tighe, William E. Brewster, Francis W. Wheale, 117 votes.

Jewelry Workers' International Union—A. Greenstein, 22 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, Charles J. Case, J. H. Duty, 80 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—James F. Brock, Charles Keegan, 55 votes.

Leather Workers, United, International Union—W. E. Bryan, 20 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gainer, Edward J. Cantwell, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, Luther E. Swartz, 325 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural—Robert Askew, 6 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Philip Bock, 63 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—William H. Johnston, N. F. Good, D. P. Haggerty, George Marshall, William Larkin, J. F. Murray, 973 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, United Brotherhood of—F. J. Fljozdal, E. E. Milliman, T. C. Carroll, E. E. Clark, F. C. Gassman, 377 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Set-

ters' Helpers, International Association of—Stephen C. Hogan, 23 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, C. S. Hartwig, 104 votes.

Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet—John J. Hynes, C. Robert Barrett, James J. Ryan, Arthur J. Crawford, 250 votes.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—Charles H. Moyer, John McMullen, 81 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John L. Lewis, William Green, Philip Murray, Thomas Kennedy, Fred Mooney, Frank Farrington, John Moore, Lee Hall, 4049 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, David A. Carey, C. A. Weaver, Edward Canavan, 750 votes.

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America—R. H. Stickel, 25 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—George F. Hedrick, Charles J. Lammert, Stephen J. Angerton, John J. Doyle, Christian M. Madsen, N. F. Smith, 928 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—J. T. Carey, M. H. Parker, 70 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, 80 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 20 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—Carl Bergstrom, 24 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Ed. J. McGivern, John Donlin, Peter G. Cook, William A. Brennan, 252 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coefield, Thomas E. Burke, James Murphy, Charles Anderson, William Gunther, 350 votes.

Pollshers', Metal, International Union—W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl, 67 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—John T. Wood, James Bailey, Geo. H. Cartledge, 91 votes.

Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate—Thomas McQuade, 12 votes.

Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International—

George L. Berry, Daniel J. McDonald, Frederick M. Youngs, M. L. Peters, W. O. Krause, 370 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John F. Burke, S. Ed Launer, 46 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Sutor, 24 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, William Quinlan, Fred Schultz, James Rodgers, A. Conn, 1000 votes.

Railway Mail Association—William M. Collins, Charles Brown, B. E. Thompson, A. A. Sutton, 167 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—Peter J. O'Brien, 30 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Patrick Flynn, Paul Sharrnberg, 179 votes.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad—Daniel W. Helt, William R. Gage, D. C. Cone, 89 votes.

Stage Employees of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—Charles C. Shay, P. J. Ryan, John Suarez, Thomas Malloy, 196 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—James J. Freel, 62 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—James A. Short, 49 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—W. L. Funder Burk, 18 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Thomas C. Cashen, James B. Connors, 87 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Thomas Sweeney, M. J. Sillinsky, Gus Soderberg, 119 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—E. E. Schwartztrauber, 46 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, William A. Neer, Michael Casey, Daniel Rox, 727 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J. Manion, D. C. Ramsay, H. B. Perham, D. C. Smart, J. H. Williams, 500 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial—Percy Thomas, 26 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy.

Gustave Geiges, Horace A. Riviere, 300 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—W. R. Walden, 19 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Charles P. Howard, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, A. A. Couch, William Young, T. W. McCullough, 681 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—William Kohn, 73 votes.

Building Trades Department—William J. Spencer, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—James O'Connell, 1 vote.

Railroad Employees' Department—B. M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—John J. Manning, 1 vote.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor—G. E. Mikel, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Frank Walsh, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—John G. Valentino, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—John H. Walker, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—T. N. Taylor, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—M. M. Smith, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—William E. Hulsbeck, 1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Greer, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Jeremiah F. Driscoll, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—E. G. Hall, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—Stephen Ely, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—George W. Adams, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—James P. Holland, 1 vote.

Oregon State Federation of Labor—O. R. Hartwig, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—J. J. Riley, 1 vote.

Porto Rico Free Federation of Labor—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Victor Altman, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—George W. Fisher, 1 vote.

Utah State Federation of Labor—F. E. Morris, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—W. M. Short, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—W. T. Harris, 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Fox, 1 vote.

Aberdeen, Wash., Central Labor Council—Andrew Winberg, 1 vote.

Alliance, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Will J. Robinson, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Carl Karston, 1 vote.

Balboa Heights, C. Z., Panama, Central Labor Union—W. C. Hushing, 1 vote.

Bellingham, Wash., Central Labor Council—Charles E. Roaney, 1 vote.

Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—Lewis Bowen, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—John J. Kearney, 1 vote.

Bremerton, Wash., Central Trades and Labor Council—Foster J. Pratt, 1 vote.

Butte, Mont., Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council—William F. Dunne, 1 vote.

Casper, Wyoming, Trades and Labor Assembly—Thomas Freshney, 1 vote.

Centralia Wash., Twin City Central Labor Union of Chehalis and Centralia—H. P. Leonard, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—David A. McVey, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Frank Hammer, 1 vote.

Clarksburg, W. Va., Central Labor Union—Brooks Watson, 1 vote.

Covington, Ky., Kenton and Campbell Counties, Trades and Labor Assembly—Phil Finley, 1 vote.

Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—May Hill, 1 vote.

Elkhart, Ind., Central Labor Union—S. S. Van Patten, 1 vote.

El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union—William J. Moran, 1 vote.

Fall River, Mass., Central Labor Union—James F. Burke, 1 vote.

Fremont County Wyo., Central Labor Union—Peter Sturm, 1 vote.

Houston, Texas, Trades and Labor Council—L. M. Andler, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Canada, Trades and Labor Council—E. W. O'Dell, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Kan., Central Labor Union, M. J. McSpadden, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—C. B. Nelson, 1 vote.

Kelso, Wash., Central Labor Union—Frank Keckler, 1 vote.

Linton, Ind., Central Labor Union—J. L. Sims, 1 vote.

Long Beach, Calif., Central Labor Council—J. C. Coulter, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council—John S. Horn, 1 vote.

Moberly, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—David A. Frampton, 1 vote.

Montgomery, Ala., Central Labor Union—Mrs. W. F. Martin, 1 vote.

Morgantown, W. Va., Central Labor Union—D. A. Anderson, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity—Joseph S. McDonagh, 1 vote.

Pendleton, Ore., Central Labor Union—Alexander Manning, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—W. T. Allen, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union—David Hickey, 1 vote.

Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council—G. A. Von Schrititz, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—David Kreyling, 1 vote.

St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—J. F. Emme, 1 vote.

Salem, Ore., Trades and Labor Council—J. N. Ganiard, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—Theodore Johnson, 1 vote.

San Pedro, Calif., Central Labor Council—John C. Blair, 1 vote.

Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—John M. Horrigan, 1 vote.

Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity—James A. Duncan, 1 vote.

Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—John Howat, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—C. M. Paulson, 1 vote.

Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Council—Carl S. Evans, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—R. T. Wood, 1 vote.

Stockton, Calif., San Joaquin County Central Labor Council—William Meyer, 1 vote.

Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council of Tacoma and Vicinity—T. F. Burns, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Canada, District Labor Council—William Covert, 1 vote.

Vancouver, B. C., Canada, Trades and Labor Council—R. P. Pettipiece, 1 vote.

Walla Walla, Wash., Trades and Labor Council—Thad Stevens, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—J. E. Giles, 1 vote.

Williamsport, Pa., Central Labor Union—S. Herman Alter, 1 vote.

Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union—John C. Saylor, 1 vote.

Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress of Mahoning County—Michael J. Tyden, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York City—Ernest Bohm, 2 votes.

Civil Service Employees' Association No. 14636, Portland, Ore.—H. Jacques, 1 vote.

Cloth Examiners and Shrinkers' Union No. 11680, New York City—Joseph F. Mezzacapo, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 16982, Winston-Salem, N. C.—Jordan Rogers, 1 vote.

Gardeners and Florists' Union No. 10615, Chicago, Ill.—Arthur J. Olsen, 1 vote.

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.—Michael J. Flynn, 1 vote.

Rubber Workers' Union No. 17656, Akron, Ohio—Ben Murphy, 1 vote.

Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872, Chicago, Ill.—George Rincker, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 15251, Los Angeles, Calif.—Florent Sesma, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16304, Seattle, Wash.—Ruby Belknap, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 17655, Cleveland, Ohio—H. M. Sherman, 1 vote.

British Trades and Labor Congress—R. B. Walker, W. C. Robinson, 2 votes.

Women's International Union Label League—Anna Fitzgerald.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—James A. Sullivan, 1 vote.

National Women's Trade Union League of America—Mathilde Lindsay.

Respectfully submitted,
FELIX J. BELAIR, Chairman.
R. S. SEXTON,
FRANK KASTEN, Secretary.

Delegate Preece, Bricklayers: I move the adoption of the report of the committee and that the delegates whose names have been read be seated according to their recommendation. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers: The Chair appoints, subject to the confirmation of

this convention, the following named gentlemen:

Assistant Secretary, F. C. Simmons, Local 58, Typographical Union, Portland.
Sergeant-at-Arms, C. C. Hoffman, Local 302, Brewery Workers, Portland.

Messenger, J. A. Eubank, Local 48, Electrical Workers, Portland.

At 12:40 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned until 2:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

First Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m., Monday, October 1, by President Gompers.

Absentees

Mountford, Gilmore, E. H. Fitzgerald, McNulty, Holtschult, Austin, Kaufman, Sigman, Langer, Amdur, Antonini, Greenberg, Pinkofsky, Bryan, Cantwell, Askew, Bock, Weber, Canavan, Hedrick, Lammert, J. J. Doyle, Carey, Parker, Hannah, Berry, J. P. Burke, Launer, W. M. Collins, Chas. Brown, Thompson, Sutton, P. J. O'Brien, Helt, Gage, Cone, Suarez, Malloy, Funder Burk, Schwartz, trauber, Thomas, Walden, Kohn, Jewell, Mikel, J. H. Walker, Altman, Morris, W. T. Harris, Robinson, L. Bowen, Dunne, Hamer, Finley, Van Patten, Sturm, McSpadden, Sims, Frampton, Martin, W. T. Allen, Hickey, Bower, Emme, Horrigan, C. S. Evans, R. T. Wood, Meyer, Pettipiece, Alter, Saylor, Tyden, Mezzacapo, Rogers, Flynn, Rincker, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman.

President Gompers: At this time it may be appropriate to make a statement of some interest. On Wednesday, before leaving Washington for the trip to Portland, the President of the United States had one of his representatives telephone to the American Federation of Labor office and ask that I come to see him at the White House the following day at 11:30 o'clock. Of course, in compliance with that request, I called upon the President and had a most interesting conference with him.

I presented to him the subjects of child labor, of immigration and several other matters of importance. The President expressed great sympathy with the movement to secure the effective legal prohibition of child labor and showed keen interest in the subjects of immigration and others to which reference was made.

On the day following I called upon the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Davis, in regard to the published statement that a great statesman from over the seas would visit the United States, and it was my desire to obtain information with regard to it. Incidentally, we talked over the conference which I had with the President.

The following day, Friday, an hour before my leaving Washington, Secretary Davis called me up and said that it was the request of the President that I recount the conference I had with him and to express to the Convention his best wishes and good will toward the harmony and success of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor. I convey that message of the President to you.

Appointment of Committees

President Gompers: Under the provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor the President is directed to appoint a number of committees from the delegates to this Convention. Conforming to that instruction the President appoints the following named members upon the respective committees enumerated in the headings. I will ask the Secretary to read the appointments.

Secretary Morrison read the following lists:

Committee on Rules and Order of Business—John Sullivan, W. G. Powlesland, Edw. I. Hannah, E. J. Cantwell, P. J. Ryan, Mrs. D. A. Houck, J. V. Moreschi, W. R. Walden, Wm. J. Skinner, Patrick Flynn, A. J. Pickett, A. H. Funte, Hubert S. Marshall, E. E. Clark, James Bailey.

Committee on Report of Executive Council—James Wilson, George L. Berry, John L. Lewis, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Jere L. Sullivan, Wm. P. Clarke, John Coefield, Wm. J. Bowen, John J. Hynes

Andrew Furuseth, T. W. McCullough, James C. Shanessy, Anthony J. Chlopek, Collis Lovely, Wm. A. Campbell.

Committee on Resolutions—James Duncan, Matthew Woll, G. W. Perkins, Geo. F. Hedrick, B. A. Larger, John A. Voll, Martin Lawlor, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, J. W. Morton, Dave Evans, P. J. Morrin, Hugh Frayne, Thos. L. Hughes, Thos. E. Burke.

Committee on Laws—Daniel J. Tobin, Frank Farrington, Dennis Lane, Martin Joyce, A. J. Kugler, Wm. H. Johnston, James P. Holland, Wm. Quinlan, Chas. Anderson, Martin Higgins, Peter Cook, Bert Childs, Wm. M. Collins, Paul Scharrenberg, Frank Doyle, F. L. Carlin.

Committee on Organization—Frank Duffy, Sara A. Conboy, T. S. Farrell, Charles A. Moyer, E. J. Manion, Francis W. Wheale, John P. Burke, F. J. McNulty, Wm. J. Spencer, W. N. Reddick, Harry Greenberg, D. W. Helt, Philip Bock, E. E. Milliman, J. T. Carey.

Committee on Labels—John J. Manning, Thomas Sweeney, Max Hayes, W. R. Boyer, H. C. Diehl, W. J. Kelly, Jacob Goldstone, R. H. Baker, Patrick E. Gorman, Mrs. Augusta J. Frincke, Miss May Noonan, Hugh C. Shalvoy, A. Greenstein, C. A. Weaver, R. S. Sexton, P. J. Ryan.

Committee on Adjustment—T. A. Rickert, Edward Flore, C. L. Shamp, J. B. Etchison, D. A. Carey, J. W. Kline, H. B. Perham, Jos. N. Weber, Philip Murray, B. M. Jewell, John M. Gillespie, M. F. Tighe, Wm. Canavan, W. E. Bryan, Charles J. Lammert.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—Jacob Fischer, Joseph Obergfell, W. V. Price, Timothy Healy, C. G. Duffy, R. M. Ware, Max Amdur, R. H. Stickel, Wm. Tracy, Joseph Marshall, D. P. Haggerty, Fred Mooney, John T. Wood, E. W. O'Dell, Victor Altman.

Committee on Education—William Green, John Walker, Frank Gilmore, Wm. M. Michaels, Morris Sigman, James F. Murray, John Suarez, Henry F. Schmal, Thos. R. Preece, Sam Squibb, Fred Schultz, Frederick M. Youngs, William Young, Wm. A. Neer, Percy Thomas, Thomas McQuade.

Committee on State Organizations—Martin Ryan, John T. Mugavin, S. C. Hogan, Edward Barton, Carl Bergstrom, George Marshall, John A. Brennan, B. E. Thompson, J. Louie England, Michael Casey, Albert Peterson, W. C. Carpenter, Wm. E. Brewster, E. G. Hall, Michael Flynn, T. N. Taylor.

Committee on Boycotts—W. D. Mahon, W. W. Britton, W. L. Funder Burk, J. T. Moriarty, James B. Connors, M. J. McGuire, W. T. Allen, J. W. Buckley, Leonard Holtschult, Wade Shurtleff, G. M. Bugnizet, John J. Dall, Jas. F. Brock, Stephen J. Angleton, T. C. Gannon.

Committee on Building Trades—John Donlin, J. P. Noonan, D. D'Alesandro, Frank Feeney, Arthur M. Huddell, Jos. A. Mullaney, John J. Doyle, James A. Short, Peter S. Shaughnessy, W. J. McSorley, Edward Ryan, Wm. C. White, James Reid, Richard Pattison, James Murphy.

Committee on Shorter Workday—Charles P. Howard, E. J. McGivern, E. J. Gainor, T. P. Hyland, Bernhard Hollander, E. H. Fitzgerald, M. J. Sillinsky, Wm. P. Hohman, H. J. Conway, Louis Langer, Peter Beisel, J. H. Weaver, Thos. F. McMahon, Leon Worthall, Charles F. Scott.

Committee on Legislation—Charles L. Baine, Thos. F. Flaherty, James J. Freel, Luther C. Steward, James O'Connell, Thos. C. Cashen, A. Adamski, Emanuel Koveleski, Wm. Gunther, J. H. Williams, J. H. Sylvester, Wm. M. Short, Julia O'Connor, Charles J. Shipman, F. J. Fljozdal, N. P. Good.

Committee on International Labor Relations—George W. Perkins, James Duncan, Max Hayes, Martin Lawlor, James Wilson, Andrew Furuseth, James O'Connell, B. A. Larger, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, John H. Walker, C. L. Baine, W. D. Mahon, Matthew Woll, W. J. Bowen, J. H. Hynes, Sara Conboy, Timothy Healy, W. J. Spencer, Anthony J. Chlopek, J. C. Shanessy, Ed J. McGivern, Samuel Gompers.

Vice-President Duncan moved that the name of Samuel Gompers be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations. The motion was adopted and the name added to the list.

President Gompers: The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has, after great deliberation, completed a report of its activities and the functions of the American Federation of Labor since the last convention was held in Cincinnati, Ohio, in June, 1922. It is too voluminous to occupy the time of the Convention in having it read in detail. A digest of the report has been made and will be read. After it has been read copies in printed form will be distributed to the delegates. The report was sent about two weeks ago to the delegates to this Convention whose credentials were received at the office of the American Federation of Labor up to that time.

I have the pleasure of presenting to you the First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, Brother James Duncan, who will read the digest of the report.

A digest of the following report of the Executive Council was read by Vice-President Duncan.

REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

PORTLAND, OREGON, October 1, 1923.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

The period covered by this report has been an eventful one in the history of organized labor—a period which we may well regard as one of record achievements for labor, and consequently for humanity.

Guided by basic principles whose correctness and adequacy can not be successfully questioned, the American trade union movement has successfully resisted the employers in their five-year war to destroy our labor organizations and establish an employer dictatorship based upon the non-union shop. Guided by these same principles our labor movement has defeated the anti-union employer wage reduction policy so thoroughly that wage increases have become the regular order everywhere, while labor's shorter work-day is becoming the policy of even the most notorious sections of anti-union-long-work-day industry.

Organized labor's immigration restriction policy insisting that un-American employers shall not make use of cheap alien labor to beat down the living standards of American workers, is now the accepted policy of all who love America and her institutions.

Labor's policy for the adjustment of labor disputes by voluntary negotiation between representatives of the organized workers and employers directly concerned has become so thoroughly the national policy that the advocates of compulsory institutions and compulsory processes are limited to a few die-hard employers and employer economists still under the influence of the slave owner's and feudal lord's conception of industrial relations.

During the prolonged period of unemployment the policy and thought of the labor movement became more and more the policy and thought of the nation. Today, with industry thriving, the conception of the labor movement must continue to be the leading force of national progress. This is inevitable. For the objective of the labor movement is to make the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness material, moral and spiritual facts for every person.

We have held four Executive Council meetings since the 1922 convention. These meetings occupied from eight to ten days. In addition in the interim between meetings President Compers submitted by mail or telegram one hundred and eleven (111) Executive Council documents each dealing with subjects of importance to our movement. The major matters to which we have given consideration are included in this report.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past sixteen months, beginning May 1, 1922, and ending August 31, 1923.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$224,276.16. Of this total, \$183,994.28 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used only to pay benefits in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions.

The balance \$40,281.88 is in the general fund and available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor.

The total receipts from all sources, \$687,880.32; the total expenses \$662,398.84; amount of receipts over expenses, \$25,481.48.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the sixteen months ending August 31, 1923:

RECEIPTS		
Balance on hand April 30, 1922.....		\$198,794 68
Per capita tax.....	\$515,626 37	
American Federationist.....	87,573 66	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:		
Per capita tax from locals.....	\$45,243 77	
Refund of strike benefits.....	252 00	
		45,495 77
Initiation fees.....		12,789 84
Reinstatement fees.....		506 75
Interest:		
Bank deposits.....	\$5,762 75	
U. S. Liberty Bonds.....	2,450 00	
Canadian Victory Loans.....	1,100 00	
		9,312 75
Supplies.....		8,356 53
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. of L.....		6,368 76
Special Assessment, Freight Handlers.....		446 55
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....		1,403 34
		687,880 32
Total receipts.....		\$880,675 00

EXPENSES		
General.....	\$536,354 71	
American Federationist.....	83,512 50	
Defense Fund:		
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	\$36,629 00	
Per capita tax received from A. F. of L. locals and forwarded to Building Service Employers Intl. Union (Refund, 37c).....	251 37	
		36,880 37
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....		5,310 10
Refund of initiation fees.....		8 75
Special Assessment, Freight Handlers.....		332 41
Total expenses.....		662,398 84
Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1923		\$224,276 16

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

RECAPITULATION	
In General Fund.....	\$40,281 88
In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	183,994 28
Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1923.....	\$224,276 16

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the sixteen months ending August 31, 1923:

Rent.....	\$17,760 00
Refund of overpayments on per capita tax and supplies returned.....	43 07

Premiums:

Bonds, local unions.....	5,310 10
Secretary's bond.....	10 00
Treasurer's bond.....	125 00
Insurance.....	173 91
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	770 31
Legislative expenses, including salaries of three legislative committeemen, W. C. Roberts, Edward F. McGrady and Edgar Wallace.....	19,381 58
Newspapers, magazines and books.....	1,491 58
Office furniture and fixtures.....	885 15
Postage stamps.....	7,762 10
Printing Proceedings of Cincinnati Convention.....	3,729 00
Supplies and printing.....	27,535 23
Miscellaneous expenses.....	24,257 02
Cartoons.....	750 00
Paper supply for addressograph and envelopes, (Mailing Dept).....	2,495 87
Photograph copying.....	265 00
Telegrams.....	7,534 73
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	349 45
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades and Union Congress and to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	2,731 89

Cincinnati Convention:

Messengers, Sergeant-at-Arms and Assistant Secretary and Roll-Call Clerks.....	580 00
Printing Roll-Call.....	360 00
Printing Daily Proceedings.....	4,716 80
Filing, stamping, postage and mailing Daily Proceedings.....	56 64
Electrotyping Proceedings, Cincinnati Convention.....	688 00
Printing, envelopes, and supplies.....	142 40
Stenographers.....	2,668 87
Rental of office furniture.....	150 00
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, reading proof, sending out Daily Proceedings, rent of typewriters and desks, typewriting, photographs, supplies, stationery and hauling.....	281 35
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	526 76

Salary:

President.....	16,000 00
Secretary.....	13,333 33
Treasurer.....	666 67
Office employees.....	126,031 69

Expenses:

Executive Council Meetings.....	16,778 01
Committee rooms, baggage, telegrams, typewriter rental, etc., E. C. Meetings.....	42 77
Stenographers' expenses attending E. C. Meetings.....	669 19
President, traveling.....	4,129 35
Secretary, traveling.....	1,003 97

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

17

Defense Fund:

Strike and lockout benefits.....	36,629 00
Refund of per capita tax.....	37
Forwarded per capita tax collected from A. F. of L. local unions that were ordered to join Building Service Employees' International Union (General Fund \$251, Defense Fund \$251).....	502 00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department.....	22 33
Union Label Trades Department.....	83 03
Per capita tax, for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	95 17
Organizers' salaries and expenses.....	187,518 20
Legal expenses.....	2,750 51
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i>	83,512 50
Printing, publishing and editing A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter.....	12,218 80
Initiation fees refunded to Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	8 75
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	6,666 67
Special assessment, Freight Handlers.....	332 41
Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges, Cincinnati Convention.....	466 57
Expenses of Committee on Publicity.....	374 85
Expenses, Special Committees and Conferences.....	2,463 97
Appropriation to the United Mine Workers of America by the Executive Council, A. F. of L., of the unpaid per capita tax for the months of May, June, July, and August, 1922, on 363,076 members.....	14,523 04
Services and expenses in connection with investigation and report covering text books and social studies as taught in public schools, from viewpoint of organized labor.....	2,043 79
Total.....	<u>\$662,398 84</u>

FUND FOR PROMOTING AND ADVANCING COOPERATION

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing cooperation upon the plan of the Rochdale Cooperative Society System, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo, 1917, American Federation of Labor Convention, showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including August 31, 1923, \$4,324.38, and expenses from February 6, 1919, to August 31, 1923, \$2,171.51, leaving a balance on hand August 31, 1923, amounting to \$2,152.87.

RECAPITULATION

Total of donations, April 1, 1918, to August 31, 1923.....	\$4,324 38
Total expenses, February 6, 1919, to August 31, 1923.....	2,171 51
Balance on hand August 31, 1923.....	<u>\$2,152 87</u>

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to April 30, 1920, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters. Additional report will be compiled when this fund is closed.

FUND FOR PUBLICITY PURPOSES

Contributions received from international unions upon request of President Gompers, for publicity purposes, showed receipts from February 3, 1923, to and including August 31, 1923, \$7,221.00, and expenses from March 26, 1923, to and including August 31, 1923, \$1,160.74, leaving a balance on hand August 31, 1923, amounting to \$6,060.26.

RECAPITULATION

Total donations, February 3, 1923, to August 31, 1923.....	\$7,221 00
Total expenses, March 26, 1923, to August 31, 1923.....	1,160 74
Balance on hand August 31, 1923.....	<u>\$6,060 26</u>

Public Library
 Boston, Mass.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS TO RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' FUND

An appeal was issued on August 19, 1922, by order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for contributions to assist the striking Railway Shop Craft organizations in the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L. The total receipts from August 29, 1922, to and including February 14, 1923, \$16,178.13, and expenses from September 8, 1922, to and including February 14, 1923, \$16,178.13, the account being squared February 14, 1923.

RECAPITULATION

Total of donations August 29, 1922, to February 14, 1923.....	\$16,178 13
Checks drawn September 8, 1922, to February 14, 1923, to John Scott, Secretary-Treasurer, Railway Department, less one unpaid check of \$20.00 made good to bank.....	16,178 13

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to Feb. 14, 1923, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO LABOR PUBLICITY FUND

Contributions to American Federation of Labor Publicity Bureau as authorized by the Executive Council upon the recommendation of the conference of National and International trade union representatives in Washington, D. C., February 23-24, 1921, showed receipts from May 9, 1921, to and including February 14, 1923, \$5,742.34, and expenses from July 22, 1921, to and including February 14, 1923, \$5,742.34, the account being squared February 14, 1923.

RECAPITULATION

Total of donations, May 9, 1921, to February 14, 1923.....	\$5,742 34
Total expenses, July 22, 1921, to February 14, 1923.....	5,742 34

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to February 14, 1923, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS TO ASSIST THE KANSAS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR IN ITS EFFORTS TO REPEAL THE KANSAS STATE INDUSTRIAL COURT LAW.

An appeal was issued on January 15, 1923, by order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for contributions to assist the Kansas State Federation of Labor in its efforts to repeal the Kansas Industrial Court Law. The total receipts from January 22, 1923, to and including August 25, 1923, \$900.00, and expenses from February 14, 1923, to August 25, 1923, \$900.00, the account being squared August 25, 1923.

RECAPITULATION

Total donations, January 22, 1923, to August 25, 1923.....	\$900 00
Total expenses February 14, 1923, to August 25, 1923.....	900 00

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to August 25, 1923, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA, QUARRY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA AND THE GRANITE CUTTERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

An appeal was issued July 3, 1922, by order of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., in carrying out instructions of the American Federation of Labor, Cincinnati, 1922, convention, to assist financially the United Textile Workers of America, Quarry Workers' Inter-

national Union of North America and the Granite Cutters' International Association of America, whose entire membership were practically forced on strike, due to unwarranted reduction of wages. The amount received and forwarded to these organizations from July 18, 1922, to and including November 10, 1922, \$6,888.55, and expenses from July 25, 1922, to and including November 10, 1922, \$6,888.55, the account being squared on November 10, 1922.

RECAPITULATION

Total of donations, July 18, 1922, to November 10, 1922.....	\$6,888 55
Total expenses, July 25, 1922, to November 10, 1922.....	6,888 55

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to November 10, 1922, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE FUND

An appeal was issued April 4, 1922, by the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L., for contributions to assist in carrying out the instructions of the A. F. of L. convention, to defeat candidates for office hostile to the trade union movement, and elect candidates who may be relied upon to support measures favorable to Labor. The amount received in response to the appeal to carry on the 1922 Congressional Campaign from April 12, 1922, to and including October 25, 1922, \$4,928.33, and expenses from May 6, 1922, to and including October 25, 1922, \$4,928.33, the account being squared on October 25, 1922.

RECAPITULATION

Total of donations, April 12, 1922, to October 25, 1922.....	\$4,928 33
Total expenses, May 6, 1922, to October 25, 1922.....	4,928 33

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to October 25, 1922, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1923, INCLUSIVE

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds of affiliated organizations:

Year.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Year.	Receipts.	Expenses.
1902-3.....	\$529 00	\$309 60	1914-15.....	\$5,190 74	\$5,052 66
1903-4.....	398 75	402 60	1915-16.....	5,092 79	4,428 19
1904-5.....	406 75	285 65	1916-17.....	5,906 61	4,970 68
1905-6.....	736 35	591 16	1917-18.....	3,544 91	3,055 26
1906-7.....	1,128 79	817 76	1918-19.....	9,626 78	8,067 33
1907-8.....	1,261 51	1,021 96	1919-20.....	13,285 93	11,121 06
1908-9.....	1,692 35	1,226 03	1920-21.....	9,490 65	7,816 14
1909-10.....	2,874 75	2,392 75	1921-22.....	5,979 90	4,963 00
1910-11.....	2,988 55	1,448 38	1922-23.....	6,368 76	5,310 10
1911-12.....	2,710 07	2,089 15			
1912-13.....	3,225 55	3,863 18			
1913-14.....	3,221 75	1,898 55	Total.....	\$85,661 27	\$71,131 19

RECAPITULATION

Total receipts from 1902 to August 31, 1923.....	\$85,661 27
Total expenses from 1902 to August 31, 1923.....	71,131 19
Excess from 1902 to August 31, 1923.....	\$14,530 08

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On August 31, 1923, we had 523 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 23,426, and a defense fund of \$183,994.28, to protect the members of the 523 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout. While the average membership for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1923, was 23,426, we have received per capita tax on 27,394 members for August, the last month of the fiscal year.

There are only 27 unions of the 108 national and international unions that have a mem

bership exceeding the 27,394 members contained in the local trade and federal labor unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

The Federation has 2,052 general and district organizers, as well as 25 paid organizers and the officers of 901 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

On April 30, 1922, we had 666 local unions. On August 31, this year we had 523—a loss of 143 locals. There was received a total per capita tax from the local unions during the year of \$45,243.77; initiation fees, \$12,789.84, and reinstatement fees, \$506.75.

EXPENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit and the amount received for the past sixteen months beginning May 1, 1922, and ending August 31, 1923:

RECEIPTS

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund.....	\$45,243 77
Returned Strike Benefits.....	252 00
Total.....	\$45,495 77

EXPENSES

Union and Location.	Average Membership.	Weeks.	Amounts.
Federal Labor Union, No. 15034, Streator, Ill.....	118	11	\$9,115 00
Agricultural Workers, No. 15563, Guayama, P. R.....	286	4	4,004 00
Slate Workers, No. 16905, Penn Argyl, Pa.....	52	12	4,396 00
Railway Coach Cleaners, No. 16088, St. Louis, Mo.....	48	8	2,695 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 17317, Streator, Ill.....	46	8	2,597 00
R. R. Coach Cleaners, No. 15495, Little Rock, Ark.....	34	9	2,149 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 15107, Streator, Ill.....	88	4	1,579 00
Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16220, Richmond, Va.....	17	6	1,092 00
Tobacco Strippers No. 10422, Denver, Colo.....	24	6	1,008 00
Hair Spinners, No. 12353, Baltimore, Md.....	10	14	980 00
R. R. Freight Handlers & Station Employees, No. 16385, Huntington, W. Va.....	16	7	784 00
Freight Handlers, No. 16700, Petersburg, Va.....	16	7	784 00
Federal Labor Union No. 17283, Kingsville, Texas	18	6	756 00
Agricultural Workers, No. 17323, Santa Ysabel, Porto Rico.....	59	3	619 50
Machinists Helpers, No. 17456, Columbia, S. O.....	13	6	567 00
Boilermakers' Helpers, No. 17430, Columbia, S. O.....	12	6	504 00
Coach Cleaners, No. 17287, Denison, Texas.....	10	6	441 00
R. R. Coach & Station Cleaners & Porters, No. 16626, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	10	6	420 00
Commercial Portrait Artists, No. 14286, Chicago, Illinois.....	10	6	420 00
R. R. Mechanics' Helpers, No. 17362, Americus, Ga.....	8	6	371 00
Freight Handlers, No. 17580, Winston-Salem, N. O.....	7	7	343 00
Agricultural Workers, No. 16704, Salinas, P. R.....	27	3	283 50
Freight Handlers No. 17545, Newport News, Va.....	5	8	280 00
R. R. Coach & Car Cleaners, No. 17420, Atlanta, Georgia.....	5	6	210 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 17064, Cordele, Ga.....	3	6	126 00
Machinists, Boilermakers & Helpers, No. 17354, El Paso, Texas.....	1	9	105 00
Total strike benefits.....			\$36,629 00
Amounts forwarded and refund of overpayment of per capita tax in Defense Fund.....			251 37
Total expenses.....			\$36,880 37

RECAPITULATION

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, April 30, 1922.....	\$175,378 88
Receipts for sixteen months ending August 31, 1923.....	45,495 77
Total.....	\$220,874 65
Paid out of Defense Fund.....	36,880 37
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1923.....	\$183,994 28

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past sixteen months \$187,518.29. Of this amount \$1,120.00 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$10 to \$100 for organizing central bodies and local trade and federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor.

NAME	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE	Amount Received
1. *Hugh Frayne.....	New York, West Virginia, Wash., D. C., Penn- sylvania, Missouri.....	\$15,272.94
2. **John Fitzpatrick.....	Illinois, Indiana, Ohio.....	9,266.10
3. E. T. Flood.....	Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Nebraska, Colorado, Iowa, Indiana, Ohio.....	9,227.45
4. Wm. Collins.....	New York, Wash., D. C., Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio.....	9,023.53
5. P. J. Smith.....	Illinois, Minnesota, North Dakota, Missouri, Colorado, Wisconsin, Wash., D. C., Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, South Dakota.....	8,737.53
6. E. L. Adams.....	Ohio, Wash., D. C., New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey.....	8,689.92
7. J. B. Dale.....	California.....	8,287.18
8. C. N. Idar.....	Mexico, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona.....	8,063.24
9. C. O. Young.....	Washington, Oregon, Idaho.....	7,861.25
10. T. J. Conboy.....	Nebraska, Kentucky, Indiana, Colorado, Ohio.....	7,667.31
11. Henry Streifer.....	New York, Pennsylvania.....	7,574.41
12. J. A. Flett.....	New York, Canada.....	7,313.59
13. P. F. Duffy.....	Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, Massachu- setts, Ohio.....	7,189.37
14. A. Bastien.....	Canada.....	6,758.58
15. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, New Hamp- shire, New York.....	6,478.81
16. H. L. Eichelberger.....	Maryland, Wash., D. C., Pennsylvania, Delaware New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, New York.....	6,364.53
17. H. F. Hilfers.....	New York, Vermont, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Connecticut.....	5,936.13
18. J. E. Roach.....	Porto Rico, Virgin Island, Washington, D. C.....	5,767.64
19. S. Iglesias.....	Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware.....	5,482.45
20. J. M. Richie.....	Maryland, Wash., D. C., New Jersey, Ohio, Vir- ginia, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Colorado, Kentucky, Indiana.....	5,250.69
21. A. Neary.....	New York, New Jersey, Wash., D. C.....	5,231.09
22. C. J. Jennings.....	New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania Pennsylvania.....	5,079.80
23. A. Marks.....	Indiana, Wash., D. C., Kentucky, Illinois, Virginia, New York, Pennsylvania, Massa- chusetts, North Carolina.....	4,265.09
24. T. H. Flynn.....	Indiana, New York, Wash., D. C.....	4,120.64
25. Edw. F. McGrady.....	California.....	3,652.18
26. Edgar Wallace.....	Tennessee, Illinois, Wash., D. C., Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota.....	3,506.47
27. J. Lord.....	Canada.....	2,046.46
28. C. B. Stillman.....	Porto Rico.....	1,478.79
29. A. Farmilo.....	Missouri, Illinois.....	423.28
30. R. Alonso.....	Georgia, Tennessee.....	190.00
31. D. Kreyling.....	Paid to district organizers in amounts less than \$100.00.....	149.86
32. J. Jones.....		102.00
	Total.....	\$187,518.29

*Includes \$7,147.34 paid for rent of office and office expenses, salary of stenographer, interpreter, and other organizers.

**Includes \$6,016.10 paid for one-half rent of office, salary stenographers, telegrams, stationery and office supplies.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

UNION LABELS

There are now 51 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

American Federation of Labor.	Garment Workers, United.	Papermakers.
Bakers and Confectioners.	Garment Workers, Ladies.	Photo-Engravers.
Bill Posters and Billers.	Glove Workers.	Piano and Organ Workers.
Boilermakers.	Hatters.	Plate Printers.
Blacksmiths.	Horseshoers.	Powder Workers.
Bookbinders.	Iron and Steel Workers.	Pressmen, Printing.
Boot and Shoe Workers.	Jewelry Workers.	Print Cutters.
Brewery Workmen.	Lathers.	Sawsmiths.
Brickmakers.	Laundry Workers.	Slate Workers.
Broommakers.	Leather Workers.	Stove Mounters.
Carpenters and Joiners	Lithographers.	Tailors.
Brotherhood.	Machine Printers and Color	Textile Workers.
Carvers, Wood.	Mixers.	Timber Workers.
Cigarmakers.	Machinists.	Tobacco Workers.
Coopers.	Marble Workers.	Typographical.
Draftsmen's Unions, Technical	Metal Polishers.	Upholsterers.
Engineers, Architects and, In-	Metal Workers, Sheet.	Weavers, Wire.
ternational Federation of.	Molders.	
Electrical Workers.	Painters.	

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

Actors.	Firemen, Stationary.	Workmen.
Barbers.	Hotel and Restaurant	Musicians.
Clerks, Retail.	Employees.	Stage Employees, Theatrical.
Engineers, Steam.	Meat Cutters and Butcher	Teamsters.

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge and Lodge Paraphernalia Makers; Pearl Button Workers; Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Commercial Photographers; Nail (Horseshoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Suspender Makers; Garter, Arm Band and Hose Supporter Makers; Soap Makers.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

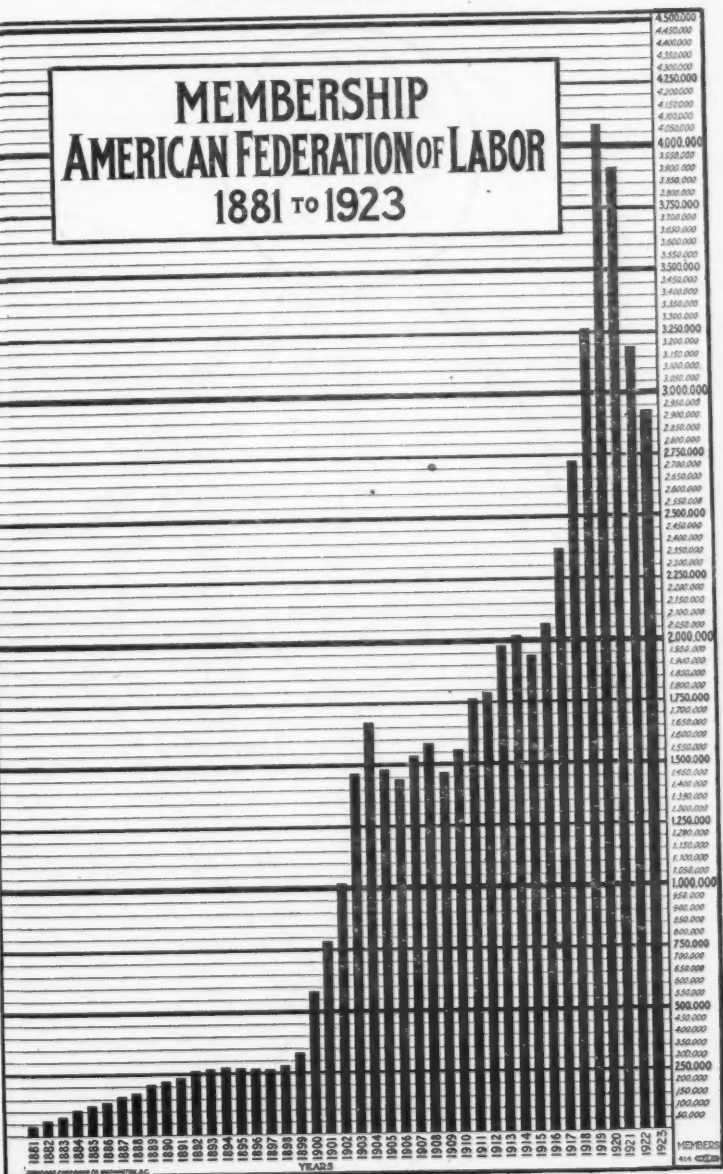
The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 2,926,468. National and international organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the membership reported does not include all the members involved in strikes or lockouts or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received.

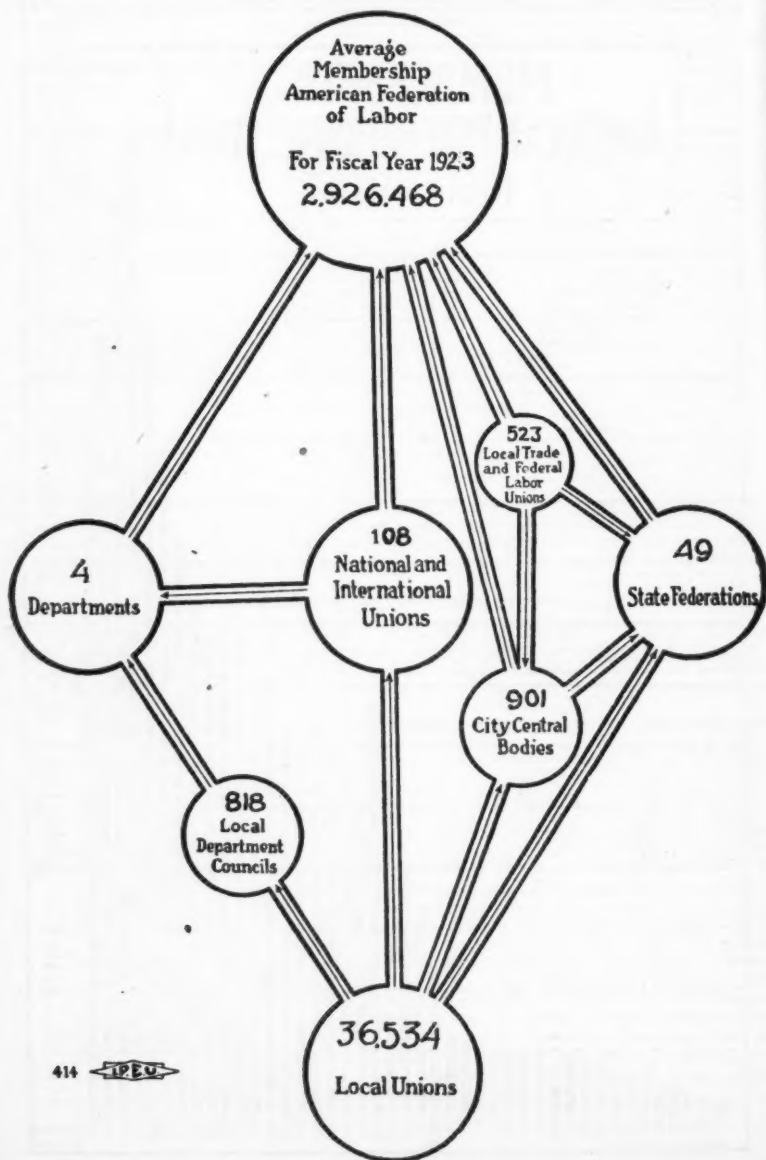
The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past twenty-seven years:

Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897.....	264,825	1904.....	1,676,200	1911.....	1,761,835	1917.....	2,371,434
1898.....	278,016	1905.....	1,494,300	1912.....	1,770,145	1918.....	2,726,478
1899.....	349,422	1906.....	1,454,200	1913.....	1,996,004	1919.....	3,260,068
1900.....	548,321	1907.....	1,538,970	1914.....	2,020,671	1920.....	4,078,740
1901.....	787,537	1908.....	1,586,885	1915.....	1,946,347	1921.....	3,906,529
1902.....	1,024,399	1909.....	1,482,872	1916.....	2,072,702	1922.....	3,195,635
1903.....	1,465,800	1910.....	1,562,112			1923.....	2,926,468

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1923—forty-three years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 36,534 local unions in the 108 national and international unions and 523 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a paid-up and reported average membership of 23,426 for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1923.

MEMBERSHIP AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR 1881 to 1923





VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1915 up to and including 1923. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.
Actors, Associated, & Artistes of A.	87	90	47	30	30	69	118	94	77
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assn. of Heat and Frost Insulators	10	10	10	16	18	22	26	20	20
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.	158	175	189	204	210	275	280	248	229
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	341	359	398	384	359	442	470	452	432
Bill Posters	14	15	15	16	16	16	16	16	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	85	97	120	183	253	483	500	367	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	173	182	312	555	849	1030	845	417	194
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	356	390	396	358	368	467	410	402	399
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	85	93	114	145	164	207	247	163	129
Brewery Workmen, International Union	520	496	450	450	400	341	273	190	166
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	29	32	28	25	27	52	54	41	48
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.			700	700	700	700	700	700	700
Bridge & Struct. Iron Wkrs., Intl. Assn.	100	100	j	160	170	242	199	140	146
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	7	8	j	7	10	14	12	8	7
Brushmakers' International Union	2	2	2	2	++	++	++	++	++
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union							8	94	78
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	1956	1977	2317	2673	3079	3315	3521	3138	3150
Carriage and Wagon Workers	58	40	42	i	i	i	i	i	i
Carmen of A. Bro. Railway	293	308	390	534	1004	1821	200	1717	1600
Carvers' Union, International Wood	10	11	12	12	10	12	12	11	9
Cement Workers	16	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
Cigarmakers' International Union	394	377	416	395	363	388	342	320	309
Clerks, Bro. of Railway	50	51	68	172	714	1860	1696	1378	961
Clerks, Bro. of Railway Postal	20	27	i	i	j	j	j	j	j
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail	150	150	150	150	150	205	212	167	103
Clerks, National Post-office	32	42	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United	30	63	88	m	m	m	m	m	m
Compressed Air & Foundation Workers	12	14	16	n	n	n	n	n	n
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car						12	25	26	23
Coopers' International Union	39	36	39	40	40	43	44	28	17
Cutting Die & Cuttermakers, Intl. Union	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	++
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	3	3	4	4	5	6	6	5	6
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.				18	35	22	10		
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	362	362	415	544	1312	1392	1420	1420	1420
Elevator Constructors	27	28	29	29	30	31	38	38	52
Engineers, B'n. Ass. of U. S. & C., Nat. Mar.				79	128	170	211	190	u
Engineers, Intl. Union of Steam	210	210	220	230	250	320	320	320	271
Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate					1	2	4	3	2
Engravers Intl. Union, Metal								1	1
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.	48	51	51	51	50	59	65	65	65
Express Messengers of A., Bro. of Railway	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Federal Employees, National Fed. of			81	109	204	385	330	250	212
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of				23	154	221	180	161	160
Firemen, Intl. Bro. of Stationary	160	170	170	171	205	296	380	250	125
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Fruit & Vegetable Workers of N. A., Intl. Union of								19	++
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of	6	8	13	33	54	91	52	40	40
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.	37	57	81	100	108	121	45	47	92
Garment Workers of America, United	422	430	449	459	460	459	472	475	476
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	97	70
Glass Workers' International Assn., Amal.	11	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
Glass Workers, American Flint	94	94	98	99	95	99	97	87	81
Glass Workers, National Window				7	50	48	50	50	50
Glove Workers	10	10	8	7	7	10	7	4	2
Grinders & Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade	3	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A., The	135	131	125	119	107	105	105	100	96
Hatters of North America, United	85	85	85	91	100	105	115	115	115
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	319	324	324	367	400	420	460	460	475
Horsehoofers of United States and Canada	57	58	54	54	54	54	54	25	20
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	606	590	646	652	608	604	572	465	384
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn.	65	67	110	161	197	315	254	159	117
Jewelry Workers' International	++	53	43	48	51	81	s	s	23
Lace Operatives, Amal.	12	11	12	12	9	q	q	q	q
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	653	851	823	895	905	1054	941	939	912
Laundry, Intl. Union of W.W. & Metal	60	60	60	60	60	59	80	80	80
Laundry Workers, International Union	41	43	46	55	60	67	70	65	65
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	18	18	k	k	k	k	k	k	k

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.			32	41	67	117	80	34	20
Letter Carriers, National Asso. of.			25	305	307	325	325	325	325
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural.						3	16	10	6
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Asso.			46	49	56	61	72	76	63
Lithographic Pressworkers.			250	255	260	313	740	641	463
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	250	250	255	260	313	740	641	463	343
Machinists, International Association of.	719	1009	1125	1436	2546	3308	2736	1809	973
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of.	81	89	97	56	542	g	g	g	377
Marble, etc., International Asso. of.	16	6	10	10	10	12	12	17	23
Masters, Mates and Pilots.		40	43	48	62	71	91	55	41
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.	61	73	96	291	663	653	439	196	104
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet	178	175	176	183	202	218	242	250	250
Mine Workers of America, United.	3116	3180	3520	4134	3938	3936	4257	3729	4049
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs. I. U. of.	167	161	179	167	178	211	162	46	81
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.	500	500	500	500	516	573	585	265	321
Musicians, American Federation of.	600	600	604	650	654	700	746	750	750
Oil Field, etc., Workers.					45	209	248	61	25
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.	753	782	852	845	827	1031	1133	978	928
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.	45	52	64	60	57	74	107	83	70
Patrolmen, Brotherhood of Railroad.						26	16	9	†
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	65	65	70	88	90	90	90	80	80
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of.	16	15	15	17	18	19	20	20	20
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.	35	33	32	32	26	26	24	24	24
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.	10	10	15	20	20	32	27	9	7
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & C., Oper.	183	184	190	190	190	194	239	246	252
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.	320	320	320	320	320	320	319	350	350
Polishers, Intl. Union Metal.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	82	67
Post Office Clerks Natl. Federation of.			81	101	145	162	170	178	180
Potters, National Bro. of Operative.	78	77	76	78	74	80	91	92	91
Powder and High Explosive Workers.	2	3	3	4	3	3	2	2	3
Printing Pressmen, International.	227	290	330	340	340	350	370	370	370
Printers' Union of N. A., I. S. & C. Plate	13	12	13	12	13	14	15	15	12
Printers and Color Mixers, Machine.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	†
Print Cutters' Asso. of A., Natl.	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	†
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.	43	44	65	80	84	95	113	68	46
Quarry Workers, International.	36	35	35	31	30	30	30	30	24
Railway Employes' Amal. Asso., S. & E.	589	646	737	786	897	987	1000	1000	1000
Railway Mail Association.				94	134	144	150	166	167
Roofers, Lamp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn.									
United States Tile and Composition.	12	12	12	12	10	18	28	30	30
Sawsmiths' National Union.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.	160	217	322	371	427	659	1033	492	179
Sideographers, Intl. Assn. of.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.	8	9	8	9	62	123	113	105	89
Slate and Tile Roofers.	6	6	6	6	6	r	r	r	r
Slate Workers.		††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Spinners' Intl. Union.	22	22	22	22	22	r	r	r	r
Stage Employes, Intl. Alliance Theatrical.	180	181	186	186	185	196	194	195	196
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.	27	20	29	37	d	d	d	d	d
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.	49	49	52	53	54	59	61	60	62
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen.	44	43	41	42	39	40	44	46	49
Stove Mounters' International Union.	11	12	17	19	19	19	20	20	18
Switchmen's Union of North America.	90	93	102	107	118	140	101	88	87
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	119
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.		27	21	10	28	93	93	70	46
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.	516	590	703	729	756	1108	1057	764	727
Telegraphers, Commercial.	10	10	10	10	20	22	32	34	26
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.	250	250	272	377	446	487	500	500	500
Textile Workers of America, United.	189	255	371	459	558	1049	829	300	300
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union.	30	28	28	25	d	d	d	d	d
Timber Workers, Intl. Union of.			2	23	32	101	58	8	††
Tip Printers.	†	3	3	3	g	g	g	g	g
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.	39	34	32	33	42	152	123	34	19
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty Intl.	9	10	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.	15	27	34	24	20	30	30	30	30
Typographical Union, International.	591	607	616	633	647	705	748	689	681
Upholsterers, International Union of.	35	39	40	48	55	56	60	67	73
United Wall Paper Craft of N. A.									7
Weavers, Elastic Goring.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Weavers, Shingle.	7	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4
Centrals.	673	717	762	781	816	926	973	905	901
State Branches.	44	45	45	46	46	46	49	49	40
Directly affiliated local unions.	489	705	1016	1076	1091	1498	1027	747	581
Total vote of Unions.	20433	21906	24973	28375	33849	41307	40410	33336	30486

† Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. †† Disbanded. d Not recognized. g Merged

with Operative Plasterers. *h* Merged with Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. *i* Bro. of Railway Postal Clerks and National Federation of Post Office Clerks, merged. *j* Suspended for failure to comply with decision of Baltimore Convention. *k* Leather Workers on Horse Goods and Travelers' Goods merged with Leather Novelty Workers. *l* Suspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. *m* Suspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. *n* Merged with Hod-carriers. *o* Merged with Timber Workers. *p* Merged with Bookbinders. *q* Suspended for failure to comply with decision of the Atlantic City Convention. *r* Merged with Composition Roofers, etc. *s* Suspended for failure to comply with decision of the Montreal Convention. *t* Amalgamation of National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the U. S., with National Print Cutters Association of America, and change of title to United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A. *u* Withdrawn from Affiliation.

BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR

ORGANIZATIONS.	Death benefits.	Death benefits, members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool In- surance.	Unem- ployed benefits.
A. F. of L. Locals.....	\$3,931.50	\$1,064.50	\$4,607.12	\$1,761.15	\$50.00	\$25.00
Bakery and Confectionery Workers.....	20,850.00 ^a		133,887.34			
Barbers.....	68,296.00		153,040.21			
Bookbinders.....	22,000.00					
Broom and Whisk Makers.....	1,200.00					
Carpenters.....	696,919.94	90,650.00				
Carvers.....		3,150.00			269.00	
Cigarmakers.....	350,636.57	3,920.00	248,060.69	16,268.55		16,059.00
Conductors, Sleeping Car.....	42,000.00	37,000.00				
Diamond Workers.....	3,750.00	150.00	3,444.00			12,716.00
Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate.....				135.00		
Foundry Employees.....	1,100.00		1,250.00 ^a			
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	43,250.00					
Granite Cutters.....	64,282.00					
Hotel and Restaurant Employees.....	33,322.85		44,508.06			
Laundry Workers.....	2,600.00					
Meat Cutters.....	15,800.00					
Maintenance of Way Employees.....	71,742.70		27,050.00			
Paper Makers.....	7,500.00					
Paving Cutters.....	4,550.00					
Piano and Organ Polishers, Metal.....	425.00	40.00	500.00	1,653.80		20.00
Printing Pressmen.....	12,125.00					
Printing Pressmen.....	91,952.70					
Seamen.....	18,800.00		11,280.00			
Stove Mounters.....	2,200.00					
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.....	14,300.00					
Tailors.....	8,614.30		16,912.00			
Tobacco Workers.....	1,200.00		4,141.00			
Typographical ^a	341,581.66					
Total.....	\$1,944,930.22	\$135,974.50	\$648,680.42	\$19,818.50	\$319.00	\$28,820.00

a. Including wives. *For period since June 1, 1922.

Many of the local unions provide death, sick and out-of-work benefits for their members in addition to the benefits paid by the international unions that made reports. The amounts above reported are in the majority of cases, those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits.

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the sixteen months ending August 31, 1923, there have been issued 129 charters to Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Thirty-one Central Bodies, as follows:

Arkansas: Hartford.	Indiana: Crawfordsville.	Oklahoma: Ardmore. Bristow.
California: Glendale. Merced.	Kentucky: Fulton.	Pennsylvania: Freeland. Hazleton and vicinity.
Florida: Lakeland. Orlando.	Missouri: Macon.	Tennessee: Erwin.
Georgia: Augusta.	Montana: Carbon County.	Texas: Corsicana. Texarkana.
Illinois: Mt. Carmel. O'Fallon. Pana. Pinckneyville. Sparta. Zeigler.	New Jersey: Perth Amboy and vicinity.	Washington: Kelso and vicinity.
	Ohio: Elyria. Toronto. Uhrichsville and Denison. Warren.	West Virginia: Clarksburg. Moundsville.

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the sixteen months of this fiscal year:

	1922-1923
Central Bodies.....	31
Local Trade Unions.....	61
Federal Labor Unions.....	38
Total.....	129

CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, MERGED, WITHDREW, AMALGAMATED, JOINED, INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND RESTORED

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 33; suspended, 2; reinstated, 2; merged, 1.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 33; suspended, 127; joined national and international organizations, 6; reinstated, 6.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 16; suspended, 43; reinstated, 2; joined national and international unions, 6.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS: Suspended, 1. Brotherhood of Railroad Patrolmen, membership, 4,000; disbanded, 3. International Union of Cutting Die and Cutter Makers, membership, 252; International Union of Fruit and Vegetable Workers of North America, membership, 2,297. International Union of Timber Workers, membership, 244; reinstated, 2. International Jewellery Workers' Union, membership, 2,241. United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, membership, 37,734; withdrew, 1. National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association of the United States of America, membership, 11,000; amalgamated, 2. Amalgamation of National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States, membership, 428, with National Print Cutters Association of America, membership 300, and change of title to United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.

CONCLUSION

I congratulate the officers of the national and international organizations and all our affiliated bodies as well as the general membership, without whose loyal support and cooperation all effort would have been in vain, upon the splendid struggle that has been made to maintain the resistance of their respective organizations and the solidarity of our movement against the campaign of opposition of our enemies. I also desire to express my sincere appreciation of the assistance and cooperation extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and our affiliated bodies and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted.

Frank Morrison

Secretary American Federation of Labor.

TREASURER TOBIN'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I herewith submit report upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor for the sixteen months from April 30, 1922, to August 31, 1923. The financial statement is as follows:

INCOME.		EXPENSES.	
Received of Secretary Morrison.		Warrants paid:	
1922.		1922.	
May 31.....	\$46,278 11	May 31.....	\$35,573 18
June 30.....	29,693 71	June 30.....	44,529 35
July 31.....	34,989 59	July 31.....	40,947 03
August 31.....	32,755 63	August 31.....	41,426 52
September 30.....	33,103 54	September 30.....	46,072 73
October 31.....	34,912 45	October 31.....	33,788 25
November 30.....	51,325 28	November 30.....	51,318 71
December 31.....	42,841 01	December 31.....	39,930 02
1923.		1923.	
January 31.....	41,931 51	January 31.....	41,845 94
February 28.....	39,993 98	February 28.....	39,368 02
March 31.....	44,308 29	March 31.....	44,226 54
April 30.....	40,945 66	April 30.....	36,965 82
May 31.....	61,291 58	May 31.....	55,696 98
June 30.....	36,369 58	June 30.....	33,851 93
July 31.....	51,433 67	July 31.....	42,819 04
August 31.....	65,703 73	August 31.....	34,036 78
Total income for 16 months	\$687,880 32	Total expenses for 16 months	\$662,398 84
Balance in hands of Treasurer, April 30, 1922.....	196,794 68		
Total funds.....	\$884,675 00		

RECAPITULATION	
Total funds (balance and income).....	\$884,675 00
Total expenses.....	662,398 84
August 31, 1923—Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$222,276 16
August 31, 1923—Balance in hands of Secretary.....	2,000 00
Total balance on hand, August 31, 1923.....	\$224,276 16

Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:

Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing certificates.....	\$100,000 00
Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check.....	67,276 16
Liberty Bonds.....	40,000 00
Canadian Victory Bonds.....	15,000 00

Treasurer's balance August 31, 1923..... \$222,276 16

Deposits guaranteed by bond.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,

Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., September 1, 1923.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the sixteen months ending August 31, 1923:

RECEIPTS	
Balance on hand April 30, 1922.....	\$5,872.95
Receipts from rents, May 1, 1922, to August 31, 1923.....	35,190 00
Receipts from waste paper.....	244 79
Receipts from interest on treasury certificates.....	212 51
Receipts from interest on funds on deposit.....	72 73
Refund on empty drum.....	6 50
Total.....	\$41,599 48
EXPENSES	
Maintenance:	
Pay-roll (building employees).....	\$19,609 45
Taxes.....	3,881 82
Electricity.....	2,023 59
Fuel (coal).....	2,002 60
Supplies.....	1,162 40
Ice.....	539 50
Upkeep and Repairs.....	338 49
Insurance (fire).....	335 00
Insurance (liability).....	216 89
Hauling ashes and trash.....	199 00
Stationary covers for roof.....	136 50
Water rent.....	142 00
Painting and plastering.....	124 50
Upkeep and repairs on elevators.....	92 35
Upkeep of rest room.....	61 53
Upkeep of lawn.....	35 20
Safe deposit box.....	2 50
Total maintenance.....	\$30,903 32
Settlement of claims in the case of Brumbaugh vs. Trustees, A. F. of L.....	\$1,429 80
Attorney fees.....	100 00
Total expenses.....	\$32,433 12
RECAPITULATION	
Receipts.....	\$41,599 48
Expenses.....	32,433 12
Balance on hand August 31, 1923.....	\$9,166 36
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:	
Mount Vernon Savings Bank.....	\$4,166 36
United States Treasury Certificates.....	5,000 00
Balance on hand August 31, 1923.....	\$9,166 36

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interests of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
FRANK MORRISON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

INDUSTRY'S MANIFEST DUTY

We feel that the hour has struck for a pronouncement of the aims of labor that shall more nearly express the full implications of trade unionism than has yet been undertaken in these annual reports. This we have had in mind in the preparation of previous reports, but we have preferred to follow the established practice of the American trade union movement, which is to allow expression of policy and program to proceed naturally from the life and needs of the people, giving voice from time to time only to such proposals and formulations as have been finally shaped out of experiences.

Experience continues and is recorded as it unfolds. The recording of experience is perhaps the greatest achievement of all history. We know what the past has given us because the past has given us its records.

The record of human experience since the fateful days of 1914 is more intense with the story of rapid development than any other similar period in history. Developments of the most climactic character have raced upon each other's heels.

Trade unionism, as an integral and ever-functioning part of human society, has had its full share of tremendous experiences and it has not failed to observe the experiences of all other functional elements in society.

What we have observed is that the period ending with the beginning of the world war found political democracy in its fullest state of development, while the close of that period of overwhelming upheaval marked the opening of the period of intelligent demand and living need for industrial democracy. The close of the war marked for us a turning point in human relations and threw forth in bold relief the inadequacy of existing forms and institutions. Henceforth trade unionism has a larger message and a larger function in society. Henceforth the movement for the organization of the workers into trade unions has a deeper meaning than the mere organization of groups for the advancement of group interests, however vital that function may yet remain.

Henceforth the organization of the workers into trade unions must mean the conscious organization of one of the most vital functional elements for enlightened participation in a democracy of industry whose purpose must be the extension of freedom, the enfranchisement of the producer as such, the rescue of industry from chaos, profiteering and purely individual whim, including individual incapacity, and the rescue of industry also from the domination of incompetent political bodies.

The largest freedom of action, the freest play for individual initiative and genius in industry can not be had under the shadow of constant incompetent political interference, meddlesomeness and restriction.

Through the muddling conflict of groups who still find it impossible to come together in cooperation we must look to a future that must have its foundation upon cooperation and collaboration. The threat of state invasion of industrial life is real. Powerful groups of earnest and sincere persons constantly seek the extension of state suzerainty over purely industrial fields. Such ignorant encroachments as the Esch-Cummins act, the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations and the Colorado Industrial Commission act, each a blundering gesture of government acting under the spur of organized propaganda or of political appetite for power, are examples of what all industry has to fear. The continuing clamor for extension of state regulatory powers under the guise of reform and deliverance from evil, can but lead into greater confusion and more hopeless entanglements. Trade unionism must lead the way for true progress, even at the cost of being branded as reactionary by those who do but little save propound formulas based upon utopian thought and devoid of the benefit of experience and of any cognizance of our fundamental social structure, our industrial life or our national characteristics. We advocate organization of all wage earners and of all useful and productive elements.

We feel that we shall not labor the point if we review what we have repeatedly said and what all students know, that our national life today is becoming more and more industrial and that the decisions that most vitally affect the intimate daily lives of our people are the decisions that are made in industry, in the workshops and factories, in the mines and mills, in the commercial establishments, on the railroads and in the counting rooms. The decisions that caused more than five million workers to be for months without work were not decisions of congress. The decisions that quickened the

wheels and brought men and women back into service were not decisions of congress.

Labor now participates more fully in the decisions that shape human life than ever before and more fully in America than in any other nation on earth; but our participation must be gradually brought to completion. The purpose of this is not only the commanding of better wages and better conditions of work, vital as those are and have been. The purpose that now unfolds is broader and nobler and filled with deeper meaning.

We have fought our way through the preliminaries, fitting the workers for their greater role by means of the opportunities that have come with the establishment of standards of life and wages befitting American workmen.

For the future industry must become something of which we have a national consciousness. It must cease to be a disconnected collection of groups, like states without a union. The future demands an American industry, in which it shall be possible for all to give of their best through the orderly processes of democratic, representative organization. The ruthless drive of purely individual aim and ambition has given America tremendous industrial giants. Great abuse has accompanied great achievement. But what is frequently overlooked is the fact that the ambition to build has been the driving force behind our most remarkable strides. The abuses, terrible and costly as they have been, have been largely coincidental.

The ambition to build must be saved; the abuses must be eradicated by means of organization befitting the state of our development and the demands of our time. In no other way can industry continue that growth which is required to satisfy our ever growing demand for commodities and avoid submersion in a wave of blighting political domination.

The functional elements in our national life must fit themselves to work out their own problems, eradicate their abuses and furnish America with an ever increasing flood of commodities, both necessary and pleasure giving. Industry alone has the competence and it must demonstrate that competence through organization. The organized functional elements in industry will find easy of solution those problems to which politicians now turn their attention in futility. Industry must organize to govern itself, to impose upon itself tasks and rules and to bring order into its own house. Industry must bring order to itself constructively, or it will have an order thrust upon it which would be demoralizing if not fatal. Our people can not live and thrive under the regime of bureaucracy that threatens unless industry solves its own problems.

It was the abuses attendant upon an unregulated natural industrial impulse that brought upon our country that legislative monstrosity known as the Sherman anti-trust law. It is a mistaken zeal on the part of political government, a zeal often encouraged by powers that misinterpret their own role in our industrial life, that burden us with the anachronism known as the injunction. It is a combination of industry's own neglect and of government's effort to function where industry for the moment fails or seems to fail that give us a growing number of boards, commissions and tribunals to add their weight to the burden of industry.

Industry, organized as we urge it must be organized, will begin in truth an era of service, rational, natural development and productivity unmatched by past achievement or fancy.

It is not the mission of industrial groups to clash and struggle against each other. Such struggles are the signs and signals of dawning comprehension, the birth pangs of an industrial order attempting through painful experience to find itself and to discover its proper functioning. The true role of industrial groups, however, is to come together, to legislate in peace, to find the way forward in collaboration, to give of their best for the satisfaction of human needs. There must come to industry the orderly functioning that we have been able to develop in our political life. We must find the way to the development of an industrial franchise comparable to our political franchise. There must be developed a sense of responsibility and justice and orderliness.

Labor stands ready for participation in this tremendous development. It has long offered conference with all its implications as a substitute for conflict, regarding the folding of arms in idleness only as the last resort in failure of negotiations, signaliz-

ing the glaring fact that the industrial destinies of the country have thus far been finally in the hands of one group in the nation's industrial organization.

Too frequently the group that controls investment or credit controls the policies of industry. When this occurs industry finds itself guided by the desires of those who seek returns on investment, with little or no regard for any other factor. Modern industry, as we have repeatedly declared and as is conceded by all who understand, functions largely with the assistance of credit. But credit, which is the life blood of productive industry, is continuously purloined for purely exploiting, profiteering, speculative and wasteful purposes. It is not infrequently employed for the purpose of withholding commodities from their proper channels in order that inordinate and criminal manipulation and profiteering may take place. Every perversion of the proper functions of industry eventually strikes back at industry and leaves its damaging mark.

Industry, as it becomes more intelligently and thoroughly organized and coordinated, as cooperative relations are extended, will in self-defense purge itself of the wrongful, wasteful, uneconomical, anti-social and criminal misuse of credit power. Credit power is one of the most vital powers in the modern world and it arises out of the very existence of the people themselves, being but a token, or guarantee of their ability to use and consume. This power, which arises out of the people, out of the fact that they live and must use commodities, must be stripped of its abuses and administered in accordance with the demands of a normal, rational industrial life in the interests of service and production and not solely or mainly in the interests of profits and perversions of our industrial system. The operation of industry for the dominant purpose of producing private profit has led to a multitude of abuses. It has produced all of the evils of autocracy because it is autocratic. Every factor that enters into the sustenance or operation of industry must be safeguarded and its just reward assured, but there must be an end to final control by any single factor. We have had and must continue to have, until democracy finds its way into industry, abuses for which all producers and all consumers have had to pay through profiteering and privation.

The end of such a state of affairs must come at no distant time, or political bureaucracy will gain the ascendancy. And we can not do other than regard such an eventuality as the final mark of incompetency to manage an industrial civilization. Industry must save itself. Industry must find itself. Industry must organize for service, for constructive effort, for orderly continuity, for justice to all who participate. It must bring itself to a realization of its mission and to that end it must organize and come together in deliberative bodies where the full wisdom and experience of all may contribute to final decisions. Much the same lessons that we have learned in our political life—among them the sense of order—must be learned and given effect in our industrial life. Fact must take the place of opinion and selfish interest. To function must be the object and democratic participation of all who give service must be the mechanism that makes this possible. Industry must realize that it exists to give service to a nation and not to a single master, or to a syndicate of stockholders. We must have an American industrial life, an American industrial order, not a warring group of units, each seeking to be a law unto itself, the while inviting the interference of those whose competence is at best an unknown factor.

While we have no wish to offer unasked advice to those who occupy any other field in our productive life, we feel that we may suggest that agriculture, the great life-giving twin of industry, must find its way through to orderliness and justice by adoption of substantially the same methods which we advocate for industry. We fail to find any opportunity for difference in principle.

During the past year the relations between industrial workers and productive agriculture have grown tremendously; understanding has been developed everywhere between those who give productive effort in these two great fields.

It is our hope that the farmers will continue their work of organization and that we may have and give assistance in pushing forward the program upon which we believe depends our future national well-being and safety.

We have sought to set forth a great goal—the goal of America's wage earners—and the salvation of the masses of our people and of our inspiring industrial supremacy. We covet life and the fuller development of life and we therefore demand in behalf of the masses of our people the only course that can make possible the satisfaction of our

ambition, the achievement of our ideal and the preservation of our essential liberties. American industry dare not confess incompetence. We call upon all who have eyes to see to join us in a great crusade for industrial democracy as the means to a greater national and individual life and as the means to the preservation of the genius of our people. Industry is the bedrock of modern civilization. We must bring order through organization into that life or suffer it to fall under the dominion of a state bureaucracy which must be destructive alike of freedom for the individual and of progress for industry as a whole.

We commit ourselves to greater efforts in the organization of all workers, we urge upon all useful persons the imperative need of organization, and finally, the coming together in working bodies of all organizations through representatives who shall speak for organic groupings. We have long been on the road to this end. We urge no new formula, no new philosophy; we urge only a great consciousness of purpose and a definite aim on the part of all toward its more rapid fulfillment, because the needs of the time make it imperative.

CHILD LABOR

The American Federation of Labor, since its inception in 1881, has persistently advocated laws prohibiting child labor. It repeatedly has declared that the children should be in the school or playground and not in the factory. Through the influence of the A. F. of L. many states have adopted child labor laws. Congress has enacted two laws prohibiting the work of children, but the Supreme Court in each case declared them unconstitutional.

Immediately after the second decision of the Supreme Court in May, 1922, President Gompers called a meeting of representatives of prominent national organizations of women and men which organized the Permanent Conference for the Abolition of Child Labor. It was held June 1, 1922. The Executive Council brought the matter to the attention of the Cincinnati convention and upon this recommendation the convention decided that Flag Day, June 14, 1922, be set aside and observed by the convention to permit labor to express its protest against the legal difficulties placed in the way of protecting child life.

The addresses delivered received wide publicity and awakened the consciences of those who up to that time had been apathetic in their duty in the preservation of child life. Thereafter the voice of the people became so loud and insistent that members of congress took heed and twenty-eight bills for the protection of child life were introduced in the two houses, twenty-six of them providing for amendments to the constitution.

July 6, 1922, a sub-committee met in New York to draft a proposed constitutional amendment to present to a subsequent meeting of the Permanent Conference for the Abolition of Child Labor. After several meetings of the Permanent Conference the following draft of a proposed amendment to the constitution was adopted:

The congress shall have power to limit or prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age and power is also reserved to the several states to limit or prohibit such labor in any way which does not lessen any limitation of such labor or the extent of any prohibition thereof by congress. The power vested in the congress by this article shall be additional to and not a limitation on the powers elsewhere vested in the congress by the constitution with respect to such labor.

July 26, 1922, the above, as S. J. Res. 232, was introduced in the senate by Senator McCormick and later as H. J. Res. 407 by Representative Foster in the house. Owing to the death of the wife of the chairman of the committee, Senator Nelson, a hearing before the judiciary committee was considerably delayed. However, very thorough hearings were had covering several days. It was not until February 24, 1923, that the senate judiciary committee reported on the various amendments to the constitution that had been submitted to the senate. The committee recommended the following:

The congress shall have power concurrent with that of the several states to limit or prohibit the labor of persons under the age of eighteen years.

The same proposed amendment was reported favorably to the house. Despite all efforts to have the resolutions passed congress adjourned without taking action. Immediately after adjournment of congress President Gompers called a meeting of the Permanent Conference for the Abolition of Child Labor of which he is chairman, and it was unanimously agreed that an intensive campaign should be launched immediately to have congress pass a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the constitution for the protection of persons under eighteen years of age. The amendment presented by the judiciary committee of the senate was acceptable to the Permanent Conference. The words "persons under eighteen years of age" were used because of the difference of opinion as to whom the word "children" applied. After several conferences an appeal was prepared for distribution throughout the nation. It was signed by seventeen of the most prominent national organizations of women and men in the country as follows.

American Federation of Labor, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Girls' Friendly Society in America, National Child Labor Committee, National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, National Consumers' League, National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Women, Inc., National Education Association, National Federation of Teachers, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National League of Women Voters, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, National Women's Trade Union League, Service Star Legion, Young Woman's Christian Association.

The agitation for the child labor amendment should be taken up by every state and city central body and local union in the United States. National and international unions are requested to secure copies of the leaflet from the A. F. of L. and distribute them among their local unions.

There is great opposition to child labor legislation in certain districts in the United States. This applies to the textile industry, the beet sugar industry and portions of the south.

The convention is urged to take strong ground in demanding the necessary legislation for the protection of child life.

SUPREME COURT

The Supreme Court of the United States is a unique phenomenon in government. It is the only court in the world which exercises the power to nullify the laws enacted by the national law making body. There are two groups of interpolaters of the prerogatives of this court, one holding that the power to pass on the constitutionality of legislation has been usurped by the court, and the other that such authority is conferred. But regardless of the origin of the authority exercised many hold that the court must exercise this prerogative in order to maintain government in the United States in accord with principles outlined in our written constitution. It is indisputable that the Supreme Court of the United States has been a most powerful agency in determining our national policies. Not only by declaring laws invalid does it exercise veto power and forbid the adoption of certain policies, but by interpreting the law the court has definitely outlined and established general policies. Instances of this are the decisions upon federal income tax, first declaring it legal and a few weeks later reversing its own decision and declaring the income tax law unconstitutional, in both instances the court standing five to four. In this case, in the course of a few weeks, one of the nine justices of the Supreme Court changed his mind and his vote and that change declared a law of Congress unconstitutional. The decision upon the anti-trust law when the court interpolated the word "unreasonable" and declared that only such combinations as unduly and "unreasonably" restrained trade were prohibited by the anti-trust act. Thus, the court arbitrarily set up two classifications of combinations, one good, the other bad; one illegal and the other legal. The decisions absolutely nullify the purpose of the original act. Irrespective as to the wisdom of the economic theory held by the court there existed a governmental situation under which an all-powerful court was negating the written intent of the law making body and establishing another version more in accord to its liking and judgment.

In passing upon social and labor legislation the Supreme Court has frequently placed itself in complete variance and judgment with our national Congress, with state legislatures and with the expressed will of the people. The court follows precedents as established by legal decisions and is far removed from the spirit and the methods of industrial undertakings. It has no conception of the radical difference between politics and industry but it has attempted to interpret economic situations from the legalistic point of view, whereas these situations respond to the forces and technique of science.

Within the past year the United States Supreme Court has nullified the second child labor law, minimum wage law for women, and the labor provisions of the Clayton Anti-Trust law, thus overturning policies which have won public approval. These laws were enacted after years of patient educational work to convince public opinion of their validity and the struggle to overcome opposing forces. They were measures that were necessary to conserve human life and were designed to meet practical needs.

The last convention directed that efforts be made to secure the enactment of the following constitutional amendment:

That if the United States Supreme Court decides that an act of Congress is unconstitutional or by interpretation asserts a public policy at variance with the statutory declaration of Congress, then if Congress by a two-thirds majority repasses the law, it shall become the law of the land.

Why is there so much concern over vetoing the decisions of the Supreme Court?

There are three branches of government, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial.

Since the ratification of the constitution, by gradual encroachment the Supreme Court has assumed greater power than that exercised by either or both the legislative and executive branches of our government. The constitution provides that Congress shall enact laws but they must be approved by the president. If he vetoes them Congress can pass them over the veto by a two-thirds vote. Each house is a check on the other, the president is a check on both houses and congress itself is a check on the executive. But there is none now on the Supreme Court. It has assumed powers not given by the constitution. Why should not congress have the power to veto decisions of the Supreme Court? Is it more enlightened than the 531 representatives of the senate and house of representatives and the president? The Supreme Court is composed of nine men selected by the president, sometimes not alone for their judicial ability but for political or other reasons that are not given to the public. Five to four decisions are frequent. In a decision of the Supreme Court declaring the minimum wage law unconstitutional the following occurs:

This court, by an unbroken line of decisions from Chief Justice Marshall to the present day, has steadily adhered to the rule that every possible presumption is in favor of the validity of an act of congress until overcome beyond rational doubt.

One of the justices did not act, as before his appointment he had fought for minimum wage laws. Therefore the decisions was really five to four. On petit juries men are asked if they will find a man guilty if the evidence shows beyond a "reasonable doubt" that he is guilty. Twelve men have to cast a unanimous vote. If one man has a "reasonable doubt" which undoubtedly is a rational doubt, the case results in a mistrial. Then there will be a disagreement. If four men out of nine declare a law is constitutional there certainly is a reasonable, rational doubt that the law is not unconstitutional. Therefore, the proposal of the American Federation of Labor is that congress shall have power to reenact by a two-third's vote any law declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

For obvious reasons we recommend the amendment of Section 3, Article XI of the Constitution to read "Where there are five or more local unions" instead of "one or more."

CONVENTION CITY

Each convention decides in what city the next convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be held. Because this is binding and not subject to change, the Executive Council in making arrangement for the convention and accommodations for the delegates often finds itself where it can not get the right kind of a hall, secure its printing or hotel accommodations for delegates for reasonable rates.

In every case when a city is proposed we are promised that it has the right kind of a hall, printing facilities and that hotels will not raise rates, but very often find that these promises are not carried out.

When conditions are not satisfactory or excessive rates exacted, it should be possible to change the meeting place. Therefore, we recommend that the following words be added to Section 1 of Article III of the constitution:

"But if the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting."

1924 CONVENTION

In view of the fact that a national election for the president, vice-president, members of the house and senate, will be held in November, 1924, it seems inadvisable to hold our convention in that year at the time specified by the constitution. The energies of the officers and delegates to the convention will be required in the important work of the campaign. Under the provisions of the constitution, the convention would be held at a time when campaign activities would be at their height and the holding of a convention then would deprive the officers and delegates to the convention of the opportunity to participate in campaign activities for a period of from three to four weeks.

In view of these facts we recommend that the American Federation of Labor convention for 1924 be held during the period beginning November 17.

EVOLUTION IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

During the year there has been developed a propaganda of destructive criticism of the trade union movement, the purpose of which is to bring the movement under the control of self-seekers who have their own personal or revolutionary ends to serve. We are discussing the question at this time not because there is anything to fear from the pernicious propaganda but in order that certain facts may be brought forward that may be helpful to those who do not clearly understand the character and the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor.

The propaganda to which we refer is frankly revolutionary and has for its ultimate purpose not only the destruction of the trade union movement but the eventual overthrow of the democratic government of the United States.

Propaganda in the United States is carried on in accord with the tenets of the Red International, an organization which is completely under the domination and dictation of the Russian communist oligarchy.

The catchword of the campaign in the United States has been "amalgamation."

In accordance with the program of the Russian communist leaders, an elaborate program for the alleged "amalgamation" of various international unions has been developed and secret or semi-secret organizations have been formed within the international unions for the carrying out of that program.

That these efforts will finally prove fruitless we are sure, but confidence in their ultimate failure is not an excuse for lack of effort to prevent even moderate growth.

Our trade union movement must be maintained intact, at the highest degree of efficiency and solidarity in order most to effectively deal with the great problems with which we are confronted.

The natural amalgamation of organizations, in accordance with the proven requirements and in accordance with the desires of the organizations involved, is and has been urged and aided by the American Federation of Labor. Amalgamation or unification as a natural result of evolution is strictly in accord with the policies and philosophy of the American trade union movement.

So-called "amalgamation" against the wishes of the organizations involved,

against their interests, and in accordance with a plan evolved for the satisfaction of personal or revolutionary ends, can be regarded only with the most unrelenting hostility.

The evolutionary progress through amalgamation that has gone on within the American trade union movement is a matter of recorded history. Some of the outstanding examples are as follows:

Allied Metal Mechanics amalgamated with Machinists; Coremakers amalgamated with Molders; Amalgamated Wood Workers amalgamated with Carpenters; Steam Fitters amalgamated with Plumbers; Lasters amalgamated with Boot and Shoe Workers; the three leather workers unions amalgamated; Print Cutters and Machine Printers and Color Mixers amalgamated into United Wall Paper Crafts of North America; Amalgamated Glass Workers amalgamated with Painters; Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks and National Post Office Clerks amalgamated; Shingle Weavers amalgamated with Timber Workers; Compressed Air and Foundation Workers amalgamated with Hod Carriers; Cement Workers amalgamated with Plasterers; Tin Plate Workers amalgamated with Iron, Steel and Tin Workers; Slate and Tile Roofers amalgamated with Composition Roofers; Tip Printers amalgamated with Bookbinders.

It is important to recall that in its early history the International Typographical Union had jurisdiction over and encompassed within its membership all members of the various branches of the printing trade. By mutual consent and as the result of the demonstrated requirements of the workers in the industry there were subsequently organized the following separate international unions within the printing industry:

International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America; International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America.

At its last convention the International Typographical Union adopted a resolution urging that there be an amalgamation of all the unions in the printing trades. This was notwithstanding the early experience of the International Typographical Union which had led to separation of the various branches within the printing trade.

The resolution adopted by the International Typographical Union convention has now been acted upon by the various international unions in the printing trade and in each case it has been rejected, the various international unions insisting that the present organizations, individually and in cooperation with each other, protect and promote the rights and interests of all the workers in the industry to the fullest possible extent.

The trade union movement out of its experience and in accordance with the requirements of its membership will develop as it has in the past, along evolutionary lines, achieving results surely and steadily. It will resist to the utmost the designs of self-seekers and of the advocates of revolution. It should not be forgotten that the advocates of the revolutionary program who are seeking to bring about the destruction of the American trade union movement through their mis-called program of "amalgamation" are hostile to every guarantee of freedom which American labor holds fundamental. They are hostile to freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom of assembly. They advocate the destruction, the abrogation of the entire bill of rights upon which modern freedom is based. They repudiate democracy and proclaim without shame or hesitation their desire for the establishment of a dictatorship over the wage earners.

What is contemplated is not merely the amalgamation of various organizations which now function separately. Instead, the program is one for complete and thoroughly disastrous revolution, for the establishment of an autocracy to replace the democracy under which our present status has been achieved.

If we entertained the slightest doubt as to the conviction of the great masses of the workers of our country on this point we should be unable to express our humiliation in the face of such a portentous tragedy.

Modern democracy is not without its faults and under its protection and because of its remaining imperfections great and inexcusable injustices have been practiced. No movement has surpassed our own in warfare upon these injustices and in the effort to secure rectification of wrong. Be injustice no matter how serious, democracy does,

however, leave opportunity for the application of remedy and for the achievement ultimately of every right and of every good thing.

Workers throughout the world through all recorded time struggled to overthrow autocracy and bureaucracy as the first step toward the achievement of human rights. Anything that does not contemplate the preservation of democracy and a continuance of its opportunity and guarantees must be summarily rejected and defeated at all costs. We look with apprehension upon the treacherous and tragic untruths which are agitating workers in all lands and we feel that we can do no less than to call upon wage earners everywhere to have faith in democracy and to repudiate all that does not rest the cornerstone of its structure upon the human freedom and the human rights which are guaranteed and made effective only through democracy. We repudiate utterly and completely every suggestion and taint of autocratic character and we proclaim our purpose to defend the democratic institutions of our labor movement and of America against all incursions no matter from whence they come.

IMMIGRATION

Never in the history of the United States has there been such an insidious agitation for the repeal of all legislation enacted for the protection of the American workers, the American people and American standards. When traced to its hidden lair it is found that the propaganda emanated from the great corporations that pay the lowest wages and enjoy the highest protection of any industries in the country. Through the efforts of the Executive Council and our legislative committee the three per cent immigration law which was to expire June 30, 1923, was extended to June 30, 1924. The extension of the immigration law to June 30, 1924, was to avoid, if possible, any legislation by the last regular session of a congress which undoubtedly could not help being repudiated in the following November elections.

The wisdom of this procedure was proved in the various attempts made after congress assembled in December and until it adjourned March 4, to enact some legislation that would open the gates to unrestricted immigration. Several bills (S. 4092, S. J. Res. 252 and H. R. 13269) were introduced which would permit the admission of 50,000 refugees and every influence that could possibly be used to have them passed was brought into play. Sentiment was appealed to. Swarms of people from southern Europe rushed to localities where they would come within the quota if the laws were enacted.

Representatives of the Merchant Tailors' Association, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Bethlehem Steel Company and lobbyist J. A. Emery, who thrives on the compensation he receives from labor-baiting employers, were among those who appeared before committees of congress and asked for a law that would permit the admission of hordes of immigrants to this country. The spokesman for the Bethlehem Steel Company said that the company had to pay 36 cents an hour because there was not a sufficient number of immigrants being admitted to the country. He wanted such an excessive number of workers knocking at the gates of employment as to permit the Bethlehem Steel Company as well as all other corporations to fix a rate of wages suitable to the employers. He said that when the workers in the steel industry were receiving only 28 cents an hour they got along very well because their children were working in factories and other places.

Representatives of the American Merchant Tailors' Association said that because of compulsory education laws in the United States boys did not start to learn the tailoring trade until they were at least 14 years of age, while in Europe they began at 9 years of age or under. He wanted unrestricted immigration of skilled tailors.

Representative Johnson, chairman of the committee on immigration of the house, presented a bill reducing the quota to two per cent of the number of foreign born individuals of each nationality resident in the United States as determined by the census of 1890. In addition there were to be 400 of each nationality admitted. Under the heading, "Non-Quota Immigrants," the following were to be admitted at any time:

An immigrant who is the husband, wife, father, mother, unmarried minor child, unmarried minor brother or sister, or unmarried minor orphan niece or nephew, of a citizen of the United States who resides therein at the time of the filing of a petition.

It also provided in the non-quotas "an immigrant who is a skilled laborer, if labor of like kind unemployed can not be found in this country. The secretary of labor was to determine whether such labor was scarce upon the written application of any person interested. The seamen also objected to the bill on the ground that it would violate the provisions of the Seamen's Act. Protests were entered by the American Federation of Labor and the Conference Committee of Legislative Representatives in Washington. Chairman Johnson and Representative Raker appeared before the trade union legislative representatives in the executive chamber of the American Federation of Labor Building and urged that the bill be approved. Mr. Johnson said that he had worked faithfully to prepare a bill that would be satisfactory and that if it were not supported by labor he was through with immigration legislation.

The conference was presided over by President Gompers. It was agreed that a number of amendments should be submitted to the committee, especially to the non-quota clause, which would permit fraud, and to prevent the direct or indirect repeal of the provisions of the Seamen's Act. Under the provisions of the Johnson bill almost anyone could come into the country if a friendly citizen would make oath that he was a relative of the immigrant. The house committee on immigration refused to accept the amendments and the bill was reported to the house. Members of the house, however, finding that there were so many loopholes and snares in the bill and that there would be great opposition from labor to its passage, it was not brought to a vote. Congress will have until June 30, 1924, to enact a new immigration bill. As it is expected that the next congress will be more watchful of American interests than the last, there is hope that a proper measure will be passed.

The cry is coming from all parts of the country for the Americanization of the foreigner. According to the United States census there are 13,000,000 foreigners in the United States of which 1,500,000 can not speak English and 3,000,000 can not read or write the English language. No better time could a campaign to this end be launched than at present and its success would be made more certain by the complete restriction of immigration. Until the foreigners now in this country are assimilated there can be no success in Americanizing the citizens born in this country. Illiteracy is growing at a rapid rate. The alarming discovery made during the war of the extent of illiteracy in the United States should be a warning to those who now urge the throwing open of our ports to still greater immigration. Congress will be called upon to decide between the greed of unfair employers and the self-preservation of our people.

The Executive Council realizes the seriousness of the situation and urges that the convention in the strongest terms possible point out to congress the danger to our institutions if immigration is not restricted to a greater extent than is provided in the present law.

THE BUSINESS CYCLE AND UNEMPLOYMENT

It is a matter of no small satisfaction to the American labor movement that the United States led the world in attacking the unemployment problem from the approach of prevention. Our movement has helped to shape that policy by consistently opposing unemployment state insurance or doles. We have held that under voluntary institutions each separate vicinity must assume responsibility for its progress and its own problems. We were therefore in hearty accord with the findings of the Unemployment Conference of 1921 which placed squarely upon industries the responsibility of eliminating preventable unemployment.

That disastrous slumps in American business are not unavoidable, and that they may in a measure be prevented or at least discounted by prudent timely foresight during periods of expansion, was the conclusion reached by the Committee on Unemployment and Business Cycles, appointed by Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover.

Matthew Woll, Seventh vice-president of the American Federation of Labor represented labor on that committee. The report made public on March 1923, represents more than a year's exhaustive research into the nation's industrial, economic, and financial conditions. Its significance to the nation's future prosperity and stability, can hardly be overestimated. Helpful assistance was rendered by many public spirited men and women, as well as organizations of widely varied character. Services of great

value were contributed by the Carnegie Foundation, the National Bureau of Economic Research, the Russel Sage Foundation, the Federated American Engineering Societies, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Federation of Labor, the American Statistical Association, the Bureau of Railway Economics, the Department of Commerce and a number of other bodies.

The conference on unemployment, called in September, 1921, saw that emergency and temporary measures of relief were not sufficient; the country needed assurance that such a catastrophe would not recur. We hope to control the business cycle instead of permitting it to control industry with attendant evil of unemployment. Accordingly the responsible business men, labor leaders, and economists of the conference desired an exhaustive investigation into the whole problem of unemployment and of methods of stabilizing business and industry so as to prevent the widespread suffering caused by recurrent depressions in the so-called business cycle.

Investigation into the causes, characteristics and phenomena of these business booms and slumps, consideration of possible measures of commercial and industrial stabilization, attempted estimate of the losses, human as well as economic, due to prolonged forced unemployment of millions of the country's wage-earning men and women, suggestions leading toward the prevention of a similar disruption of the national economic fabric—these were the subjects upon which the special committee appointed by Secretary Hoover was asked to report.

The conclusions of the committee have already been fruitful. They are concerned with prevention rather than cure.

A period of industrial activity, like the present, is the time to consider and to lay plans against industrial crashes equally devastating to employer and employee. The general conclusion of the committee, as stated in the foreword by Herbert Hoover is:

Broadly, the business cycle is a constant recurrence of irregularly separated booms and slumps. As the slumps are in the main due to wastes, extravagance, speculation, inflation, overexpansion, and inefficiency in production developed during the booms, the strategic point of attack therefore, is the reduction of these evils, mainly through the provision for such current economic information as will show the signs of danger and its more general understanding and use by producers, distributors, and banks, inducing more constructive and safer policies. Furthermore, the committee has developed some constructive suggestions as to the deferment of public work and construction work of large public service corporations to periods of depression and unemployment, which while in the nature of relief from evils already created, would tend both by their subtraction from production at the peak of the boom and addition of production in the valley of depression toward more even progress of business itself.

Conditions within business itself rather than remote, outside considerations are the primary cause of the business cycle. Past cycles have shown certain common tendencies. During the up grade or period of business revival, we see a rise in the volume of manufacturing, in stock exchange prices, in commodity prices, and in demand for credit by business men and speculators. Then follow stiffening money rates, and the gradual straining of credit, with possible curtailment to speculators. At this point, we are just ready for the change. It is heralded by falling of stock exchange prices, while business wavers or continues to rise unevenly, and transportation facilities are overburdened and deliveries delayed and the apparent shortage of goods intensified by speculative buying and duplication of orders. Credit expansion nears its limit; public confidence is shaken; orders are cancelled ruthlessly; quick liquidation of inventories; sharp and irregular fall of prices; workers are laid off. The cycle ending in the depression of 1921 was unusual in the extent of the preceding expansion, in the severity of the depression, and in the amount of unemployment. During its deepest slump as many as four or five million of America's wage earners were unemployed.

Consideration of past dangers and disasters is worth while principally for the knowledge it gives, enabling us to read and interpret future danger signals.

Three of the ten recommendations of the committee are concerned with the need

for knowledge as a guide to business policies. An increase in the facilities of the Department of Commerce is also recommended and a greater degree of cooperation with that department in coordinating and extending business information. The committee also underscores the need for expansion and standardization of statistics by the Department of Labor. It urges especially periodic and prompt publication of the facts about the following key industries: Raw wool and woolen textiles, raw cotton and cotton textiles, hides and leather and shoes, iron and steel and leading fabricated products of each; zinc, lead and copper and leading products of each, and bituminous coal.

A section of great practical value discusses the use of construction work as a balance wheel for business. If all branches of our public works and the construction work of our utilities—the railways, telephones, and others—could systematically put aside financial reserves to be provided in times of prosperity for the deliberate purpose of improvement and expansion times of depression, we should not only decrease the depth of depressions but we should at the same time diminish the height of booms.

This utilization of government projects as an employment reserve, so far as possible, by which demand for labor and materials may be stimulated during depression, is now being made a part of the government's policy. To continue the investigations to find the principles and the information necessary to stabilize employment, studies will be made of some of the seasonal industries. In the first of these—the construction industry—the committee has already been organized upon which labor is represented by John Donlin, president of the Building Trades Department.

The American Construction Council which includes representatives of the American Federation of Labor, bankers, railroad men, architects, engineers, contractors, material manufacturers and dealers, bond and insurance representatives, and municipal officials, now is seeking to control construction in order to avoid a later depression.

We recommend and urge, therefore, the A. F. of L. actively participate in all endeavors now in progress and developing from them. To facilitate this plan the Federation should have available the thought and information of all labor organizations upon regularization of employment and allied problems. We recommend that provision be made for this work and all wage earners be urged to send to headquarters suggestions, criticism and information which will be helpful in developing a constructive labor policy on the reduction or the elimination of unemployment.

In addition we have no hesitancy in emphasizing the fact that the most potential factor against unemployment is the resistance against wage reductions. Wage reductions mean the abridgment of the power to purchase, to consume and to use the products of labor. Wage reductions accentuate depression and unemployment.

LEGAL INFORMATION BUREAU

The people of America are today a nation overridden and over-burdened by laws and judicial decisions based upon unwritten as well as by statutory laws. In the fiction of the law all men are presumed to know the law, yet no profession has so enlarged its hold upon the people as has the legal profession. We have not only our courts of law, we have also our equity or chancery courts which function without the rules and regulations prescribed by the legislative branch of government, which altogether too often assume to enact special legislation and protect and promote special class interests. Then, too, the power of our courts over the legislative branch of government is constantly increasing. This assumed power has reached such a point that the majesty of the law has become the sole expression of judges who assume power and authority not conferred upon them.

We have today practically forty-nine different kinds of law,—one kind for each state in the union. We have another kind of law for our federal courts, and to this may be added a special kind of law for the District of Columbia, making a total of fifty different varieties of law.

When we enter the field of equity jurisprudence we find that we have almost as many kinds of laws as we have judges. The fiction underlying our equity jurisprudence is that our equity judges are guided not so much by law as by the spirit of equity presumed to be contained in the King's conscience rephrased to meet the modern conception of the state.

Our system and variety of law have become so cumbersome, irksome, confusing and expensive and so perverse of justice that even the most forward-looking and right-thinking lawyers have come to realize the necessity of a re-statement of the law so that some semblance of order might be established out of the legal chaos.

No section of the law is more uncertain, inequitable and unjust than that relating to industrial relations. This phase of the law presents simply a maze of confusion and pitfalls. Even the highest court in the land seems to be lost and to go groping in the dark when dealing with questions affecting modern industrial conditions and relations. It applies old and worn-out economic and political doctrines to our modern system of production and distribution, and attempts to square the principles of an age of peasantry with our present day development of highly organized industrialism and commercialism.

If there is to be a re-statement of the law on industrial relations it is of the utmost importance that the various conflicting decisions of the courts be reconciled so far as possible in a manner consistent with the just and equitable demands of the workers. In this work organized labor should be accorded its proper influence and helpful cooperation.

Then, too, in the furtherance of new laws and the enactment of new legislation much effort, time and money have been spent by the organized wage-earners and sympathetic groups of people only to find later that our courts have placed erroneous constructions or interpretations upon such laws or have declared them unconstitutional. Because of these tendencies and developments the faith of the American wage-earners in our political institutions is being shaken. The workers are fast losing the essential respect for and confidence in the American judiciary.

Frequently, too, serious questions of law relating to industrial relations have been placed in the care of lawyers who are unfamiliar with the struggles of labor and the fundamentals upon which their struggles are based and the justice for which they are striving. Altogether too often have the results of the workers' long legislative struggles been placed in jeopardy by the employment of legal counsel untrained in industrial relations affairs. At times beneficial labor laws have been questioned in the courts without the American Federation of Labor having been advised of such litigation and afforded an opportunity to be helpful in advising for the defense of such laws.

Because of these grave situations, and by reason of the great beneficent good that may be derived by a coordination of Labor's legal defense, the Cincinnati convention authorized the creation of a legal information bureau. In contemplating the establishment of this bureau, the vista of duties to be performed which came to our minds might well cause anyone to hesitate to venture upon an enterprise of such gigantic proportions. Wisely, however, the convention directed that the legal information bureau, at least in its embryo state, should be confined to the purposes of "collating all laws and judicial decisions on the rights of labor, such bureau to enlist the voluntary assistance and cooperation of lawyers friendly to the cause of labor and experienced in industrial litigation."

Accordingly, we undertook the formation of the legal information bureau. We selected as its director, Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, whose legal knowledge and training, and his experience in the active field of trade unionism qualify him in an exceptional degree for this new venture of organized labor. Under his direction, supervised by the Executive Council, formative steps have been taken for the early functioning of the legal information bureau. Progress has been made in organizing a voluntary staff of lawyers who are familiar with and competent to handle litigation involving industrial relations affairs. Efforts are also under way to collect all available briefs drawn in labor cases and supplemented by subsequent decisions, these to be kept up to date and indexed. It is the purpose of the legal information bureau to prepare briefs from time to time on all important subjects affecting the rights and interests of labor and also to prepare briefs on all new questions that may arise. It is intended later that the bureau shall secure so far as possible favorable constructions of new legislation and to prepare criticisms of decisions and by publication seek to arouse a public opinion and form a public demand for legislation and judicial decisions helpful and favorable to labor and therefore for the promotion of the common good.

The legal information bureau functions only in an advisory capacity; it can not possibly undertake the active defense of labor's rights whenever menaced before the courts. This is a matter entirely within the care of the affiliated unions. It is the purpose of the bureau wherever possible to assist the attorneys selected by the trade unions and then only when the fundamental rights of labor are involved or favorable labor and social legislation is challenged in the courts. To accomplish this purpose, successfully, the full, hearty and complete cooperation of all affiliated unions is essential. It is only through such cooperation that a complete and effective record can be kept of all industrial litigation involving the rights and interests of the wage earners. Unfortunately the Cincinnati convention in authorizing the formation of the legal information bureau, did not provide adequate means to place the bureau upon an efficient and proficient advisory working basis. Unless ample funds are provided, the legal information bureau can only function to the limited degree that existing revenues will permit. This convention should therefore manifest the degree of interest it entertains as to the great value and unlimited possibilities of this new enterprise and to that degree, the legal information bureau in an advisory capacity be able to serve the needs and requirements of the men and women of labor in their defense whenever our movement is challenged in our courts of law or by our courts of equity.

BANKING AND CREDITS

The Executive Council in its report to the Cincinnati Convention recorded the results of its investigation in a rather extensive form. In it the Executive Council dealt at length with the tendency of trade unions to enter the field of banking as an effective balance to check the manipulation of credits and of banking facilities against the best interests of the wage-earners and the trade union movement.

The Executive Council pointed out that trade unions could as easily enter the banking business as they could undertake to operate a factory, a printing office or any other business enterprise. It also made clear that the formation of labor banks could not possibly operate as a remedy for the economic injustices and industrial unrighteousness which find expression on every hand. Indeed, the most effective instrumentality and the greatest hope for progress and advancement of the great mass of the wage-earners is the trade union movement. At best trade union banks can only aid the wage-earners in this work.

The Executive Council in its report further distinguished between banks established and controlled by one particular trade union and its members and those undertaken by an unlimited number of trade unions and members thereof. It expressed the opinion that where such banks are undertaken by a single organization and its members only a very few of the larger affiliated organizations could venture into such an enterprise with any degree of safety. It called attention to the dangers to the continued welfare and prosperity of the trade union organizations by the conversion of all of their funds or an undue portion thereof into permanent and fixed investments not subject to quick liquidation whenever an emergency might arise. The Executive Council therefore urged care and caution and believed a further experience of existing trade union banks essential before indicating the advisability or desirability of instituting additional institutions of this kind.

The Cincinnati convention directed the Executive Council to make a further investigation of banking institutions conducted by trade unions particularly for the purpose of securing the cooperation of all affiliated international unions, the railroad brotherhoods, other organizations of labor and of farmers in the establishment of a central bank at Washington, D. C. Having caused this subject to be investigated the Executive Council has reached the conclusion that such a proposal at this time is not only impracticable but undesirable.

Unquestionably, there is a growing desire on the part of the trade unions and their members to enter into the business of pooling their funds and savings to attract to themselves the additional earning power of their moneys and to balance the credit power now exercised by employing interests.

At the time of the preparation of this report practically twenty-three labor banks are either doing business or are about ready for business. In addition about twenty more

such banks are now in the process of organization. Practically each of these institutions while fundamentally directed to the same purpose, varies in some degree either in form of organization or in policies to be pursued and methods to be adopted. It must be apparent, therefore, that any attempt to co-ordinate the activities of these labor banking institutions through a central bank situated in Washington, D. C., presents practical as well as legal and financial obstacles. In addition, any attempt to interfere with the definite policies and form of organization of existing and prospective institutions will be resented and prove harmful. If there is to be coordination and cooperation of effort between these banking institutions of trade unions, such a relationship can only come by future development arising out of a further experience and better understanding of those engaged in these banking activities.

We can not pass from the discussion of banking without once more calling attention to the vital question of credit. Banking and credit are as inseparable as life and air. We have said in previous reports that while credit is the life blood of modern business, it is not now administered in such a way as to serve primarily the needs of production. Credit as now administered too often increases unearned incomes at the expense of earned incomes and constitutes a burden upon necessary industry.

We have pointed out the ideal of credit administration through a public agency. We feel constrained to point out that no appreciable progress toward that end has been recorded, but we can not but feel gratified at the great interest aroused by our analysis and our proposal.

Through the growing number of labor banks some progress toward the ideal may be made. Most progress consists of a compromise between conditions and the ideal. Labor banks are much nearer to the masses of the people than are the institutions of what is commonly called Wall Street; and they are more responsive to fundamental needs.

As banks, we look upon these institutions as helpful, even though they constitute no remedy. They may force remedies for some of the more glaringly inexcusable exploitations of the banking and financial world. If, through the development of relations between labor banks on sound lines, there can come into being a credit administration in the interests of productive effort, in the interests of true human progress, in the interests of service to society, we shall have reason to look upon labor banking as having the character of a truly fundamental step in advance.

If there is hope to be seen in the development of labor banking institutions we feel that it must be through the development of a great agency for the constructive administration of credit.

TRADE UNION LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

The wisdom of bringing the trade union legislative representatives in Washington together at stated intervals to confer on legislation before congress has been clearly demonstrated.

Since the organization of the conference committee of trade union legislative representatives on May 26, 1921, Labor has been unusually successful in defeating much pernicious legislation and at the same time has prevented the repeal of remedial legislation.

When it is understood that there were over 20,000 bills introduced in the last congress and each had to be thoroughly analyzed the necessity for united effort on the part of the trade union legislative representatives is apparent. From thirty to forty members attend each meeting and each bill which directly or indirectly affects labor is considered exhaustively. Sometimes there is quite a difference in opinion as to the provisions of a bill and they are thrashed out until whatever action is taken is unanimous. This very fact proves the necessity for such an organization.

Before the conference committee was organized the various legislative representatives worked haphazard. Each decided for himself what was best to do. Now when any bill of importance is being considered in congress the legislative representatives work unitedly, thereby gaining results that under the old method could not be accomplished. They visit individual members of the house and senate and attend hearings. The very fact that so many are actively working along the same line has its influence.

The members of the Executive Council have read with deep interest the minutes of the meetings of the conference committee and are pleased with what has been done. Whenever representatives of national or international unions are sent to Washington to urge legislation of benefit to their respective organizations they automatically become members of the conference committee and receive the unanimous aid of the members. The Executive Council desires that the officers of all national and international unions should keep in close touch with the conference committee's work.

A. F. OF L. NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

The belief expressed by the Executive Council in its report to the Cincinnati convention that the national non-partisan political campaign of the American Federation of Labor would be a success in 1922 became a fact. It was a most remarkable campaign as it was the first time in many years that alleged political labor parties failed to make much of an impression on the result. This was most convincing evidence that where Labor will unite on a non-partisan political program there is no doubt of the certainty of success. As reported at the last convention the non-partisan campaign began in the fall of 1921. Circulars were sent to all national, international, local unions, and state and city central bodies outlining plans to elect public officials who had been true to labor and the people and to defeat those who had proved untrue to them. Due to the favorable results of the campaign the Executive Council believes that it should report some of the correspondence that did so much to bring about the desired result. On May 1, 1922, too late to be incorporated in the report to the Cincinnati convention, a circular was sent to all organizations of labor affiliated directly or indirectly to the American Federation of Labor as follows:

To All Organized Labor—Greetings:

The primaries this year will largely determine whether misrule shall hold sway for another two years or more in congress and state legislatures or whether the people will be represented by those who believe in progress and even-handed justice.

All hope of remedial legislation of a really constructive nature by the present congress was lost months ago. Subsidies for railroads and shipowners, relieving the well-to-do from taxation by placing the burden through a sales tax on those least able to bear it, remission of fines for food profiteers, adding to the number of judges in order to make the jobs more worth while and the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes more easy, have constituted the ruling passion of the reactionaries in congress. At the same time reactionaries just as active have held the reins in state legislatures, some of which have attempted to pass legislation as vicious as that in which congress has been interested.

It is therefore most imperative that the wage earners of our country awaken to the serious dangers ahead. It will require the greatest unity of action and determination to defeat those who, because of their lack of regard for the interests of the people, will have all the antagonistic, reactionary forces united in their support.

Upon the shoulders of those who control legislation must rest responsibility for the present unemployment. Through no fault of their own more than 5,000,000 wage earners are idle. They are all willing and anxious to work but they can not find work. The same influences that are striving to break down the standards of labor have also chosen as victims the farmers of our country. Not only are the wage earners crying for relief but the farmers have their backs to the wall and are just as earnestly and insistently demanding of congress to do something to save them from bankruptcy.

The American Federation of Labor non-partisan political campaign committee therefore appeals to all organized labor and to all justice-loving citizens without regard to political party affiliations to unite to defeat those who have proved false to the people, and to support those who have proved by their public acts that they will work and vote for no legislation that will injure the many in order to benefit the privileged few.

The injunction abuse with its attending contempt proceedings has become so

flagrant that even a judge here and there has called attention to attending dangers. Members of the United States senate have declared in open session that federal courts (except the U. S. Supreme Court) should be abolished as they are not only duplicating the work of the state courts, but are definitely recognized as "rich men's courts." Hon. William H. Taft, now chief justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, has declared there is "no more important question than the improvement of the administration of justice," and to accomplish that end he advised:

We must make it so the poor man will have as nearly as possible an equal opportunity in litigating as the rich man, and under the present conditions, ashamed as we may be of it, this is not a fact.

The president of the Carnegie foundation in the introduction to a report on "Justice and the Poor," said:

The very existence of free government depends upon making the machinery of justice so effective that the citizens of a democracy shall believe in its impartiality and fairness.

The chief justice of the municipal courts of Chicago also adds this warning:

When litigation is too costly the result for most persons is a denial of justice. Such denial or partial denial of justice engenders social and commercial friction. The sense of helplessness this causes incites citizens to take the law into their own hands. It causes crimes of violence. It saps patriotism and destroys civic pride. It arouses jealousy and breeds contempt for law and government.

These warnings, however, failed to appeal to a West Virginia federal judge. He granted an injunction which forbade not only the lawful right of the workers to organize but evicted several thousand boycotted and nearly destitute men, women and children from their homes. Judges in the fifteenth century did not assume more arbitrary power.

Then there is the persistent demand of unfair employers that involuntary servitude should be once more established in the United States. This is to be brought about by compulsory labor laws, which would compel men and women in industry to work for whatever their employers are willing they shall have or be imprisoned. Every effort has been made to prohibit the normal activities of labor. Such laws would make wage earners the wards of their employers and they would no longer be free men and free women.

The people are permitted no voice on the most important issues that come before congress and the state legislatures. This was most flagrantly demonstrated in the passage of the Volstead prohibition enforcement act. Believing that this should be called to the attention of the people the Executive Council issued a statement on February 25, 1922, as follows:

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:

The American Federation of Labor, as the spokesman of the unorganized as well as the organized toilers, having in mind the interest and the welfare of our people, decided by unanimous vote in its convention held in Denver, in June, 1921, that the Volstead enforcement act must be modified so as to promote the manufacture and sale of beer and light wines.

Before this decision was reached the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. had caused to be made an exhaustive investigation of the effects of the Volstead act. It was shown by this investigation that there had been:

1. A general disregard of the law among all classes of people including those who made the law.
2. Creation of thousands of moonshiners among both country and city dwellers.
3. The creation of an army of bootleggers.

4. An amazing increase in the traffic in poisons and deadly concoctions and drugs.

5. An increased rate of insanity, blindness and crime among the users of these concoctions and drugs.

6. Increase in unemployment due to loss of employment by workers in forty-five industries directly or indirectly connected with the manufacture of liquors.

7. Increase in taxes to city, state and national governments amounting to approximately one thousand million dollars per year.

Having in mind these results of the extreme interpretation of the prohibition amendment contained in the Volstead act, as well as the enormous expense of the attempt to enforce that unenforceable legislation, it is our conclusion that the act is an improper interpretation of the prohibition amendment, that it is a social and a moral failure, and that it is a dangerous breeder of discontent and of contempt for all law.

Something of the economic effect of the Volstead law may be seen by considering the fact that in 1918, according to government statistics, \$110,000,000 worth of farm products were consumed by breweries, and that the transportation of these products to the manufacturer and thence to the consumer necessitated the use of 133,666 railroad cars. In addition to this, breweries in operation in 1918 consumed 50,000 carloads of coal. It must be obvious that the total economic effect of the destruction of this industry is tremendous.

The American Federation of Labor always has been the advocate of law and order and always has endeavored to create conditions which would make possible the highest type of citizenship.

We do not protest against the eighteenth amendment to the constitution which now is a part of the fundamental law of the land. We do not protest against the principle established by the eighteenth amendment. It is our contention that the eighteenth amendment under a reasonable and proper legislative interpretation would be beneficial to our country and would have the support of the great majority of our people.

The eighteenth amendment, however, under the present drastic and unreasonable legislative interpretation has a destructive and deteriorating effect and influence in every direction.

We seek no violation of the eighteenth amendment but on the contrary, we declare for a reasonable interpretation of that amendment in order that the law may be enforceable and enforced, and in order that the people of our country may not suffer from an unjust and fanatical interpretation of the constitution.

We urge, therefore, that all citizens in every walk of life demand from their representatives and senators in Washington immediate relief from the unwarranted restriction contained in the Volstead act; and we likewise suggest to the citizenship of our country the wisdom and advisability of bearing in mind the attitude toward this issue of office-holders and aspirants to office in coming elections in order that there may be restored to the people the lawful use of wholesome beer and light wines, which, under the provisions of the eighteenth amendment, can and should be rightfully declared as non-intoxicating beverages.

It is to the issues hereinabove presented that the people of our country must direct their activities. If they do not replace the present members of congress and the state legislatures who have brought on these conditions they will have another two years of struggle and sacrifice.

Therefore, the American Federation of Labor non-partisan political campaign committee directs the attention of the wage earners and their sympathizers to two principles that should be followed in the campaign. These are:

No freedom-loving citizen should vote for a candidate who will not pledge himself to oppose any form of compulsory labor law.

No justice-loving citizen should vote for a candidate for any office who will not pledge himself to oppose injunctions and contempt proceedings as a substitute for trial by jury.

Let your slogans be:

No judge-made laws.
 Abolish the injunction abuse.
 Make justice blind in fact as well as in theory.
 Amendments to the constitution of the United States should guarantee rights, not take them away.
 No compulsory labor laws.
 No sales tax.
 No wage earners or farmers to be enslaved.
 No subsidies for the privileged few.
 No remission of fines to food profiteers.

These issues, upon all of which depend the future of our republic, should be discussed with the organizations of farmers.

Whatever injures labor injures the farmer.
 Whatever benefits labor benefits the farmer.

Whatever is for the interest of labor and the farmer is for the best interest of all the people except the privileged few. We urge you to be up and doing. The democracy of our republic must be maintained by labor and the farmers and all others who believe in good government.

By authority and direction of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SAML. GOMPERS,
 FRANK MORRISON,
 JAS. O'CONNELL,
*Executive Committee,
 National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.*

August 14, 1922, a circular was sent to all organizers of the American Federation of Labor to energize their activity. It was in part as follows:

We have much to fight against. We have much to fight for.

The success of our efforts will depend as much upon the organizers of the A. F. of L. as upon any other representatives of the trade union movement.

We want you to keep us informed of the political conditions in your locality. Send in frequent reports. Do not hesitate to give all the facts in your possession. What has been done in Indiana, in North Dakota, in Iowa and other states can be done in your respective states if you will give your whole heart and soul to the work.

You are fighting for the cause of humanity. You are fighting for progress and against reaction. Be alert. Be aggressive. Be faithful to labor and the people. Let it be said after the elections in November that there is not an organizer in the United States who did not show results. Whatever success you may have will not be for yourself alone. It will bring happiness and hope to all those benefited by your activities.

In October just before the election circular letters were sent to all labor organizations in the United States. Special circulars also were prepared for each state giving the records of senators. Where congressmen at large were to be elected they were also included. To each congressional district the records of the respective congressmen were also sent. The circulars pointed out the necessity for united action and contained the following:

This is a most crucial time in the history of our country and it is most necessary that the wage-earners and all liberty-loving citizens awaken to the

dangers ahead if the elections in November are in favor of reaction. The reactionaries are running mad in demanding legislation most abhorrent to the people of a free country. Included in the proposed legislation are:

Compulsory labor, which means that the wage earners must work for wages, hours and under any conditions that may be determined by governmental court or board. In fact, they propose involuntary servitude in this land of the free.

Giving jurisdiction to federal courts over matters strictly within the jurisdiction of the state courts.

The enactment of legislation in support of the nation-wide injunction issued despite the constitution and laws of the land by a newly appointed federal judge in Chicago on the application of the attorney general of the United States who was instrumental in his selection.

Establishment of a sales tax, which would relieve the well to do from taxation and place the burden upon those least able to bear it.

Granting millions of dollars in ship subsidies to political friends while at the same time refusing to recompense soldiers and sailors who offered the supreme sacrifice.

The destruction of the direct primary system so that candidates for public office will be selected by boss-ruled conventions.

Through the activities of the American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, as directed by the Executive Council twenty-three candidates for United States senators who had been loyal to Labor and the people were elected and eleven reactionary senators defeated. Of the friendly senators elected eighteen were democrats and five republicans. Of the candidates for representatives 170 were elected either because directly supported by the A. F. of L. national non-partisan political campaign committees or by reason of the opposition to their opponents. Of these 105 were democrats, sixty-three republicans, one farmer-labor and one independent. The slogan that led to victory was:

Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them. Oppose our enemies and defeat them; whether they be candidates for congress or other offices; whether executive, legislative, or judicial.

After the result of the election was known the national non-partisan political campaign committee sent out the following circular November 22:

During the year 1921, the A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee by direction of the Executive Council began to plan for the elections in 1922. It was believed that frequent communications with all labor organizations would be the means of stirring the membership to the necessary enthusiasm to bring about results when the time came for them to select candidates either in the primaries or elections.

In December, 1921, by authority and direction of the Executive Council, circular letters were sent to all state federations and city central bodies warning the wage-earners of the country of the reactionary forces that were guiding legislation. All organizations in their respective localities were urged to appoint legislative committees to keep a record of the votes on measures of interest to labor by members of their respective state legislatures. These committees were advised that during the then forthcoming political campaign they could become non-partisan political campaign committees to further the interests of labor and the people. They were also informed that the records of all members of congress in their respective states or districts would be sent them when the campaign opened.

Printed reports on legislation before congress under the heading, "What Congress is Doing or Not Doing," were sent to all colleges, state federations, city central bodies, all councils of our departments and to the Labor Press.

March 8, 1922, circular letters were sent to all state federations of labor and city central bodies in which it was urged that all municipal and state

non-partisan political campaign committees should become more active than ever. They were advised to hold mass meetings and to confer with farmer and other organizations of liberty-loving people for the purpose of acting in harmony in the primaries and on election day.

April 4, 1922, another circular was addressed to all organizations of labor informing them that it was vital to the protection of labor's interest and welfare that a vigorous campaign be conducted to place in the national congress and the state legislatures men who, without regard to party affiliation, would serve the dictates of justice and not the autocratic domination of the exploiting interests. This was followed by a circular being sent to all organizations of labor on May 1, 1922, calling attention to the fact that every energy should be used in the primaries to nominate members of congress and the state legislatures who believed in progress and even-handed justice. Encouraging reports were received from many of these committees.

On July 29, 1922, a special circular was sent to nearly 40,000 non-partisan political campaign committees outlining what should be done to make the campaign a success and in which they were urged to give as wide publicity as possible to the following principles:

"No freedom-loving citizen should vote for any candidate who will not pledge himself to oppose any form of compulsory labor law."

"No justice-loving citizen should vote for any candidate for any office who will not pledge himself to oppose injunctions and contempt proceedings as a substitute for trial by jury."

"No freedom-loving citizen should vote for any candidate who will not pledge himself to vote for legislation abolishing child labor."

Early in the year conferences were held with the representatives in Washington of the various farmers' organizations. These were very helpful in reaching an understanding as to many of the candidates. During the campaign the committee was repeatedly asked by the farmers if certain candidates for congress were acceptable to labor as they did not wish to endorse anyone unfriendly to labor or oppose those friendly to labor. A remarkable feature of this questioning, as to legislative records, showed that in every instance the farmers were supporting or were willing to support the same candidates as labor. The committee feels that this cooperation will continue to a greater extent in the future.

A situation arose in Iowa which required your committee to take some action to endeavor to secure the nomination of some outstanding man for the primaries for the United States senator from that state. Representative Sweet of Iowa announced his candidacy. Mr. Smith W. Brookhart, a man of sterling qualities, sympathetic to the cause of labor and justice, announced his candidacy. It was exceedingly difficult, by reason of the fact of the excellent record of both Mr. Sweet and Mr. Brookhart and in addition because Mr. Brookhart had made such a wonderful showing in his candidacy against Senator Cummins in 1920, to choose between them. It was understood before the election that whichever one received the nomination he would in turn receive the hearty support of the other.

Many of the conferences with members of congress or candidates were held by the committee or the chairman concerning the attitude of labor toward certain candidates.

In the meantime hundreds of letters from individuals were answered on all phases of the political campaign. Officials of labor in Kansas were urged to begin a campaign to defeat supporters of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations act. Arizona was voting on amendments to the constitution that should be defeated. Nebraska had a referendum vote on an amendment to the constitution permitting the legislature to pass compulsory labor laws. Missouri, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and other states were also taking referendum votes on questions pertaining to labor. Illinois was preparing for a vote December 12 on a new constitution which disfranchised thousands of voters in Cook county by limiting their representation in the legislature.

This necessitated much correspondence. Circulars have been sent to all state federations of labor asking for the result of the referendum votes.

While this agitation began to show results, up to August 14 eighteen states had held their primaries and the outcome was most encouraging.

August 14 and 24 additional circulars were sent to 2,400 organizers of the American Federation of Labor and of its various departments. These directed the organizers to visit the various central bodies and local unions inform them of the dangers ahead if the wage-earners and all other liberty-loving people were not awakened to the situation.

During September, 1922, the individual records of every member of the United States senate and house of representatives were brought down to date and sent to all central bodies and nearly 40,000 local unions in the respective states and districts. Special circulars were also prepared for each state, which were sent to all central bodies and local unions. These circulars pointed out the legislation which reaction had prepared for passage in the forthcoming session of congress. They also called special attention to the attitude toward labor of members of the senate.

During the primary and election campaigns, organizers were active in North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Colorado, New York, New Jersey, Indiana, California, Idaho, Washington and Pennsylvania. Special circulars were sent into Nevada in the interest of Senator Pittman, to Wyoming in the interest of Senator Kendrick, to Minnesota in opposition to Senator Kellogg, to Wisconsin in favor of Senator LaFollette, to New York state for the purpose of organizing non-partisan political campaign committees to oppose Governor Miller, Senator Calder and other antagonists of labor.

The Publicity Department of the American Federation of Labor was very helpful in spreading broadcast the principles of Labor and in acquainting the voters with the issues at stake. Never in the history of the non-partisan movement has there been such activities among central bodies, local unions and individual members.

Applications by unions and individuals for legislative records of members of congress on measures of interest to labor were received in great number and promptly complied with.

The members of the committee took an active part in public addresses and in conferences during the campaign. President Gompers attended the American Legion convention in New Orleans, and spoke in New Jersey and Connecticut. At the same time he held numerous conferences in the cities he visited during the primary and election campaigns and consulted and advised with the officials of labor as to candidates. He wrote many articles for the *American Federationist* bearing upon the political situation and the necessity of the people to safeguard their interest by being sure to vote only for those who by their past records demonstrated that they would faithfully carry out the wishes of the people. Statements for the press on political and labor questions were frequently written by him and received wide publicity.

Just before election an article entitled "The Bugle Call," was issued by the committee. It was printed in a great majority of the daily papers, in the entire Labor Press and the *American Federationist*.

The committee is confident in asserting that many of the tremendous victories secured in the recent elections are due to the non-partisan political campaign carried into effect by us and by the rank and file of the labor movement.

In Minnesota, labor supported Mr. Shipstead, independent candidate for senator. Although the Democrats had a candidate, Mr. Shipstead was successful over Senator Kellogg. We held a number of conferences and wrote many letters to Minnesota labor officials in an endeavor to have the situation cleared in that state by the withdrawal of the democratic candidate.

In Washington, Mr. James A. Duncan was nominated for the United States senate. President Gompers in a letter to Mr. Duncan, the labor can-

didate, informed him that his candidacy was apt to draw enough votes away from Mr. Dill, the Democratic candidate, to permit the election of Mr. Poindexter and suggested that Mr. Duncan withdraw. He refused to do so. This correspondence will be printed in the *American Federationist* for December. The vote given Mr. Duncan, however, was not large enough to reelect Senator Poindexter. Your committee believes that no individual member of the labor movement should allow himself to be forced into a political contest which would result in the election of a bitter and relentless antagonist to labor.

The result in Kansas was a victory for labor. A conference of representatives of all labor organizations in Kansas was called by the committee to meet in Emporia, September 18, 1922, to arrange for a campaign that would defeat all candidates in favor of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations act. As a result of that conference, Governor Allen's candidate for governor was defeated by an avowed opponent of the act.

The election of Mr. G. W. P. Hunt as governor of Arizona was also a victory for labor. By letters and telegrams from us we were very helpful in the election of Mr. Hunt. The election of Mr. Smith as governor of New York was heartily supported by the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee. The elections of Mr. J. J. Blaine for governor of Wisconsin, Mr. A. Victor Donahey for governor of Ohio, Mr. Fred H. Brown for governor of New Hampshire, Mr. Wm. H. Flynn for governor of Rhode Island, Mr. William E. Sweet for governor of Colorado, and Mr. J. J. Scrugham for governor of Nevada, were also the result of labor's activities.

Early in the campaign the committee sent circular letters to all national and international unions requesting that they urge the local unions in each state to give all the assistance within their power to the non-partisan campaign. Much correspondence followed and labor in the various states was organized effectively to enter the primary and election campaign.

At a meeting of the New York State Federation of Labor, President Gompers mentioned former Governor Smith as the next governor of New York. The sentiment expressed in that convention set the state aflame for Smith. The enormous majority he received demonstrates conclusively that he had the solid support of labor and the forward-looking citizenship.

The election of Mr. J. C. Walton as governor of Oklahoma was another victory for the wage earners. They had joined with the farmers and made an excellent campaign for the progressive candidate for governor. The reelection of Governor Blaine in Wisconsin was the result of his progressive administration. He was heartily supported by labor.

One of the pleasant surprises of the campaign was the many requests made before and after the primary election of members of the United States senate and house of representatives for their legislative records on measures of interest to labor.

The committee was very active in the primary campaign which resulted in the defeat of a number of anti-labor members of Congress. Among them were Senators New and McCumber and Representatives Campbell and Copley. It was believed that the greater agitation for acceptable candidates in the primaries the more interest would there be in the elections. While the newspapers were daily printing statements that there seemed to be no interest being taken in the campaign in the various states the correspondence received by the committee proved otherwise.

Much attention was given to the determination of the politicians to destroy the direct primary system in some of the states. Organizers were active in Idaho to help in defeating a plan to destroy the direct primary. This question was called to the attention of the labor organizations in all states. President Gompers also wrote a letter to Senator Borah which was used in the campaign. It now said that the abolishment of the direct primaries for state officials helped to defeat both Governor Miller and Senator Calder and resulted in the election of Governor Smith and Dr. Copeland. The people

are aroused in the primaries and have more interest in the election. Early in the year the publicity bureau of the national republican party began criticizing the American Federation of Labor and labor generally. Undoubtedly it was believed that the propaganda spread against labor since the armistice had been so effective that any attack on labor would discredit those whom labor supported. Instead, the propaganda aroused the wage earners to the dangers of reelecting the present members of congress.

Some confusion was caused by the distribution of legislative records of members of congress that appeared to be sent out in the interest of organized labor. However, these records were not intended to apply to strictly labor questions but to issues which were said to affect the whole people. The influence of the American labor movement was so effective that misunderstandings were soon eliminated.

While a report was made to the Executive Council and to the American Federation of Labor convention held in Cincinnati on the activities of the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee up to that time it was deemed best to include that portion in the full report of what was done during the entire primary and election campaigns. The result has been gratifying.

The lack of funds proved a hindrance in sending out as many speakers as it was hoped to the various states. Too much credit can not be given to the rank and file of the labor movement and to the volunteer organizers, all of whom contributed much to the successes above recorded. Most of the meager funds at our disposal were utilized in the printed word.

The A. F. of L. is most fortunately situated to be of service, not only to labor but to the high aspirations of the masses of our people. Our international unions, state federations, city central bodies, their non-partisan legislative committees and our organizers are permanent bodies through whom may be conveyed the necessary activities in order that the rights and welfare of the masses of our country may be protected and promoted not only upon the economic but also political field. We can not too highly commend the spirit of solidarity and activity so excellently displayed.

For our part, we may also add that we gave every effort within our power to contribute to the accomplishment of the results both in the primaries and the recent elections.

Your committee recommends that it be authorized in the name of the Executive Council to endeavor to bring about cooperation of all labor and progressive organizations and groups so that there may be unity of action to protect and promote the rights and interests of the working people and the people generally.

SAML. GOMPERS,
FRANK MORRISON,
JAS. O'CONNELL,

Executive Committee,

A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.

It has been suggested, and wisely, that state federations of labor would have more influence on federal legislation if they took a more active interest in congressional elections. In the past most of the state federations have confined their efforts almost exclusively to the election of members of their respective legislatures. The Executive Council believes that if the state federations would take a more active interest in flooding the various congressional districts of the state with literature furnished by the A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee it would increase their influence when supporting legislation under consideration by congress.

While the non-partisan campaign brought many victories to labor and the people the A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee was hampered by the lack of necessary funds. In many districts more effective work could have been done were sufficient funds available. The convention should consider this phase of the non-partisan campaign and devise some method by which during the elections of

1924 a most thorough campaign can be inaugurated and carried to a successful conclusion. It would be dangerous not to give this subject the most careful consideration, as failure to finance the next campaign will make it possible for the reactionaries to gain their ends through insidious propaganda that could not be counteracted.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

The decision of the United States Supreme Court invalidating the Minimum Wage Law for the District of Columbia has weakened and perhaps eliminated the protection which wage earning women had received from legislation of that character. Minimum wage laws of various types for women workers have been enacted in twelve states which affected the wage standards of one million, five hundred thousand women. To take counsel on the serious situation resulting through the initiative of wage earning women a conference was called composed of representatives of organizations directly interested.

Twenty-seven organizations participated in that meeting in which the American Federation of Labor was represented by President Gompers, Vice-President Matthew Woll and Secretary Morrison. The conference urged that earnest consideration be given to helping women to organize in trade unions for protection and for the development of their economic power in furtherance of constructive industrial ideals and authorized the appointment of a permanent committee to study the following legislative proposals:

- (1) Restriction of power of the United States Supreme Court. All proposed methods to be studied.
- (2) Amendment of the federal constitution for the broad purpose of insuring protection of social legislation and the rights of labor.
- (3) Amendment of the federal constitution which will give to the states and congress the power to enact minimum wage legislation.
- (4) Minimum wage statutes to come within the limits of the Supreme Court decision.

The organization of the study committee is now in progress and the Federation is participating in the undertaking. That part of the problem of women in industry which is exclusively a labor problem should have our most serious consideration. The A. F. of L. has consistently maintained that the only agency in which wage earning women could place absolute confidence is economic organization. Irrespective of any legislative program that may be endorsed, we feel that the fundamental problem at present time is a special undertaking to more thoroughly develop ways and means of organizing women workers.

It is now a demonstrated fact that women are permanently in industry as wage earners. As a consequence of the development of factory production, home-work has been revolutionized. Food and clothing that were formerly prepared or made in the home are now made in factories. In addition to highly organized industry as a causal factor, many women are under the necessity of earning a living or themselves and those dependent upon them. Women as a group and as individuals have been broadening woman's sphere of activity until there are few callings which are not open to them generally or into which a few individuals have not entered. Our census figures show a large increase in the number of women wage earners.

In 1910, 8,075,772 women were gainfully employed; in 1920, 8,549,511. The changing proportions in the groupings according to occupation is even more significant than the numerical increase as it indicates women' entrance into professions and industrial callings requiring high skill.

Women workers are permanent members of our various industries and have been notably increasing in numbers. Unorganized they constitute a menace to standards established through collective action. Not only for their protection but for the protection of men in the industries they should be organization of all within the industry. Because there are special problems of procedure in this field as well as problems of method, we recommend that the president of the A. F. of L. call a conference of officials of such organizations as are particularly concerned with the problem of organizing women wage earners in order that a more thorough organizing campaign be planned and inaugurated.

KANSAS INDUSTRIAL LAW DISMEMBERED

When ex-Governor Allen of Kansas was advocating his Industrial Court law, the American Federation of Labor immediately protested against the creation of a judicial body charged with powers and duties that virtually deprived the American wage earners of the equal rights and opportunities with all other classes and groups of citizens. Throughout the life of the Kansas Industrial Court law and the campaign to extend this extra judicial power over industrial relations, the American labor movement made known the dangers involved from an economic as well as social and political point of view.

During that period we had much of the interests of the "third" party to every labor contract and the "public weal and welfare" was never more adroitly exploited than in the campaign of the proponents of ex-Governor Allen's scheme to impose compulsory labor under the pretense of insuring industrial peace by subjection of the workers of America to the whim and lash of his extra-judicial body.

Organized labor's attitude was denounced a "un-American" and its leaders were stigmatized as narrow-minded, class-selfish and disregardful for the safety and well being of the American people.

Passing through the weird cycle of judicial procedure the Kansas Industrial Court law formally came for review before the United States Supreme Court and on June 11, 1923, the Supreme Court sustained the objections which organized labor had voiced against this law. The United States Supreme Court did not declare the entire act unconstitutional. By judicial interpretation and construction and by its actual decision it did declare null and void the very life blood of this law as being in conflict with constitutional safeguards.

While the decision of the Supreme Court does not apply to the entire act it does restrict the activities and work of the Kansas Court so as to make that court practically inoperative. It likewise restores the right and freedom to the wage earners of Kansas to organize and to bargain collectively in their own way and to stop work collectively whenever they feel themselves justified in so doing.

Kansas once again is heading toward freedom and will have attained complete freedom when every vestige of this law, attempting to impose involuntary servitude upon a free people, shall have been wiped off the statute books. In view of the decision of the Supreme Court the only purpose now being served by the remnants of ex-Governor Allen's law is to provide jobs for his political appointees on this court and to squander the money of the tax-payers of Kansas. Governor Davis of Kansas is to be commended for his effort to annul this law for involuntary servitude and his desire to wipe it out completely now in order to save the money of the tax-payers.

While we are gratified that our years of effort and opposition against this form of legislation have not been in vain and while the decision of the United States Supreme Court gives cause for vindication of labor's attitude, it is difficult nevertheless to agree with the reasoning followed by the Supreme Court in its decision because the power and authority that are held to be unconstitutional when exercised by the legislature are nevertheless affirmed as constitutional when exercised by the court. Thus the United States Supreme Court has arrogated to itself the right to determine for the people whether a business is public or otherwise. Then too it has arrogated to itself the right to declare and prescribe the circumstances under which one man under the freedom of contract doctrine may cease employment, but may not advise others to join with him in the cessation of such employment.

The right to free contract, the right to work or not to work, the right to advise or not to advise someone to join with another in the doing of such things marks the boundary line between slavery and freedom.

Our courts have altogether too much power, a power self-assumed and self-asserted until we have become a judiciary ruled country. It is not to be found in any of the documents of our nation but rises out of the strength of the personnel of the court. The stronger always win; hence, the personnel of the Supreme Court must either be made up of those who interpret democracy as democracy demands, or else the personnel of the other branches of government must be filled with men stronger than the personnel of the Supreme Court, that the several rights and powers of these coordinate branches

which have been unbalanced in favor of the Supreme Court may again balance equally.

Free labor permits of no exception. Whether the same be in public or private service, whether the laborer act as an individual or en masse, any interpretation whether by courts or legislature that denies labor in the singular or plural (fundamental rights do not rest on grammar—those rights were born long before grammar was invented) to work or not to work as he or they will is a contravention of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of contract, a violation of the very first precept of the fundamental right of free men.

PATENT LAWS AND PRACTICES

There was submitted to our Cincinnati convention Resolution No. 102, calling upon the Executive Council to have patent laws and practices investigated and upon this investigation to take such action as would stimulate American production under all patent laws and under conditions which would bestow upon the American people as a whole the benefits of all patents granted.

This investigation was made. The information obtained has but indicated the many complexities and perplexities involved in this subject.

Your Executive Council has found that ten years ago the Oldfield Bill, which called for compulsory licensing of patents with the object of having them worked within a certain length of time, received a favorable report from the House Committee on Patents. So overwhelming, however, was the opposition to the Oldfield Bill by inventors manufacturers, publicists, patent lawyers, scientific societies and business men's associations that the bill was never brought to vote in either branch of congress.

On April 5, 1922, Senator Stanley presented a bill compelling the patentee to start production of the article patented inside of two years. It was proposed that if this was not done the government would reserve the right to license anyone desiring to use and manufacture the product of that patent. This bill was opposed by every organization and association having to do with patent law legislation and administration.

Briefly their opposition was this: A patentee creates something that has never existed before, something new, something which no one else has ever made. Before a patentee can manufacture this new article a large expenditure of monies is often involved. Moreover, inventors are sometimes so far ahead of the times that they can not obtain means for such articles. For example, the first patent on the pneumatic tire expired many years before any pneumatic tires had ever been used.

Under the present law a patent is granted for seventeen years. It has been pointed out that no patent of merit has ever been brought to a marketable condition in less than an average of ten years so that the effective life of the patent is about seven years. No patent that has ever come out of the Patent Office with merit has been effective immediately. "As a rule," the chairman of the Inventors' Guild said, "it takes seven and eight and sometimes ten, twelve and even fifteen years to develop an absolutely new invention."

Commissioner of Patents Robertson has informed us that that part of the resolution which says that "holders of American patents are working or operating their patents in foreign lands while not doing so in this country" is only true in a comparatively few patents and is certainly not true with respect to inventions which have been made by American inventors.

If the purpose of the proposed resolution is to compel foreigners to manufacture in this country, it would seem to be against our treaty, since the convention to which the United States is a party provides that—

Subjects or citizens of each of the contracting countries shall enjoy in all the other countries of the union the advantages which the respective laws now grant or may hereafter grant the citizens of that country.

This treaty, it would seem, would prevent us from compelling foreigners to work their inventions in this country unless we also compelled our own citizens to manufacture the products of their patents in the countries abroad and in which they have taken out patent rights.

England, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and France have compulsory working

laws, but it has been pointed out that none of these countries, with the exception of Germany, can approach us in producing worth while new patents. In Germany, as a matter of fact, there is a working provision affecting all nations except the United States. The United States has a treaty with Germany which provides that working in the home country is the equivalent of working in Germany.

In view of these difficulties the Executive Council did not deem it wise to act upon the suggested procedure contained in the resolution. Instead, we recommend that further inquiry be made into this subject and if it be found that the desired relief set forth in the resolution is at all feasible or possible that action be taken accordingly or such other action as a further consideration of the subject may warrant or justify.

ATTACKS ON TRADE UNIONS

"It is an ill wind that bloweth no man good." There is no better exemplification of that axiom than the defeat of that most disgraceful campaign to introduce autocracy in industry through the subterfuge of the so-called "open shop." That un-American scheme was the means of uniting the organized wage-earners more solidly. The hypocrisy of the movement was so apparent that the great public had no sympathy with it or its purpose. The Executive Council believes that the unfair employers overstepped themselves and instead of securing benefits to gratify their power and satisfy their greed they have caused Labor to place itself in a better position than ever before.

Before the war ended and while our boys were offering the supreme sacrifice certain unfair employers who were profiting by the conflict arranged for an insidious propaganda campaign to break down American standards by introducing the so-called "open shop" in industry. They folded about themselves the cloak of patriotism and called their un-American plan the "American" plan. Lawyers who had gained notoriety through prosecution of wage-earners engaged in normal trade union activities organized groups of employers who were willing to degrade the wage workers for their personal gain.

The Associated Employers' Association, Inc., of Indianapolis, launched a campaign for the "open shop." It sent letters to as many employers whose names they could learn in nearly every city in the country. It was urged that these employers get together and form an "open shop" association. The newspapers were full of the bitter warfare on labor and how labor was to be driven to the wall by the "open shop" movement. The real object behind the "open shop" movement was to reduce wages. It was thought that by breaking up or disorganizing the unions it would be an easy matter to cut wages to the bone and thus break down American standards. During this time the big interests through the Federal Reserve Board and in other ways began a campaign of deflation of labor and of the farmers. Unemployment grew at an alarming rate until according to the secretary of labor more than 5,000,000 workers were walking the streets in 1921.

Then the unfair employers took advantage of the situation to carry out their scheme of establishing autocracy in industry. First the printing trades were attacked. The employers had made an agreement that on May 1, 1921, they would grant the forty-four-hour week in the book and job offices of the country, but before May 1 by a series of lockouts, demands for reductions in wages and other acts to cause dissension, they endeavored to force the printing trades to take the offensive and save the employers from the obloquy of their acts. However, the printers remained at work until May 1 and then were forced to quit because the employers violated their contract. The coal operators refused to meet representatives of the miners to make a contract for the year beginning April 1, 1922, and demanded a reduction in wages. The miners could not work after April 1 without a contract and they ceased work. The textile workers after repeated reductions in wages protested in the only way they could protest and that was by ceasing work. So did the railroad shopmen and the granite cutters.

But those who would reduce wages and establish autocracy in industry failed. After five months' cessation of work an agreement was reached by the miners and they returned to work at the same wages they had received the previous year. The textile workers were largely successful, the printers as well as the granite cutters and the railway shopmen. The railway shopmen not only stopped reduction in wages by the Labor Board but they have restored negotiations so that now the greater number of in-

dividual roads treat with them instead of the nation wide association controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The Executive Council is of the firm opinion that the successful strikes of the nearly 2,000,000 wage-earners in the United States are responsible for the prosperity the country is enjoying since these strikes were adjusted by collective bargaining. It must also not be forgotten that where organized labor maintained its wage scales and secured increases the unorganized benefited thereby so that the great struggle of organized labor to defeat the purposes of a small band of unfair employers not only brought prosperity to themselves but to the unorganized as well as to all our people.

So much has been printed about the membership of the Associated Employers' Association and its alleged success in making Indianapolis an "open shop" city that an investigation was made that showed that organization was mostly on paper. In March of this year it was found that the association had only fifty members in that city and only about 1,000 in the entire United States and Canada.

March 21, 1923, the association had a meeting to which all the enemies of union labor that would attend were invited. It was addressed however by the president of the Illinois Brick Company which for many years has made agreements with the brick and clay workers' union and with other unions of wage-earners. Instead of being an "open shop" city Indianapolis in a number of trades is one of the best organized cities of its size in the United States. Even the president of the Associated Employers' Association, Inc., had to employ union men exclusively on a residence he had erected for himself.

There were few strikes in Indianapolis because the employers believe in collective bargaining and this association is securing publicity under false pretenses. The building trades are nearly 100 per cent organized. The machinists noted no effect of the campaign carried on by the association. In fact, the conditions of the machinists in Indianapolis compare favorably with any other city of the same size. What will surprise people outside of Indianapolis is the fact that the machinists scarcely know there is such an association as the Associated Employers' Association, Inc., in existence.

Another important fact should not be overlooked. Approximately 95 per cent of the newspapers of the country conduct union shops. Still the great majority of them give publicity to the propaganda of the "open shoppers." This is not because they believe in the "open shop" for they prefer the "closed shop," but that those who are establishing autocracy in industry are the advertisers upon whom they must rely to pay the expenses of publishing the newspapers and give them profits.

The Executive Council is therefore decisively of the opinion that the "open shop" campaign received publicity that was not only unwarranted but most deceptive and undoubtedly many people believed it had made great headway in establishing autocracy in industry. But this is not the case. However, the president of the A. F. of L. should continue to acquaint labor organizations and of the true status of the fight of unfair employers for the "open shop" and their humiliating defeat.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

We believe it advisable at this time to consider certain well-defined tendencies which the labor movement must take into account in its educational program. Maintenance of democratic ideals and sustained progress of a democratic nation are possible only with constantly broadening standards of education. There was never a time when the problems of life were more intricate or more momentous. In world politics we seem to be at the cross-roads—in event of orderly progress we can proceed toward the development of world institutions through which to conduct international affairs and make possible such progress in the industrial arts and intellectual and social culture as even our dreams can not forecast and the alternative road leads to chaos and the waste and futility of continuous war. In national affairs there is in the making the development of fundamental principles to underlie group activity as well as the technical basis for increasingly effective endeavor. The fabric of our social structure is so interwoven that activity is interdependent and by groups instead of individuals separately. In this complexity of social tissue the decision of any industrial issue becomes of far reaching significance, affecting the welfare of many different elements in industry and society.

It is therefore tremendously important that labor make only well-based decisions on all issues and this can be done only with broad and accurate sources of information, for labor holds constructive and decisive relationship to the fundamental problems of living. Experiences of the past in recorded form should be made available for the work of each succeeding day. In addition we must have much more of general knowledge and a more penetrating understanding of the philosophy of life to enable us to discern surely those things which are of permanent value. The provisions for a permanent committee on education signifies the American Federation of Labor's appreciation that labor's educational work requires sustained thought and continuous endeavor. We herewith transmit their report:

Committee's Report

In pursuance of the instructions given by the Cincinnati convention conferences were continued with the Workers' Education Bureau to reach agreement upon terms and conditions of cooperation. As the result of two joint meetings an agreement was reported to the Executive Council and approved by us. Under that arrangement the Executive Council designated George W. Perkins, John P. Frey and Matthew Woll as representatives of the A. F. of L. on the Executive Board of the Bureau. The agreement as drawn up is as follows:

- (1) General Information Service.
General purpose of Bureau remains unaltered.
- (2) Affiliation.
 - a. Workers' Study Classes doing bona fide educational work shall be eligible
 - b. Dual and seceding unions ineligible.
- (3) Officers and Executive Committee.
 - a. The size of the Executive Committee remains unchanged with nine members; three of the members to represent the A. F. of L. directly. The officers to be a president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer, the Executive Committee to have a chairman elected by the Executive Committee who shall preside at meetings but without other official authority.
 - b. Members of Executive Committee to be members of affiliated unions.
 - c. Powers of Executive Committee suggestive not mandatory in questions of curriculum, etc.
 - d. Executive Committee to determine eligibility of study classes in accordance with general principles in (2) a.
- (4) Local Autonomy.
 - a. Complete local autonomy for Workers' Study Classes.
In accordance with the wording of this agreement the Executive Committee was reorganized to include nine members and the secretary. The retiring members of the tentative Executive Committee were invited to advisory membership of the Bureau, and the three representatives who were designated from the Educational Committee of the A. F. of L. to membership on the Executive Committee of the Workers' Education Bureau were: John P. Frey, George W. Perkins and Matthew Woll. At the first meeting Matthew Woll was elected chairman of the Executive Committee. Upon the president, vice-president, and the secretary devolves the responsibility for the administration of the affairs of the Bureau between the meetings of the Executive Committee.

Under the agreement the Federation is participating in the inauguration of specific educational enterprises for wage earners. The A. F. of L. now forms an integral and organic part of the Bureau.

There are affiliated to the Bureau one national federation of labor; 14 national or international unions; 5 state federations of labor; 26 central labor unions and district councils; 8 local unions; 18 workers' educational enterprises; 3 cooperative societies; 3 student associations, making a total of 78.

Seven main divisions have thus far developed in the work of the Bureau: The giving of general information on education; educational advice; registry of teachers;

publications; cooperative book purchasing; correspondence department; workers' loan library. And editorial committee is developing the Workers' Bookshelf and the Workers' Educational Pamphlet Series. A substantial beginning has already been made and an extensive program of publication developed which includes general texts in the social sciences, literature and natural science and special texts in banking, research, labor biography and a series of studies in basic industries. The greatest care has been exercised to prevent any taint of propaganda from intruding itself into the activities or the literature of the Bureau.

The Bureau proposes to make its work sustained by working people. Unions and workers participating in educational endeavors should jointly share the expense.

Each labor educational enterprise is developed to meet the needs and desires of local wage earners. The courses given have been designed to help wage earners understand the relations to fellow workers, to the community, to the nation and society as organized internationally. Such understanding must be based upon knowledge of institutions and their historical development. When the whole of life is illumined by interpreting the spiritual life and aspirations which are the generating force, students as workers can approach their problems with the assurance of constructive analysis guided by a unifying philosophy.

This is the attitude of mind or function required for sustained progress of the labor movement and hence the necessity of integrating educational work with union activity.

In view of the evident importance of educational activity to organized labor we wish to urge upon all labor organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor that each provide a permanent education committee to deal with the special educational problem of each divisional group and to cooperate in making effective the general educational plans and policies of labor. If each national and international establishes a special committee or agency to direct its educational work and work through cooperating committees in each union; if each central body and state federation take similar action, the labor movement will have the most potential organization in this country which will make labor's voice effective both in policy making, executive work and promoting labor educational enterprises. For under that we may have a basis upon which to estimate progress. Our committee has initiated a survey of educational activity of unions at the present. As soon as the data has been assembled, a report will be made.

The following illustration serves to indicate a need of such organized unity and alertness on the part of organized labor. A notable theme of the speakers at graduating exercises at the close of last school year was the function of the judiciary in our government. As the speakers were practically from outside the workers' ranks the points of view presented were not sympathetic or understanding of labor's struggles. Perhaps no single address makes such a permanent impression on the minds of the group concerned as the commencement address. The situation suggests a strategic undertaking for the coming year.

As instructed by the last convention we have endeavored to be helpful in establishing the more general practice of supplying free text books in public schools. This purpose can be achieved only by the collective efforts of all unions. Much remains to be done as is indicated by the following summary:

State laws provide for free textbooks in the public schools as indicated:

In six states—Delaware, Maryland, Texas, Arizona, California, and Oklahoma—textbooks are furnished free to public school pupils and payment therefor is made from state funds. In Missouri also some funds derived from state sources are available for furnishing free textbooks.

In 13 states—Maine, Massachusetts, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, and Wyoming—local school authorities are required by law to provide free textbooks for public school pupils.

In 19 states—Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin—local school authorities are specifically permitted by law to provide textbooks for public school pupils. In a few other states, as in North Carolina, it is permissible to furnish textbooks to poor children.

In the preparation of these lists, distinction is not made between ele-

mentary and secondary schools, but it may be said in general that most of these laws provide textbooks for secondary pupils as well as for those in elementary schools.

The shortening of the time of work, increasing the means of sustenance and the establishment of educational institutions of every kind, open to the wage earners of our land, in the time of leisure afforded them, opportunity to participate in the cultural progress of humanity.

Above all things and education of the people, democratic in the true sense of the term must aim to awaken in the child of the most humble wage earner as in the child of the richly born, a lively sense of duty, reverence for the orderly affairs of government, tolerance of those of different faith and thought, a fine national pride and a sympathetic international understanding. Moreover, the synthesizing of scientific and aesthetic culture and the various types of educational discipline is indispensable to stability of progress by a civilized people.

It is not to be implied that all should have the same educational training or merely be filled with the most possible knowledge, but that instruction or opportunity for individual development be the common possession of all. To have the great mass of the people grounded in scientific discipline is to enable them with most dependable discernment, to estimate the value of knowledge, to esteem the higher learning and to distinguish mere phraseology from fact. Such a unity in scientific and cultural accomplishment is attainable when the highest institutions of learning do excellent work, and their immediate influence extends all along the line downward to the elementary schools. It is, therefore, essential that organized labor shall devote its concern not exclusively to the elementary schools of our land but equally to the colleges and universities which so largely influence the education of the people.

Great exertions are necessary for the workers to reach the higher degree of education. It is not alone the youth that requires instruction; the adult worker dismissed from the school and transferred to the workshop needs scientific and aesthetic culture. There is required more than the mere opening access to the highest institutions of learning; there is the needed shortening of the day's work for the language of the scientists and of the masses always remains unintelligible to him to whom leisure to learn is not granted.

Through the influence of the organized wage earners under the intelligent and forceful direction of the American Federation of Labor much progress has been realized on the attainment of those noble ends, and we are no longer lacking in the effort to bring science and beauty as well as elementary and social culture into the lives of the wage earning groups.

The last three conventions of the American Federation of Labor have vigorously condemned the so-called Lusk educational bills in New York, and called upon organized labor to urge their repeal and to prevent the enactment of similar measures in other states. We are very glad to report the repeal of the Lusk laws by the last session of the New York legislature after a bitter struggle. Now that this poisonous infection has been removed at its source, we may reasonably expect the failure of other scattered efforts to infringe upon the freedom of teachers as citizens through insult and intimidation. But the labor movement in all the states should remain alert.

The report upon social studies in the public schools was transmitted to the Executive Council with recommendations. Such parts of the report as are for general information have been released in pamphlet form, and executive action has already been taken upon such parts as are for administrative guidance.

As we have covered a rather wide field of thought in our suggestions it will simplify our suggestions to consider them in concise forms as follows:

- (1) That the A. F. of L. give increasing stress and thought to developing an increasingly constructive program for our public schools.
- (2) That permanent education committees be provided in organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. and their component units.
- (3) That unions and wage earners cooperate actively in the work of adult education as promoted through our Workers' Education Bureau.

MATTHEW WOLL, *Chairman.*
 GEORGE W. PERKINS.
 JOHN P. FREY.
 CHAS. L. BAINE.
 CHAS. STILLMAN.

AMERICAN LEGION

The relations between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion have continued during the year to be cordial and helpful.

Pursuant to the instructions of the last A. F. of L. convention the president of the A. F. of L. attended and addressed the last annual convention of the American Legion held in New Orleans in October, 1922. It is a pleasure to report to you that in furtherance of the cordial relations existing, the National Commander of the American Legion, in response to our invitation, has been authorized to address this convention as the representative of the Legion.

The American Federation of Labor and the American Legion cooperated in the observance of American Education Week, December 3 to 9, 1922, and in hundreds of communities throughout the country committees appointed jointly by the two organizations served in the development of the programs. Cooperating also in this work were the American Education Association and the United States Bureau of Education.

We recommend continuance of the friendly and cooperative relations which have been so beneficial in the past not only to the members of the two organizations directly involved but to our citizenship in general.

LABOR AND THE FARMER

The efforts of certain interests to drive a wedge between labor and the farmers have not been successful. The most friendly relations exist between the officials of the farmers' organizations and of the American Federation of Labor. The rank and file of the farmers through the officials of their various organizations are rapidly learning the fact that those who would create enmity between labor and the farmers are their most bitter enemies. Here and there newspapers published in the interest of the farmers are taking a greater interest in labor affairs and are exceedingly active in placing Labor's cause before the people. At the same time those farm papers that have usually kept up a continuous denunciation of labor are not so condemnatory as heretofore. Like the daily newspapers farm papers to exist must obtain advertising, and their advertisers in many instances are antagonists of organized labor. To curry favor with such advertisers the farm papers take an anti-labor stand.

The Executive Council believes that the Publicity Bureau of the American Federation of Labor should send its "Labor Information" to all the farm papers in the country. Some may use selections from it and those who do not may obtain information heretofore unknown to them. There is no doubt that the earnest efforts that have been made to bring about more friendly relations between labor and the farmers by the A. F. of L. has been of incalculable good and should be continued.

OBSERVANCE OF CONTRACT AND CESSATION OF WORK

We present here a resume of a few of the more important of the strikes that have taken place since our last convention. We call particular attention to the record of contracts and agreements broken by organizations of employers and we urge upon them everywhere the most serious consideration of the deplorable condition thus portrayed.

For purposes of this report we present here only the essential facts in relation to each case. Those who desire a more detailed record of these important struggles and victories are referred to the October, 1923, issue of the *American Federationist*.

United Mine Workers of America

Among the important struggles won by labor during the year was the strike of the mine workers. The responsibility for the coal strike of 1922 plainly rested with the coal operators. The operators of the central competitive field were obligated by agreement to meet with the representatives of the United Mine Workers for the purpose of attempting to negotiate a new agreement before the expiration of the old contract, which terminated on March 31, 1922. This the operator refused to do. In addition, the operators declared their intention of forcing wage reductions and establishing the non-union shop in the coal industry.

The United Mine Workers of America suspended work when the wage contract

expired on March 31, 1922, declaring that they would not accept wage reductions, and, moreover, that they would not return to work until the coal operators met with them in joint conference and negotiated a reasonably satisfactory contract.

In August and September, the coal operators, meeting with the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America, renewed the old agreement without any reduction in wages. It was a victory of great moral and material value to the organized labor movement of our time and country.

The contract entered into by the anthracite operators and miners, at the conclusion of the strike last year, terminated on September 1, 1923. By reason of the failure of the representatives of the anthracite operators and miners to agree upon the terms of a new agreement before September 1st a suspension of mining operations in the anthracite coal fields followed.

The mine workers demanded a 20 per cent increase in mining prices, an equalization of day wage rates, the eight-hour day for all men employed in and around the mines and complete union recognition, through the adoption of the check-off system.

The strike of the anthracite mine workers during the summer of 1922 was for the purpose of resisting a reduction in wages. The present struggle of the mine workers is for an increase in wages, improved conditions of employment and complete acceptance of the principle and purpose of collective bargaining.

We feel certain that the anthracite mine workers will be as successful in their movement for increased wages and a higher standard of life throughout the anthracite coal fields this year as they were last year in resisting the demand of the operators for a reduction in wages and a corresponding lower standard of life and living.

Granite Cutters

Employers in the granite cutting industry were among those who continued their arbitrary policies until the solidarity of the granite cutters made a settlement imperative. On June 1, 1921, the Granite Manufacturers' Association of California locked out the California members of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America, repudiating a collective bargain that did not expire until August 1, 1921.

Granite manufacturers throughout the country followed the lead of the California manufacturers and either locked out union granite cutters or refused to meet with representatives of the workers to negotiate new agreements for those which expired on April 1, 1922.

The unity and aggressiveness of the organized granite workers broke down the resistance of the employers so that by the middle of 1923 agreements had been signed unionizing practically the entire industry with the exception of California. The Granite Cutters have not only maintained the forty-four-hour week, but in some localities have secured the five-day work week, with \$8 per day as the minimum rate.

International Ladies' Garment Workers

As a result of cessation of work the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union reduced the working week in the dress and waist industry from 44 to 40 hours. Employers have not hesitated to make use of the injunction process in disputes with the Garment Workers. Justice Martin, of Montreal, Canada, not only enjoined the Montreal Garment Workers' Union from striking against a certain employer, but also assessed damages against the union to indemnify the employer to the amount of the difference between the cost of manufacturing garments with strikebreakers and with his regular employees on strike. If necessary, it is the purpose of the Garment Workers' Union to appeal this case to the Privy Council of the House of Lords.

Textile Industries

In the New England textile industry the employers not only sought to impose a wage cut of twenty per cent in addition to a previous one of twenty-two and one-fourth per cent, but also to lengthen the working week from 48 to 54 hours. Under the leadership of the United Textile Workers of America the textile workers ceased work for

ten months and resumed with the wage rate in effect prior to the twenty per cent reduction. The forty-eight hour week was also maintained for most of the industry. The labor movement gave such solid financial support to the Textile Workers' Union that close to one million dollars was disbursed in maintaining the strike.

Typographical Union

The struggle in the printing industry for the forty-four-hour week for the book and job printers has been practically won, strike assessments having been reduced from ten per cent in 1921, to two per cent in May, 1923. Up to May, 1923, the International Typographical Union paid out \$14,117,129.43 to win the forty-four-hour week for the book and job printers.

This contest in the printing industry is another example of employer violation of an agreement previously urged upon the printing trades for acceptance. This agreement provided for the forty-four-hour week on May 1, 1921. From the time the printing industry employers' associations entered into this national agreement, agreements between local employers and local printing trades unions were made with full information that under the national agreement the forty-four-hour week would be operative in the printing industry on May 1, 1921. Therefore, all employers not directly associated with employers who were parties to this national agreement became indirectly bound to its terms.

Regardless of this national agreement, and its direct and indirect local application, the printing trades employers refused to apply the forty-four-hour week, thus disregarding and violating their agreements. The International Typographical Union declared the strike to compel employers to observe their contracts.

KU KLUX KLAN

During the year the Ku Klux Klan has continued its campaign of terrorism on such a scale that its operations can not be overlooked.

This secret organization promotes discord among our people and strife within the ranks of organized labor, seeks to destroy the cherished American principle of religious freedom and tolerance and purposely fosters racial prejudices.

The Ku Klux Klan is destructive of that freedom and devotion to the principles of liberty which we regard as the first essential in democratic civilization. The Ku Klux Klan seeks also to take into its own hands the administration of punishment, thus setting itself up as superior to government in the enforcement of law. We know of nothing that could be more intolerable or more hostile to the purposes of organized government or the trade union movement.

We call attention to the positions adopted by unanimous vote at the Cincinnati convention in 1922 in which the following declarations were made in the committee report which was approved by the convention:

Your committee is firmly of the opinion that the administration of the law is vested solely and entirely in the duly elected or appointed officers of the law, and that those who as members of any secret organization assume to usurp the functions properly belonging to legal authorities, invite mob rule and create in men's minds a disrespect for and disregard of duly constituted authority.

Your committee is also of the opinion that it is not conducive to government by law and the maintenance of peaceful and safe conditions in the community to have members of any organization parade the streets so disguised that their identity can not be discovered, when such disguises are adopted for the purpose of inspiring the thought or belief that the disguised individuals represent an invisible government.

The issues involved are not new; they are as old as the institution of organized government. The trade union movement of America long since took cognizance of the importance of these issues to labor and in the convention of 1893 unanimously

adopted the following resolutions setting forth fundamental principles which can not at any time be discarded or renounced without the destruction of essential liberties:

Resolved, We deplore the introduction of any sectarian or captious side issues among the working people. Such movements are destined to divide labor's forces and produce bitter antagonisms as they produce religious bigotry, provoke rancorous intolerance, and divert the working people from working out their own emancipation. * * *

Resolved, That we here and now reaffirm as one of the cardinal principles of the labor movement that the working people must unite and organize, irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality or politics.

We believe that no trade unionist can consistently participate in the activities of the Ku Klux Klan or any similar organization, and we unhesitatingly denounce its efforts to supplant organized government, to promote religious intolerance, racial antagonisms and bigotry.

THE FASCISTI MOVEMENT

We shall not undertake to deal with the Fascisti movement as it has developed and come into power in Italy. We are fully aware of the complexities that surround the situation in Italy and we are not unmindful of the fact that it was largely the threat of one autocracy that helped produce another. We can, however, record our keen disappointment in any gain made by any autocratic movement anywhere. Autocracy can never succeed anywhere except by force and what the world needs most of all is the organization of industrial power and the abandonment of military force. Expenditure of force saps the life blood of industry.

What is of immediate concern to us is the effort to organize Fascisti groups in the United States. We denounce this effort as a token of hostility to our democratic institutions and particularly to our American trade union movement.

Promotion by a foreign power of a hostile movement on our soil can not be lightly regarded by our movement or by our people in general. No disclaimers from abroad can alter the character of the Fascisti nor change the fact that the offspring in America must partake of the nature and purpose of the parent body in Italy.

We call upon workers of foreign birth to refrain from joining the Fascisti or any similar movement in our country. Foreign workers who come to our shores in good faith come because America offers freedom and opportunity for the individual. To then promote an organization hostile to every institution of American freedom is to trespass on every principle of honesty and to be guilty of conduct which can not be condoned.

The Fascisti can not exist in America without the membership and support of workers who have come to America from the birthplace of Fascism. There must be no Fascisti in our Republic and it is the duty of American trade unionism to use every honorable effort to purge the country of this offshoot of European turmoil. Those who can not come to America prepared to find expression for their opinions and requirements through the orderly methods brought into being at such great cost through the establishment of free democratic government are ill-prepared to come at all. The inevitable result of continuance of such efforts as that represented by the organization of Fascisti groups in America can lead only to a more determined resolve to bar the doors more tightly to those who abuse the freedom and the institutions of our country.

RAILROADS AND THE COURTS

In reporting upon the railroad situation in general and as it affects the railway workers in particular, four distinctive phases of this problem require attention, viz:

1. The strike of the railway shopmen.
2. The litigation arising therefrom.
3. The Railroad Labor Board.
4. Remedial legislation.

The strike of the railway shopmen having been treated elsewhere in this report, repetition is unnecessary. In reporting upon the litigation arising out of this strike two particular suits in equity are emphasized because of the importance of the issues involved and the extra legal or unconstitutional procedure followed by the federal government as well as federal judges.

Judge Wilkerson's Injunction

On September 1, 1922, Attorney General Daugherty obtained from Judge Wilkerson of the United States District Court, sitting in Chicago, a restraining order against the officers and members of the railway shop trade organizations which was proclaimed far and wide as the most drastic injunction ever issued in a labor dispute, or in any other case. The order was obtained with great secrecy. The attorney general left Washington announcing that he was going to his home town, Columbus, Ohio. When he reached Chicago, he first obtained a private conference with Judge Wilkerson. Then he appeared in open court, the newspapers having been notified of his intention but no notice being given to the officers of the Railway Employees Department, whose headquarters are in Chicago, nor to any other defendant. He made an inflammatory speech to the court in which he said that "so long and to the extent that I can speak for the government of the United States, I will use the power of the government of the United States within my power to prevent the labor unions of the country from destroying the open shop" and further said, "when the unions claim the right to dictate to the government and dominate the American people and deprive the American people of the necessities of life, then the government will destroy the unions, for the government of the United States is supreme and must endure." The attorney general presented the order which he had drawn, which was then signed immediately by the court without change.

On this short, one-sided hearing, on the basis that the defendants were engaged in a conspiracy against interstate commerce, the court ordered them to refrain from any sort of activity in prosecution of the strike. For example, prohibiting them from:

In any manner by letters, printed or other circulars, telegrams, telephones, word of mouth, oral persuasion, or communication, or through interviews published in the newspapers, or other similar acts, encouraging, directing or commanding any person, whether a member of any or either of said labor organizations or associations defendants herein, to abandon the employment of said railway companies, or any of them, or to refrain from entering the service of said railway companies, or any of them.

The order also restrains the national officers from "issuing any instructions, or making any requests, public statements or communications to any defendant" or from using the funds of the organizations to promote the doing of the things restrained.

In accordance with the provisions of the Clayton Act, the order was made effective the full ten days allowed for an order obtained without notice, and a hearing set on the government application for a preliminary injunction for September 11. When the case was called that day, the defendants were represented by Donald R. Richberg, counsel for the Railway Employees Department, A. F. of L., Frank L. Mulholland, counsel for the Machinists, and James S. Easby-Smith, counsel for the Electrical Workers, supported by Oscar J. Horn, counsel for the Locomotive Engineers, and Thomas Stevenson, counsel for the Locomotive Firemen. The attorneys moved that the government bill should be dismissed for the reasons:

First: That the strike was lawful.

Second: That the court had no authority to carry on a criminal prosecution denying trial by jury.

Third: That the attorney general had sought and obtained the aid of the court upon misrepresentation of facts, and for the unlawful purpose of aiding the efforts of the railway executives to destroy the railway unions as a part of a national campaign for the so-called open shop.

After ten days of arguments and the presentation of something like 2,000 affidavits by the government alleging unlawful acts, which mass of evidence it was physically

and financially impossible for the defendants to oppose by counter evidence, the court ordered a preliminary injunction on September 25, which was stated to be practically the same as the restraining order, but which was in fact fundamentally different. The basis of the order, shown in the opinion of the court and the terms of the order, marked a new advance of the courts of equity in their usurpation of power to control industrial controversies.

In the first place, the court evidently found it impossible to sustain the government contention that the strike was unlawful. The argument was made (which was afterwards sustained by the supreme court in the Pennsylvania railroad case) that the men were not striking against the government or in violation of the law, and that neither employer nor employee were bound to observe the orders of the Labor Board, that the employers had refused to obey the orders of the Labor Board prohibiting the contracting out of work in shops, and that the men had refused, as they had a legal right, to accept the wages and rules fixed by the Labor Board, and to continue in the employment of railroads which themselves refused to obey the orders of the board. Therefore, the court was forced to base the right to an injunction on the claim that the evidence in the government affidavits—which the defendants had not adequate opportunity to controvert—showed the existence of a "nation-wide conspiracy to restrain interstate commerce" by unlawful means. There was no evidence presented directly connecting the officers of the organizations with any unlawful acts, but the court held:

These defendants will not be permitted upon the record here, to deny responsibility for these unlawful acts. They will not be permitted to continue acts which, even though they may be peaceable and lawful in themselves, it has been demonstrated, are only part of a program of unlawful conduct and are done for the accomplishment of an unlawful purpose.

The result of this opinion of the court is to extend further the outrageous "conspiracy" theory which has grown in favor in the courts so rapidly in the past twenty-five years. When there is no proof available to show that men are guilty of unlawful acts, it has become the favored means of prosecution to allege a "conspiracy." Then under the strange developments of the law of conspiracy, the courts permit the introduction of almost any kind of evidence which may tend to convince the court that the defendants are guilty. The extension of this doctrine from criminal prosecutions to equity cases increases its menace to individual liberty. In a criminal case at least twelve men must be convinced beyond a reasonable doubt by this sort of vague proof, but in an equity case all that is necessary is to present the evidence before a judge, whose mind may be already prejudiced by newspaper reading and his social background, who is all too ready to believe that all labor organizations are combinations of dangerous men, and thus obtain a finding of guilty on vague, remote evidence, which it is most difficult for the defendants to combat. When it is realized that in the government injunction case this evidence of conspiracy consisted of affidavits obtained by railroads from private policemen, strike breakers and other persons signing their names to statements drawn up for them by skillful lawyers, it will be understood how easy it was for the government to prove a case to the satisfaction of the court. As an example of the evidence used may be cited the affidavit of a superintendent of the Michigan Central railroad, who swore that a local chairman of one of the unions was responsible for causing the Gary wreck. Yet this chairman was freely walking the streets of Chicago at the time and had never even been arrested. In this case his counter affidavit was presented to the court as evidence of the danger of the court relying on such evidence which in the mass presented it was impossible for the defendants to prove to be false.

It appeared, however, that even after finding the defendants guilty of "conspiracy" upon such evidence, the court hesitated to re-issue the outrageous restraining order which had been obtained *ex parte*. He, therefore, inserted certain phrases in the preliminary injunction which completely changed its effect. First, the phrase "with intent to further said conspiracy" was injected whereby only such acts were prohibited as were done "with intent to further said conspiracy" of which the defendants were

found guilty. As the defendants claimed to have no knowledge of any such conspiracy, they were advised by their attorneys to continue in their work in behalf of the organizations including work in connection with the strike without substantial change. This interpretation of the injunction was made publicly in printed documents issued by the organizations. Yet the conduct of the officials was not questioned by the court or the government and no contempt cases were brought at any time for the enforcement of the injunction.

Thereby it has appeared that the preliminary injunction as finally issued was not intended, nor did it operate to prevent the continuance of the strike or the activities of the organizations in support thereof. What the injunction thus limited amounted to was simply a threatening gesture on the part of the government, which the railway executives might point to in support of their efforts to intimidate and coerce the workers. No greater abuse of governmental power and the powers of the courts has been shown in the history of labor controversies than this swinging of a stuffed club against several hundred thousand men and their sympathizers engaged in a desperate struggle to maintain their economic freedom against a nation-wide combination of employing interests.

The preliminary injunction was further qualified by including the following clause which did not appear in the restraining order:

But nothing herein contained shall be construed to prohibit the use of the funds or moneys of any of said labor organizations for any lawful purpose, and nothing contained in this order shall be construed to prohibit the expression of an opinion or argument not intended to aid or encourage the doing of any of the acts hereinbefore enjoined, or not calculated to maintain or prolong a conspiracy to restrain interstate commerce or the transportation of the mails.

Perhaps the best commentary on the opinion of the court and the injunction issued is that found in an editorial by Professor Cook of Yale Law School printed in the *Yale Law Journal* for December, 1922. Concerning the opinion of the court which purported to be based on "well-settled law" he wrote:

If by "well-settled" law is meant law settled by decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in cases directly in point, rather than by quotations culled from opinions in cases only more or less analogous, it is believed that not a single one of these propositions can be regarded as a statement of "well-settled law."

After commenting on the conclusions of the court this writer continues:

To guard against misapprehension it may be well to repeat at this point that it is not the purpose of the foregoing discussion to pass upon the merits or demerits of the rules of law laid down by Judge Wilkerson, but merely to bring out what the writer believes to be the fact, namely, that the case presented to the learned judge was one which required the making of new law; that is, it involved the exercise of the power to legislate, to establish the law for the case in hand. This being so, it is believed that the time has come to ask this question: Is it wise, in cases involving burning economic issues and fundamental human rights, to permit a single federal judge, or a single judge in any court, not merely to decide the "law" for the first time—necessarily he must do that—but also to use so drastic a remedy as the injunction to enforce his views of what the "law" is, unless at least we make adequate provision for immediate review by the proper appellate courts—in the federal system by the United States supreme court? Cases of this type involve questions of fundamental importance; they are matters upon which intelligent members of the community are divided in opinion; the law is usually not clearly settled. If, as is almost inevitable under the present system, the review by the supreme court comes years later, it is obvious that if that tribunal decides, as it did in the Tri-City case, that the injunction is too sweep-

ing, or perhaps should never have been granted at all, the law as thus established by the highest tribunal in the land is of no practical importance to the defendants who were erroneously prohibited from doing the things they were legally privileged to do. In other words, the "law" which actually governs the litigants in these cases is the "law" of the trial judge, not that of the supreme court. Can we expect the members of labor unions to continue to have confidence in receiving a square deal from our courts if, after a strike has been broken, the union's legitimate power destroyed, and perhaps the union itself disrupted in consequence—all by the decision of a single judge—they are told years later (in the Tri-City case over seven and a half years later) that the injunction which brought these results about denied them rights given to them by law, perhaps expressly congressional statute?

The foregoing quotation indicates one of several reasons why this case, which is of so much importance and involves such weighty questions, was not appealed by the shop craft organizations. When the case came on for final hearing May 1, the organizations directed their attorneys to withdraw and take no further part in the proceeding. The reasons for this action were set forth in detail in a length letter from the organizations to their counsel. Briefly summarized, they took the position that in the first place their main contention—that the strike was lawful—had been decided in their favor by the United States supreme court in the Pennsylvania case decided in February, 1923, wherein it was held that neither employer nor employe was bound to obey the decisions of the labor board. After this decision it became impossible to assume that the supreme court would hold that the strike itself was unlawful. But in order to combat the government evidence concerning illegal acts committed by strikers and sympathizers as proof of a criminal conspiracy, it would have been necessary for the organization to spend between \$25,000 and \$50,000 preparing evidence and taking depositions, or bringing witnesses from all over the United States. It was also quite apparent from the opinion of Judge Wilkerson in the preliminary hearing that he would have found a "conspiracy" to exist and it would have been necessary to appeal the case for eventual relief. This would have required the expenditure of another enormous sum to present the record of the testimony of hundreds of witnesses and a printed abstract of this testimony to the supreme court. It was inevitable that in a strike of this magnitude a great many acts of lawlessness had taken place. With at least 1,500,000 persons intimately concerned with the strike, it would be inevitable that over a period of many months many lawless acts could be shown. It was pointed out that the total indicated in the government testimony, if accepted as true, would not equal the crime record of a city of 1,500,000 inhabitants over a similar period. But if the court was willing to hold that the responsibility for such acts should be ascribed to the organizations, even when there was no proof directly connecting the named defendants with these acts, then it is clear that the court would have little difficulty in finding a basis for upholding the ruling of the trial judge.

Meanwhile, the nation-wide strike conditions had disappeared. Thousands of strikers were working again whose testimony would be required to present the defendants' side of the case, thus stirring up antagonisms that had been allayed, causing vast expense and a great deal of individual hardship for no worthwhile result.

Also it became apparent during this case that not only had the judge exceeded his authority in attempting to regulate the conduct of people all over the United States when his jurisdiction was limited to a section of the state of Illinois, but that other judges would not attempt to enforce his orders in their jurisdiction and that he himself would be unable to extend the authority of his office beyond the territory limits of the northern district of Illinois. All of these considerations decided the railway unions that they would not be warranted in wasting the time, money and strength of the organizations in this litigation.

The Wilkerson injunction may provide a precedent for tyrannical abuse of judicial power in other cases. This injunction and the action of the executive officers of the government in procuring it should exhibit clearly to the American people the dangers involved in the increasing powers assumed by the courts to control industrial controversies and furnish power for arguments in support of legislation necessary to

prevent further extensions and abuses of such power and to compel the judiciary to render more service in support of constitutional guarantees, of freedom of speech and trial by jury.

Trial by Jury Held Unconstitutional

A case has recently been decided by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, sitting at Chicago, which shows again the extent to which judges will go in over-riding the will of the people, as expressed through their legislative bodies. In this case the court held the guarantee of trial by jury provided in the Clayton act to be unconstitutional.

Shop trade strikers of North Hudson, Wisconsin, were found guilty by the United States district court of violating its injunction issued in a suit by the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway company. The defendants demanded a trial by jury in accordance with the requirements of the Clayton act. The court denied this demand and imposed fines on the strikers found guilty of contempt. They appealed to the United States circuit court of appeals. The opinion of that court written by Judge Baker (case entitled *Michaelson et al. vs. United States ex rel. Railway Company*) is a most amazing statement—or misstatement—of fact and law. In its opinion the court states that employes can not conduct lawful strikes against interstate railroads because the railroads "are bound hand and foot." According to the court the railroads "can not exert any sort of economic pressure in any sort of industrial combat. They are powerless to use the lockout as a weapon against their employes." Therefore, the court holds that the interstate commerce act and the transportation act must "be interpreted and applied to forbid an assault upon a helplessly fettered opponent and to forbid the calling of such an act a combat."

In support of the petition for rehearing filed in this case by counsel for the Railway Employes Department, the argument is made that these statements of the court "startle the informed person as would a statement by the court that the world is flat and immobile."

In this argument it is also pointed out that—

In combating the shop craft employes, railroads have reduced forces repeatedly without any excuse in diminishment of work, but solely as a means of exerting economic pressure. Over and over again the shop craft organizations have seen hundreds and thousands of men deprived of their jobs as a means of coercion. Now they are asked to believe the statement of this court that the railroads can not exert any sort of economic pressure, and that they are powerless to use the lockout, in the face of economic pressure to which they have been subjected, and the numberless lockouts from which they have suffered!

Also this printed argument includes the following statement:

It is respectfully submitted that the United States circuit court of appeals can not alter facts by judicial opinions. But it can disturb the confidence of men in the justice of the courts by utilizing assertions not supported by any evidence as the basis for expressions of judicial opinion.

After going out of its way to condemn the railway unions and to express its opinion on legal questions not before the court, the circuit court of appeals then decided the *Michaelson* case on the basis that that part of the Clayton act requiring a trial by jury when men are accused of criminal acts, is unconstitutional. The court holds "Congress can not constitutionally deprive the parties in an equity court of the right of trial by the chancellor."

It is hardly to be assumed the court will change this opinion upon the petition for rehearing. If the opinion is allowed to stand, it will serve as a justification for a denial of trial by jury as required by the Clayton act in every federal court. The district court judges have heretofore shown their animosity to this requirement. During the shop trade strike one Illinois judge threatened to send a lawyer to jail for contempt

of court if he persisted in demanding trial by jury for his clients, in accordance with the statute.

The constitution of the United States requires trial by jury in all criminal prosecutions. The Clayton act gives the right of trial by jury only where the defendant is accused of an act constituting a violation of a state or federal statute. In other words, the Clayton act attempts to insure to defendants the constitutionally guaranteed right of trial by jury. The United States circuit court of appeals holds in effect that it is unconstitutional to enforce the constitutional requirement of trial by jury because when Congress creates a court it can not prevent that court from making law to suit itself. The Michaelson case involves a square conflict between legislative power and judicial power, a square conflict between the power of the legislature to make laws, in accordance with the constitution, and the power of the courts to veto these laws by "interpreting" the constitution. It is to be hoped that the Michaelson case will be fought through to a decision by the United States supreme court. If that court again exercises its usurped power of vetoing legislation a clear issue will be presented to the American people as to whether the supreme authority in their government shall rest in the legislature, elected by the people to make laws and responsive to the people, or in the courts consisting of judges appointed for life not responsive to the will of the people, either as expressed in their statutes, or in their constitution, but writing their individual political, social and economic opinions into the law of the land.

The Railroad Labor Board

The United States Railroad Labor Board, brought into existence under the provisions of the Esch-Cummins act, has by its record fully justified and warranted the condemnation expressed by vote of our last convention. It has proven its inability to function in accordance with the claims and promises made by its sponsors at the time of its enactment, and has proven itself much more an agency for the promotion of discord than for the inauguration of constructive effort. There could have been no other development, as has been repeatedly pointed out, because of the fact that the Railroad Labor Board insofar as it had any power or influence was a coercive institution, thrust into the situation by legislative enactment in defiance of the natural evolution of the relation between workers and employers in the railroad world. It is noteworthy that while the Railroad Labor Board was given no power to enforce its finding it sought to exercise power in dealing with the workers but confessed its lack of power when dealing with railroads.

The futility of the Railroad Labor Board, has, we are confident, become apparent to observing Americans as a result of its performance. Whether it will become apparent to legislators that such methods of dealing with industrial problems can result only in harm to all concerned, is a question which can be answered only by the future conduct of legislators.

The viewpoint expressed by labor at the time of the creation of the Railroad Labor Board has been so fully borne out by events, that we point to the record not so much in satisfaction as in the earnestness of our desire to bring about the cessation of political tinkering with the machinery of industry in the vain effort to provide instantaneous remedies for problems that can not be thus successfully dealt with. The natural and rational processes of industrial evolution must and will develop remedies for every situation arising in relations between wage earners and employers whatever the industry may be.

It is high time that industrial difficulties ceased to offer campaign material to those whose prime interests are all too frequently the harvesting of votes for reelection. At the risk of uttering what may sound like a platitude we reaffirm that industry is and must remain industrial, and that it is not and should never be political. The Railroad Labor Board is but one evidence of the mania for political intrusion into the industrial field. Its failure has been complete. The law under which it was created should be removed from the statute books by the forthcoming Congress.

The removal of this provision of the law from the statute books should mark the end of legislative efforts toward political invasion of the field of wage fixing and employment relations.

Railroad Legislation

The transportation act—otherwise known as the Esch-Cummins act—has proved, as was prophesied by representatives of labor, to be a great benefit to the railroad exploiters and a great detriment to railroad employees. The valuation and guaranteed income provisions provide a basis for supporting the most extravagant claims of the banker managements of the railroads for high freight rates and parsimonious demands for reduced wages. Meanwhile the act purports to give to the employees remedies in wage disputes which are more likely to work to their injury than to their benefit. If the employees obtain favorable decisions from the Labor Board after long and extensive hearings, the employers are free to reject the findings as did the railroads in over a hundred instances prior to the shop trade strike. If, on the other hand, the decisions are favorable to the railroads and the men reject the decision, then the drums will be beaten, the trumpets blown and public opinion stirred against the workers who are accused of defying the government.

Despite all claims to the contrary, the Esch-Cummins law has proven an utter failure and has been the cause of unrest, disturbance and dissatisfaction, manifested by wage earners, farmers and the people in general. It has never served a single useful purpose and its immediate repeal will be but a belated act of justice. The dominant fact is, that it has well served the Wall Street interests but it is time that consideration be given to the people's common interests.

The Executive Council, during the past year, as in former years, has continued to support the railroad workers in the defense of all their rights as wage earners and as citizens and is prepared to aid them in whatever legislative program may be deemed to best safeguard the rights and interests of the railroad workers—the wage earners—farmers, and the public in general.

A year ago the Executive Council proposed an arrangement to create a railroad Labor Policy Committee constituted of three representatives of the A. F. of L. selected from the members of the Executive Council and three representatives of railroad employees, selected by the organizations representing the railroad workers, this Labor Policy Committee to consider all railroad legislative proposals that may be submitted for consideration to congress and to prepare or approve and further such railroad legislation as would serve best the interests of the wage earners, farmers and the public generally and meet the requirements of the railroad workers in particular. This proposed arrangement has received the approval of the Railway Employees Department and of its constituent organizations. We are thus confident that whatever final legislative program is to be furthered and to receive organized labor's support will be one that will protect all railroad wage earners in their economic and industrial rights in particular and will enhance the economic and social interest of all wage earners, farmers, and the people in general.

THE MINIMUM WAGE LAW

The minimum wage law of the District of Columbia was passed by congress and became a law on September 19, 1918. Shortly thereafter the constitutionality of the law was questioned by bills to enjoin the enforcement of orders of the minimum wage board. The Children's Hospital of the District of Columbia and Willie A. Lyons, an elevator operator employed by the Congress Hall Hotel Company were the parties contesting the constitutionality of the law. The hospital employed a large number women with whom it had agreed upon wages, in some cases less than that fixed by the minimum wage board. Miss Lyons was employed by the Congress Hall Hotel Company at a salary of \$35.00 per month and two meals a day.

These bills were dismissed by the trial court and on appeal to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, the cases were decided June 6, 1921, by affirming the constitutionality of the law and on June 22, 1921, motions for rehearing were denied.

The majority opinion held the act unconstitutional, and the case was thereupon appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States which sustained the lower court.

The act was held invalid because in the eyes of the United States Supreme Court it authorized an unconstitutional interference with the freedom of contract included within the guarantees of the due process clause of the fifth amendment.

Holding that there is no such thing as absolute freedom of contract, the court set out four grounds upon which interference has been upheld. These are (1) statutes fixing rates and charges to be exacted by business impressed with a public interest; (2) statutes relating to contracts for the performance of public work; (3) statutes prescribing the character, methods and time for payment of wages; and (4) statutes fixing hours of labor.

The case of *Muller vs. Oregon*, in which the right to limit hours of labor for women is upheld, is dismissed with the thought that the nineteenth amendment and other changes in the contractual, political and civil status of women have cured the ancient inequalities of the sexes, other than physical.

The court then goes on to point out that this case differs from the four exceptions named above in every material respect. The court says:

It is not a law dealing with any business charged with a public interest or with public work, or to meet and tide over a temporary emergency. It has nothing to do with the character, methods or periods of wage payments. It does not prescribe hours of labor or conditions under which labor is to be done. It is not for the protection of persons under legal disability or for the prevention of fraud. It is simply and exclusively a price-fixing law, confined to adult women (for we are not now considering the provisions relating to minors) who are legally as capable of contracting for themselves as men.

The following is worthy of attention:

It can not be shown that well paid women safeguarded their morals more carefully than those who are poorly paid. Morality rests upon other considerations than wages; and there is, certainly, no such prevalent connection between the two as to justify a broad attempt to adjust the latter with reference to the former.

The law is also criticized because it compels the employer to pay at least the sum fixed but required no service of equivalent value from the employee. The court evidently overlooked the fact that the employer can always exercise his right of terminating the employment, and securing employees who will render a service of equivalent value. The court holds that while any attempt to fix a rigid boundary to the police power would be unwise and futile, that this legislation has passed the limits, and is therefore unconstitutional.

In opposition to this, Mr. Chief Justice Taft in his dissenting opinion holds that minimum wage laws are passed on the presumption that the "employees in the class receiving least pay, are not upon a full level of equality of choice with their employer and in their necessitous circumstances are prone to accept pretty much anything that is offered." He also declares that the function of the court is not to declare acts invalid simply because they are to remedy economic conditions, which the court believes to be unwise or unsound. He is of the opinion that legislatures have the authority to limit the hours of employment on the score of the health of the employees, and that there is authority for the finding that low wages are equally harmful. Since congress took this view, the court can not say that it was not warranted in so doing. Mr. Taft holds that if the legislature finds as much support in experience for the view that a sweating wage has as great and as direct a tendency to bring about an injury to the health and morals of workers, as for the view that long hours injure their health, that the case of *Muller vs. Oregon* controls. This case limited the hours of women in industries in Oregon and has been upheld by the United States Supreme Court. According to him, the boundary of the police power should not be drawn to include maximum hours and exclude a minimum wage.

Mr. Justice Holmes who also dissented, had the following to say:

I confess that I do not understand the principle on which the power to fix a minimum for the wages of women can be denied by those who admit the power to fix a maximum for their hours of work. I fully assent to the proposition that here as elsewhere the distinctions of the law are distinctions of

degree, but I perceive no difference in the kind or degree of interference with liberty, the only matter with which we have any concern, between the one case and the other. The bargain is equally affected which ever half you regulate. . . . The criterion of constitutionality is not whether we believe the law to be for the public good.

In *Knox vs. Lee*, 12 Wall, 457, in discussing the power of the supreme court to declare laws unconstitutional it is said:

The declaration (that an act of congress is void) should never be made except in a clear case. Every *possible* presumption is in favor of the validity of a statute and this continues until the contrary is shown beyond a rational doubt.

The doctrine thus pronounced has been declared time and time again, and is asserted with favor in the majority opinion of the case now under discussion, but it is a question whether or not it has been always followed.

This rule of construction has a special application to all acts of congress, which for reasons not necessary to mention here does not always apply to the constitutionality of a state law.

In spite of the language above quoted, which is the language of the supreme court itself, this tribunal insists and persists in declaring laws unconstitutional by a bare majority of one.

Surely, one can be excused for refusing to believe that in such cases every rational doubt has been swept away.

The minimum wage question received the attention of over five hundred legislators, comprising the house and senate and was then signed by the president. Among these legislators was a considerable number of lawyers, skilled in the law and possessing a deep knowledge of things constitutional. Does the fact that five members of the supreme court thought differently not only from their other colleagues, but from the legislators, together with the executive, wipe away every rational doubt? Does this fact make the unconstitutionality of the minimum wage act a clear case?

Our last three presidents, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson thought that such an act would be constitutional as is evidenced by their language.

President Roosevelt in his first inaugural held that measures to safeguard women and children in industry were among the primary functions of government.

Chief Justice Taft in his dissenting opinion clearly is of the opinion that the law was sound.

President Wilson in his first inaugural said:

There can be no equality of opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they can not alter, control or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, and law determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves, are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

As a result of this decision of the United States Supreme Court, a number of organizations and associations interested in the welfare and well-being of the women wage earners entered into a conference at which the decision of the supreme court in declaring the minimum wage law for women unconstitutional was considered from every point of view. Realizing the difficulties confronting the women wage earners and sympathizers and the labor movement in general in dealing with this question and in overcoming the constitutional objections urged by the United States Supreme Court, a joint conference committee was formed for the purpose of further study of this entire subject. It is quite difficult to prophesy what ultimate conclusion can be reached and how the legal difficulties and obstacles having developed by the United

States Supreme Court can be overcome. This is, however, certain, that if the women wage earners are to receive fair compensation for their services and if they are to obtain an equal wage for equal work done, with men, that the only effective recourse is to the complete organization of the women wage earners in their respective trade union organizations.

It is therefore recommended that especial attention be devoted during the coming year to the complete organization of the women wage earners of America and that all international trade unions having women wage earners in their craft or calling be urged to devote special attention to this work of organization.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS

The Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor authorized the appointment of a committee to inquire into the present status of workmen's compensation laws and employers' liability laws. Acting in conformity with the authority thus conferred upon him President Compers, with the approval of the Executive Council, appointed William Green, Frank Duffy, and Matthew Woll, to serve in this capacity. We present herewith the report of this special committee for consideration and approval:

Report of Committee on Workmen's Compensation Laws

Complying with instructions given by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, predicated on the authorization delegated to it by the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor, your committee so selected was especially charged to inquire into the following subjects:

- (a) The activities of insurance companies in preventing the establishment of state insurance funds to carry the risks arising out of industrial employment.
- (b) Differences arising out of conflicting interpretations and constructions of laws of state and federal governments.
- (c) Activities of employers in adopting and enforcing limits of age and standards of physical employment to lessen risks arising out of industrial employment and using workmen's compensation laws as a pretext to do this.
- (d) The wide difference in the administrative features, scheduled benefits and other allowances and provisions contained in the various state laws.

We have endeavored to perform the work assigned us by making diligent inquiry, through all means available, into the very important subject matter referred to us for inquiry and investigation. We respectfully submit the following report:

- (a) The activities of insurance companies in preventing the establishment of state insurance funds to carry the risks arising out of industrial employment.

Workmen's compensation legislation is based upon the fixed principle that employers must be required to furnish adequate security guaranteeing the payment of compensation, as provided in the statutes, to injured workmen and the dependents of killed employees. Exclusive state insurance, mutual companies, private stock companies and self-insurance are the commonly accepted forms of insurance employed as security in the payment of workmen's compensation schedules of benefits. All but three states (Alabama, Arizona and Kansas) require the employer to secure his compensation payments either by insuring his risks in an authorized private insurance carrier or in a state fund where such fund is provided or, in the case of self-insurers, to deposit bonds or other collateral security and to furnish a financial statement showing assets and liabilities. Thirty-two states permit insurance in private carriers. Seven states have an exclusive state insurance fund in which

the fund becomes the sole insurance carrier, no private company being allowed to operate. Nine states have a competitive state insurance fund in which the fund operates in competition with other forms of insurance. Of the forty-two compensation states, twelve are compulsory and thirty are elective. Many of the states enacted elective laws to overcome constitutional difficulties.

Unquestionably private insurance companies are opposed to the establishment of state insurance funds. This is particularly true where the statutes creating state insurance funds are supplemented by the enactment of legislation which excludes private insurance companies from participation in the sale of workmen's compensation insurance. The private companies are active in their opposition to workmen's compensation state insurance fund legislation. They are powerfully organized and naturally seek to retain for themselves the business of selling workmen's compensation insurance. It is a question of business and profit to the liability insurance companies.

As evidence of the power and influence of private insurance companies in the enactment of workmen's compensation legislation, only in seven states have exclusive state insurance funds been created by law, no private companies being allowed to operate, while in thirty-two states employers are permitted to insure with private carriers.

Summarizing the situation which our inquiry disclosed, the private insurance companies are engaged in the work of preventing the enactment of exclusive state insurance workmen's compensation legislation. Their agents work both openly and secretly, as circumstances may require. They attempt to deceive the unwary and unthinking representatives of labor by misrepresentation and through insidious propaganda. Stories attacking the solvency of exclusive state insurance funds are surreptitiously circulated and criticism of the schedules provided in the laws are made by agents of the private companies. In some instances they succeed in preventing the passage of exclusive state insurance workmen's compensation legislation by encouraging labor representatives to oppose the enactment of such legislation because the legislation proposed does not carry with it the ideals and full demands of labor. They create opposition to this form of legislation, among labor representatives, not because of the exclusive state insurance fund feature but because, in some inconsequential, minor way the bill proposed does not measure up to the demands of labor. By this policy the agents of private companies have succeeded in preventing the passage of exclusive state insurance workmen's compensation legislation in some states.

The United States Department of Labor made an investigation into the subject of workmen's compensation insurance. It reported and commented upon the relative types of insurance as follows:

"There has been much discussion as to the relative merits of different types of insurance. The Department of Labor recently completed an investigation upon the subject. The result of this investigation showed that the state funds could operate cheaper than either the mutual or stock companies. In fact, the average exclusive state funds can do business about 25 to 30 per cent cheaper than the average private stock company. There is considerable variation in the quality of service furnished by the several state funds. However, comparing the state funds as a whole with the private companies as a whole it was found that the state fund furnished slightly better service than the private companies. As regards security state funds are on a par in this respect with private carriers. Thus far no injured workman has lost his compensation because of the insolvency of state funds nor has any large mutual company become insolvent. On the other hand there have been several disastrous failures of private stock companies during the last three or four years. These failures have resulted in hundreds of thousands of dollars in unpaid claims."

- (b) Differences arising out of conflicting interpretations and constructions of laws of state and federal governments.

It does not appear, from such information as we were able to secure, that any serious differences have arisen out of conflicting interpretations and constructions of law defining state from federal governments. No controversies of any serious consequence have arisen with regard to persons employed upon railroads and pipe-lines, but some differences have arisen affecting those employed in maritime work. This prevails in California, Oregon, and some other Pacific and Atlantic coast states where persons are employed in maritime labor connected with the ocean-going and coast-wise trade.

State workmen's compensation laws can be made to apply only to employers and employes engaged in private industry and interstate commerce. Legislation of this character can not be made to apply to persons employed on railroads and transportation lines engaged in interstate commerce. The higher courts have held, in decisions made sustaining the constitutionality of workmen's compensation legislation, that the states have a legal right to enact workmen's compensation legislation, and that the states may make such legislation compulsory in its application to private industries located in and coming within the jurisdiction of the respective states. However, the courts have held, in construing the interstate commerce section of the constitution of the United States, that persons employed by common carriers, engaged in transporting interstate commerce can not come within the scope of or become subject to the operation of the state workmen's compensation laws.

Obviously, the remedy for this state of affairs is the enactment of a federal workmen's compensation law applicable to those persons engaged in interstate commerce and who come wholly within the federal jurisdiction.

We believe such legislation should define clearly the class of employers and employes who are subject thereto and should be similar to the Ohio workmen's compensation law which the American Federation of Labor has officially accepted as the standard act in this character and kind of legislation.

- (c) Activities of employers in adopting and enforcing limits of age and standards of physical employment to lessen risks arising out of industrial employment and using workmen's compensation laws as a pretext to do this.

Our investigation discloses the fact that employers in some industries establish age limits and require physical examination on the part of persons seeking employment. This practice, however, is not generally followed by employers of labor. Age limits and physical examination are required of those seeking employment upon railroads and in some rubber factories, electrical manufacturing plants and in other miscellaneous trades and callings. While these requirements may be set up in order to reduce risks arising out of industrial employment and using workmen's compensation laws as a pretext to do it, there is no evidence which we could find in support of it.

The practice itself seems to be followed as a matter of policy rather than to accomplish a purpose. It was put into effect in some industries before the enactment of workmen's compensation legislation. It would no doubt be carried on if there were no workmen's compensation legislation in effect.

In our opinion the only effective safeguard upon which the worker may rely as protection against injustice and discrimination growing out of age limit and physical examination, as followed by some employers is thorough and effective organization. Imposition of wrong and injustice by selfish employers can be successfully resisted in industries, factories and establishments where the workers are thoroughly organized.

- (d) The wide difference in the administrative features, scheduled benefits and other allowances and provisions contained in the various state laws.

Our investigations into the principal provisions of existing state compensation laws, has disclosed the fact that there is a wide variation in these essential provisions of compensation legislation. The principal provisions requiring attention may be said to include:

1. The scope or coverage of existing laws.
2. Inquiries embraced.
3. Waiting period involved.
4. Medical service provided.
5. Percentage rate of compensation fixed.
6. Weekly maximum and minimum compensation requirements.
7. Compensation periods embraced.
8. Second injuries included.
9. Administrations.
10. Accident prevention.
11. Suits for damages.
12. Compulsory or elective compensation.
13. Insurance and other like features.

It must be self-evident that a thorough inquiry into all these provisions and the formulation of concrete proposals suitable to all states and uniform in character involves a large task, requiring the utmost care and most intelligent consideration possible.

Your committee has made substantial progress in this work. However, the work done has not been advanced sufficiently to enable us to present a complete and comprehensive report at this time. Instead, it is recommended that the investigation made, compilation undertaken and formulation of a standard model workmen's compensation law at present under consideration, be continued by this or a like committee, with the understanding that the committee's final report be submitted to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the Executive Council be authorized to pass final judgment upon this report and publish and distribute it in pamphlet form and in such other manner as may be deemed most helpful, desirable and advisable by the Executive Council.

Pending the final report of this committee and the conclusions reached by the Executive Council, it is recommended that the Ohio workmen's compensation law continue as the model law on this subject.

Having given careful attention to the foregoing report, the executive council recommends favorable action upon the several conclusions contained therein, including authorization to complete the work undertaken and in the manner indicated and recommended in the committee's report.

REPORT ON LABOR LEGISLATION

Summary of Legislation Considered by the Sixty-Seventh Congress From May 1, 1922, to March 4, 1923.

Favorable Legislation Enacted.

1. Providing for the appointment of a commission to investigate questions relative to interstate commerce in coal. (Public No. 347.)
2. Prohibiting profiteering in coal. (Public No. 348.)
3. Bonus for federal and district employees of \$240 per year for the year ending June 30, 1923. (Public No. 257.)
4. Forbidding the expenditure of appropriations for the Departments of State and Justice to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations. (Public No. 229.)
5. Workmen's compensation for longshoremen. (Public No. 239.)
6. Extending the federal retirement act to include charwomen, laborers and

other employees whether classified or unclassified who are employed on an annual basis and whose pay is less than \$600 per annum. (Public No. 243.)

7. Reclassification act. (Public No. 516.)

8. Equalizing pensions of retired policemen and firemen of District of Columbia. (Public No. 428.)

9. Bonus for federal and District employees of \$240 per year for the year ending June 30, 1924. (Public No. 544.)

10. Extending compensation for occupational diseases to those receiving them until March 1, 1924. (Public No. 537.)

11. Prohibiting shipment of filled milk in interstate or foreign commerce. (Public No. 513.)

12. Extending retirement act to employees 55 years of age or over who shall have served for 15 years and who become involuntarily separated from the government service. (Public No. 363.)

Hostile Bills Defeated

1. Providing for compulsory labor.

2. Permitting the importation of coolie labor into Hawaii.

3. Providing for deportation of aliens who participate in "riotous gatherings."

4. Giving the federal courts jurisdiction over aliens which the Constitution provides comes within the police power of the states.

5. Providing that whenever a state does not find sufficient evidence to prosecute those engaged in riots that the federal courts can assume jurisdiction.

6. Establishing a "federal court of conciliation," the enforcement of whose awards would compel the wage earners to work against their will.

7. Providing for simplifying the "pleading, practice and procedure in certain federal courts," to give them more power.

8. Providing for the registration of foreigners, which any time would be extended to citizens of the United States.

9. Establishing courts to decide wages and working conditions of miners.

10. Establishing railroad adjustment boards which would make labor compulsory.

11. Providing for a sales tax.

12. Providing for ship subsidies.

13. Giving the Interstate Commerce Commission power to fix and regulate the wages of all railroad employees.

14. Providing that insurance companies should have the exclusive right to issue insurance to employers under a proposed workmen's compensation act for the District of Columbia.

15. Providing for the refunding of fines imposed on food profiteers during and since the war.

16. Providing that in the event of a national emergency the president would be authorized to draft into the service of the United States all persons necessary without exemption on account of industrial occupation.

Hostile Bills Passed

1. Providing that any civil suit, action or proceeding process against any defendant issued from a district court wherein such suit was brought shall run in any other district within the United States or the territorial or insular possessions thereof in which any such defendant shall be found with the same force and effect as if the same had been served within the district in which said suit, action or proceeding is brought. (Public No. 311.)

2. Providing that subpoenas for witnesses who are required to attend a court of the United States, in any district, may run into any other district. (Public No. 310.)

3. Reducing the pay of rural letter carriers for disciplinary purposes. (Public No. 325.)

4. Providing for the appointment of twenty-four additional federal judges. (Public No. 298.)

5. Eliminating hand presses in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing necessitating the discharge of 218 employees. (Public No. 378.)

Failure of Congress

The sixty-seventh congress will find an unenviable place in history. Reaction and incompetence, backed apparently by no other thought than personal and partisan political advantage, made it impotent to remedy any of the evils troubling the people of our country.

A group of reactionaries seemed to act upon the idea that their sole duty was to draw up bills that would take away guaranteed rights from the people or place further burdens of taxation upon them. Over 20,000 bills were introduced in the senate and house, some 400 of which affected Labor directly or indirectly.

After March 1, 1921, efforts were made to pay campaign pledges by introducing compulsory labor and other bills intended to degrade American standards. In fact, it was soon realized that if any remedial legislation was passed by congress it would be a miracle. The whole power and influence of Labor was therefore forced to protect itself from vicious legislation instead of endeavoring to secure remedial legislation. There was little legislation enacted during the congress that would benefit the mass of the people. The time was taken up in trying to carry out political pledges by subsidizing private ship owners, in advancing "thou shall not" legislation, taking the police power away from the states and placing it in the federal courts, and in making our money more easy to counterfeit by displacing old and tried employes in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. The only consolation Labor has is that while it did not obtain the remedial legislation that it sought it prevented the passage of many reactionary measures.

"Lame Ducks" Menace of Progress

With a sense of grim humor, members of congress who have been defeated for reelection and who are "hold-overs," that is, for four months they may sit in and be members of the house or the senate and determine the vote on legislation notwithstanding their repudiation by the people of their respective states or districts, have been dubbed "lame ducks."

One of the greatest issues before the people of the United States is the menace from legislation enacted by "lame ducks." Although the ship subsidy bill was condemned in every part of the country by people in nearly all walks of life the house passed it by twenty-four majority. Of those voting for the ship subsidy bill in the house seventy-one were "lame ducks," members who had been repudiated by their constituents, and with that vote only was the bill passed by the house. Such a wave of resentment swept over the country that Senator Norris introduced a bill (S. J. Res. 253), providing that terms of congressmen should expire in December after the election and that a congress of the newly elected representatives be called together in the following January. The bill passed the senate but was pigeonholed in the house. The "misleaders" of the house being "lame ducks" would not permit the bill to be reported for action. It is believed that the next congress will take suitable action to eliminate this incongruous menace to legislation, legislation upon which the people have expressed their elms by their votes. The will of the people as expressed by their votes must be translated into law.

Ship Subsidy

The greatest blow to the privileged few and a most beneficial outcome of congressional legislation was the defeat of the ship subsidy bill (H. R. 12817). The arguments in favor of a ship subsidy were all such flagrant misrepresentation that the number of opponents continued to grow until the members of the senate were convinced that they would meet political suicide if they voted for such a measure. As soon as the bill was introduced your Executive Council at its session May 10, 1922, made a careful analysis of its provisions and found them so inimical to the interests of the people that a resolution of protest against such legislation was adopted and sent to the Joint Committee on Commerce and Marine and Fisheries of the house and senate. The Cincinnati convention also condemned the bill.

The representative of the largest advertising agency in the United States and also chairman of the United States Shipping Board was selected to push the bill through

congress. He was so confident that it would pass that he told the members of congress that it was not necessary for them to know anything about the measure, that the president wanted it and that was sufficient. The support of Labor was urged but this was emphatically refused because such a subsidy would be detrimental to Labor and the people. Information as to the dangers in the bill was sent to all colleges, universities, state federations of labor, central bodies and local unions.

All during the summer of 1922 efforts were made to have the house pass the bill, but the members refused to vote upon the measure before the November elections. In the November elections the ship subsidy bill was repudiated by the people, its most influential sponsors being recalled by their constituents. After the elections a special session of congress was called and President Harding on November 21, 1922, appeared before a joint session of the senate and house and urged the passage of the ship subsidy bill. Under the lash of the party whip, backed by the influence of certain interests that would benefit, the house passed the bill. It was for this bill that the seventy-one lame ducks voted and it was passed by only twenty-four majority.

As the 1922 convention had unanimously condemned the ship subsidy bill President Gompers immediately notified all affiliated organizations of the action of the house and the danger of the passage of the bill in the senate. Members of the senate began to receive a flood of protests and the advocates of the bill began to weaken in numbers. Every trick known to practical politicians was used to convince the people that the bill should pass. The very arguments, however, were so full of false logic and chicanery that opposition continued rapidly to increase instead of receding as hoped. Finally, the leaders of the senate recognized that there was too much danger to their political future to pass the measure and they withdrew it from consideration. An outstanding fact in regard to the opposition to the ship subsidy bill was that labor was the only organization that openly fought against its passage. It can be said without fear of contradiction that had it not been for the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations this pernicious legislation would have been driven through congress under the whip and spur of party regularity and the fear of loss of patronage.

The best evidence that American shipowners do not require a subsidy to be successful is contained in a dispatch from New York printed in the Washington Star of May 29 which states that the Japanese government has been petitioned by big shipping interests in that country to increase the subsidies granted Japanese shipping in order that the latter may be able to meet competition in Pacific waters. It was said that during the first five months of this year American shipping intra-transpacific trade has grown to such proportions that it exceeded the Japanese and British tonnage combined. Furthermore, it was stated that freight and passenger capacities of American ships now plying the Pacific routes will be taxed to the limit within another year.

Sales Tax.

Propagandists who sought to save the well-to-do from taxation and place the burden upon those least able to bear it were unable to carry out their scheme in the sixty-seventh congress. The effort to increase the burdens of the masses of the people was led in congress by Senator Smoot. He was supported by certain newspapers whose owners not only wished to be saved from taxation but who wished to bring about the same desirable result for their big advertisers. Representative Frear of Wisconsin led the fight against the sales tax. The American Federation of Labor through its legislative and publicity departments made a vigorous onslaught on this vicious legislation, and the masses of the people are to be congratulated that it has been defeated.

But those who are agitating for the sales tax have not given up hope of finally saddling it on the people. Secretary of the Treasury Mellon very adroitly claims that the increase in the income tax was caused by a reduction in the surtaxes. Everyone knows that approximately five million wage earners were out of employment in 1921. Therefore the income tax paid was much less than for 1922. It is through such misrepresentations as this that the profiteers and evaders of their just obligations are, through their representatives in congress, seeking to force through legislation inimical to the interests of the mass of the people and for the special benefit of a few.

Coolie Labor for Hawaii

After members of the committees on immigration of the house and senate had declared there was no chance for legislation favoring the importation of 50,000 Chinese coolies into the Hawaiian Islands, both committees reported bills (S. J. Res. 82 and H. J. Res. 171) just before adjournment, favoring such a law. This action created so much surprise that some of those who were advocating this pernicious legislation gave out the following story as a defense of their action:

They declared that the Hawaiian Emergency Labor Commission, so called, had expended such a large sum of money in lobbying for the admission of Chinese coolies into the Islands that they had to have something done to convince the contributors in Hawaii that they were doing effective work. They wanted propaganda with which to go before the next meeting of the Hawaiian legislature and secure a large appropriation to continue the agitation for the importation of Chinese coolies. They also wanted the sugar, pineapple, and rice interests of the Islands to contribute in order that the lobby could remain in Washington. They had found the "atmosphere" of Washington so congenial they wished to stay here another two years. The statement of the members of the immigration committees that there was no intention to pass the bills proved true. This fact was taken as a corroboration of the story that the reports of the bills were for propaganda purposes to raise a large lobbying fund with which the questionable receptions and stag parties of the past composed of congressmen could be continued in the future.

In November, 1922, the president of the United States on the recommendation of Secretary of Labor Davis appointed a committee to visit the Hawaiian Islands and investigate labor conditions. The commission has made its report but that report has not yet been made public by the department.

That there is no shortage of labor in Hawaii is evidenced by a statement made by Richard G. Trent, banker and director of American Factors Limited, the largest sugar company in the islands, and also interested in a number of other sugar plantations. He said in a statement published in the Washington Star of May 29, that "workers, being attracted to the island fields by bonuses have overcome any threatened shortage of labor."

Workmen's Compensation, District of Columbia.

Early in the sixty-seventh congress Senator Jones of Washington and Representative Fitzgerald of Ohio introduced bills providing for compensation for injured workmen in the District of Columbia. They were practically the same bills, both providing for an exclusive federal fund to cover the risk. The bills were approved by the Cincinnati convention of the A. F. of L. and there was every prospect of their passage. When it was considered certain that the Fitzgerald bill (H. R. 10034) would pass the house, Representative Underhill of Massachusetts (who is pointed to as being the Blanton of New England) introduced a bill which would give the exclusive right to insurance companies to insure under the proposed act. His bill was supported by the insurance companies. When the Fitzgerald bill came up for action in the house all after the title was stricken out and the Underhill bill substituted. In this shape it passed the house.

When the bill came before the senate committee on the District of Columbia the A. F. of L. opposed the measure as passed by the house. It was decided that it was better to have no legislation for workmen's compensation in the District of Columbia unless it prohibited insurance companies from getting a strangle hold on the compensation funds. It has been demonstrated that the insurance companies wherever they have been allowed to insure for workmen's compensation make enormous profits to the detriment of injured victims of industry. The best evidence of why insurance companies fight for the right to insure under compensation laws is given by the Department of Banking and Insurance of the state of New Jersey. It reports that for the year ending December 31, 1920, the insurance companies in that state collected premiums of \$7,157,248.27 and paid losses amounting to \$3,001,407.18. This left as the insurance companies' share of the premiums paid \$4,155,841.09, more than 100

per cent more than that was paid to injured workmen or the dependents of workmen who have been killed. These figures staggered even the most reactionary of the members of the senate committee. It was clearly understood that should a workmen's compensation law for the District of Columbia be enacted which gave insurance companies the exclusive right to insure employers it would be used as propaganda in the various states to change the laws already enacted providing for exclusive state insurance. States that have not the state insurance feature would be influenced to legislate in favor of insurance companies. Therefore, it was considered better to have the Underhill bill defeated. This was accomplished.

Centralization of Government

S. 1943, by Senator Kellogg, provided "for the better protection of aliens and the enforcement of their treaty rights." Stripping the title and disclosing its intent it provided "for the better protection of aliens if they are strike breakers but for their punishment if they are strikers." The principle of this bill was lauded by President Harding in a message to congress on the mining and railroad controversies. The purpose of the proposed law was to permit federal courts to hear and decide cases in which aliens are involved but which the constitution provides come within the police power of the states.

Section 4 of the bill provided that to enforce the decisions of the courts in such cases the president of the United States was authorized to use the United States marshals and the deputies and if need be the army and navy to prevent wage earners from ceasing work to better their conditions. Senator Kellogg's bill undoubtedly was to make the government of the United States a giant strike breaking agency.

Unfair employers contend that the state courts are too near the people and therefore more likely to be just in their decisions than the federal courts. Therefore, they endeavored to give jurisdiction to the federal courts because of their well known practice of deciding against Labor.

Representative Edmonds of Pennsylvania also submitted a bill (H. R. 12344) providing "for the deportation of aliens who participate in riotous gatherings, and for other purposes." It is well known that innocent men are often arrested and tortured by the "third degree" until they are compelled to confess offenses or crimes of which they are innocent. Other men have been forced to defend themselves in the courts against conspiracies to convict them of crimes of which they know nothing. Therefore, it can easily be deduced that a workmen's meeting can be broken up and any alien participant can be deported through the conniving of police, detective agents, and "agents provocateur" who may be controlled by powerful interests. While ostensibly intended to protect aliens the real object was to give the federal courts the right to assume jurisdiction wherever there is an opportunity to destroy any effort of the workers to protect and advance their rights and interests.

The Dyer anti-lynching bill (H. R. 13) had a similar purpose. While Labor abhors lynchings it insists that the federal courts should not be given jurisdiction that would take away the police power of the states, especially when the hidden purpose of such a proposed law is to give the federal courts jurisdiction over industrial disputes in which the workers, as such, find themselves involved.

Naturalization

S. 3403 and H. R. 10860, companion bills, introduced by Senator Shortridge of California and Representative Johnson of Washington contain most dangerous provisions. They provide that all aliens shall register on coming to the United States and each year thereafter. Should such a law be enacted governing aliens it could be extended to citizens, which would Russianize and Germanize our republic. If the bills referred to become a law, and they are expected to be pushed in the next congress, it will give federal judges the power to cancel the citizenship of naturalized aliens who might be engaged in strikes. A year ago a judge in Pittsburgh refused to naturalize a number of miners because he said they were on strike. There was no law giving the judge power to deny citizenship on that score. Such a law as that proposed in the

bills mentioned would make lawful the deportation of any alien engaging in a strike or any naturalized citizen who might also offend in the same manner.

In 1892 a law was enacted providing that all Chinese in the United States should register with the internal revenue collector in their respective districts. This law was amended in 1893 to more thoroughly enforce the registration provisions and when carried to the supreme court it was declared constitutional.

The object of the law compelling Chinese to register was to make it easier for the government to know that unless a Chinaman could show a registration certificate he was not entitled to remain in this country. While the Chinese registered in 1893 and 1894 the law apparently was never enforced afterwards.

If aliens from western Europe were compelled to register it would not be long before that requirement would become a political issue and would divide our people by nationalities. It is a bad principle and should be opposed with all the influence of labor.

Department of Labor

The two years' fight to prevent the scrapping of the Department of Labor is in a fair way of being successful. Mr. Walter F. Brown, representing the president, who is chairman of the joint committee on reorganization of the senate and house, has made a report to the president in which only minor changes are recommended in the present functioning of the Department of Labor. The non-industrial services of the women's and children's bureau will become a part of the Department of Education and Welfare, a proposed new department. While every power of the administration is being used to make friends for the reorganization plan the opposition appears to be so great that it is doubtful if it will pass in the next congress.

Soldiers' Bonus

Congress failed to enact legislation providing for adjusted compensation for former service men. A bill was passed by the house March 23, 1922, and by the senate September 15, 1922, but four days later was vetoed by the president. The house passed the bill over the president's veto, but the senate upheld the president. In November, Representative Johnson of South Dakota introduced a bill (H. R. 12896) containing practically the same provisions as that vetoed by the president. It failed of passage.

It might be well to refer to a statement made by Senator Sterling in a discussion on the floor of the senate when the bonus bill was before that body:

He (the soldier) had the privilege of going and fighting for the grandest republic on God's footstool; and instead of claiming a bonus now he ought to consider himself, with all that he is and all that he has gained, the debtor of the nation rather than its creditor.

It would not be difficult to imagine how the people would have taken this statement if it had been made while the boys were in the trenches in France.

In those days the administration was doing its utmost to insure victory. June 1, 1917, congress doubled the wages of the soldiers, raising them from \$15 to \$30 a month. The committee on labor of the Council of National Defense was continually considering how to protect the interest of the men in the service. In the first meeting of the executive committee of the committee on labor compensation to be paid to soldiers and sailors and the platform of taking care of their families were discussed.

Later, through President Gompers, chairman of the committee on labor, the matter was presented to the Council of National Defense with the suggestion that the committee on labor be authorized to take up the entire subject matter and to draft appropriate legislation. The suggestion was approved.

President Gompers appointed Judge Julian W. Mack, as chairman of the committee and the most comprehensive measure ever drafted was prepared. The committee also cooperated in the matter of insurance for soldiers and sailors. The law as enacted provided for generous contributions by the government to the wives and the children of all enlisted men as long as they were in the service. In case of death the widow and

children were to receive sums ranging from \$20 to \$75 a month and no distinction was made between a private and the highest officer.

A feature that marked it as the most progressive legislation of any country ever in war was the insurance provision. The government sold insurance to men of the service at less than private companies in peace times to civilization. The government added nothing for expenses or profit. No such legislation was ever enacted by any country. The war is over but some of those who remained at home to legislate for those who were offering the supreme sacrifice are now refusing adjusted compensation to the men who maintained the political freedom of our republic.

Fixing Wages for Miners

Senator King of Utah introduced a joint resolution (S. J. Res. 230) providing for the setting up of a court to decide the wages and working conditions of miners. The court was to make an investigation of the merits of the controversy then existing between the miners and the mine operators and make recommendations to the president of the United States as to the wages that should be paid and the conditions under which they should work. If the president approved the findings he was to issue a proclamation putting them into effect. Labor presented such strong opposition against the attempt to fix wages of the workers in private employment that nothing was done with the bill. Senator Borah introduced a bill (S. 3865) to establish a coal commission that also would pass upon the wages of miners. It met the fate of Senator King's resolution. Congress upon recommendation of the president passed a law creating a commission for the purpose of fact finding in the mining industry.

Compulsory Labor

Several bills were presented to congress prohibiting employes in interstate commerce from ceasing work to better their condition. Senator Spencer in S. 3889 proposed to establish a "federal court of conciliation," although nothing in the bill would suggest conciliation. It provided:

That the court shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine controversies or disputes affecting the operation of interstate commerce as may be brought before it, and to enforce its decisions and findings as the judgment of other federal courts are enforced.

Senator Spencer was emphatic in this statement:

If you don't take this law you will take something else, for there is going to be a law passed by congress that will forever end strikes in controversies between employers and employes in the railroad, mining, and probably the electrical and oil industries.

December 8, 1922, President Harding in a message to congress, which he personally read, called attention to the "inefficiency of power to enforce decisions of the railroad labor board." He said:

The substitution of a labor division in the interstate commerce commission made up from its membership, to hear and decide disputes relating to wages and working conditions which have failed of adjustment by proper committees created by the railroads and their employes, offers a more effective plan. . . . Public interest demands that ample power shall be conferred upon the labor tribunal, whether it is the present board or the suggested substitute, to require its rulings to be accepted by both parties to a disputed question.

He added:

Therefore the lawful power for the enforcement of decisions is necessary to sustain the majesty of government and to administer to the public welfare.

Notwithstanding the efforts of unfair employers' associations to have compulsory labor legislation enacted there was no action on the bills presented.

Post Office Night Work

While failing to reach their desired goal—a time differential for postal night workers—the affiliated postal unions were able to get this legislation advanced farther than at any previous session of congress.

Favorable reports were had from the post office committees of both the house and the senate. The house post office committee reported favorably the Gorman bill, while the senate committee reported the Townsend bill. Both measures provided for a fifty-minute hour for postal workers between 6 P. M. and 6 A. M.

The Townsend bill was debated in the senate on February 24, 1923. Vigorous opposition to its passage was voiced by Senator Nathan Dial of South Carolina. In keeping with his oft-expressed views on the shorter workday, the South Carolina Senator denounced this attempt for relief for postal night workers as contravening economic laws and calculated to upset postal working conditions. Owing to the parliamentary situation there was no opportunity to overcome the opposition of Senator Dial.

The promised relief from excessive night work through postal administration has not been granted the postal workers. The fight for the desired remedial legislation will be carried to the next congress.

Civil Service Retirement Law

Some progress has been made in liberalizing and strengthening the civil service retirement law which organized labor was largely instrumental in placing in the statutes. The law was originally enacted May 22, 1920, following a long fight by the organized government employes with the support of the A. F. of L. Present efforts are directed towards its improvement.

June 17, 1922, congress amplified the original law to cover charwomen and laborers who were excluded from retirement benefits. On September 22, 1922, congress heeded the urgings of organized labor, particularly the crafts employed in the Navy Yard, by amending the retirement law to protect mechanics and other employes, fifty-five years or over, who are involuntarily forced out of government employment through no fault of their own. These workers may apply for an immediate diminished annuity or an annuity certificate entitling them to full benefits when they reach the prescribed age.

The efforts of the organized and affiliated government employes are now centered upon three major improvements in the retirement law: First, that length of service, preferably thirty years, and not age shall be the retirement requisite; second, that the present inadequate annuities shall be increased; third, that the present seventy-year age requirement be reduced to at least sixty-five years.

As in the past the officers of the American Federation of Labor have extended all possible assistance in the perfection of this humane law, which is so important to government employes.

Wages of School Teachers

The age-old objection to those employed in educating the masses was found to be very effective in defeating a bill before congress providing for fixing the wages of teachers in the District of Columbia. It granted them a substantial increase and the teachers worked very hard for its passage. The bill (S. 3136) was introduced by Senator Capper of Kansas and was passed by the senate. When the bill reached the District of Columbia committee of the house the anti-educationists began their work to defeat the measure. Several amendments requested by the Teachers' Union and representatives of the A. F. of L. were made in committee and the bill was reported favorably to the house. Then the scheme to defeat it began to come to light. The leaders, or it might with justice be said the "misleaders" of the house, set out to defeat it. This bill could only come up on what is known as "district day," but for various reasons it was not permitted to come before the house although the "leaders" promised that

before the session ended they would see that the bill was passed. The truth of the matter is that the bill as amended was opposed by the school administration forces for the reason that the amendments gave higher rates to the actual teachers while they cut the proposed excessive remuneration for the school administration. Representative Campbell of Kansas, chairman of the house rules committee, who was defeated in the last election, house leader Mondel and chairman Focht of the District of Columbia committee, both of whom also were defeated, juggled the measure in such a manner that they were able to prevent the bill coming to a vote. If it had come to a vote it would have been passed by an overwhelming majority. The scuttling of the teachers' pay bill was considered by the "leaders" to be an "administration victory."

Mediation and Conciliation

That the peculiar tactics of the railroad labor board have developed strong opposition in congress was evidenced by the introduction of several bills providing for the abolition of that body. Representative Cooper of Ohio in H. R. 12650 proposed to re-establish the Newlands act as a means of maintaining industrial peace on the railroads. This act, which was in effect up until the transportation act of 1920 was passed, proved a means in adjusting disputes between the railroads and their employees. While much favorable support was given the bill the reactionary congress was not prepared to vote for any measure that would mean the settlement of disputes by retaining the natural and constitutional rights of the workers.

Representative Goodykoontz also introduced a bill (H. R. 12647) to repeal the labor clauses of the transportation act.

No action was taken on any of the bills by either house.

Conscription

The Executive Council is of the firm belief that there is a desire to force conscription upon Labor in peace times as well as in times of war. This first came to light September 21, 1922, when Representative Johnson of South Dakota introduced a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 384), proposing an amendment to the constitution of the United States, as follows:

That in the event of a declaration of war by the United States of America against any foreign government or other common enemy the congress shall provide for the conscription of every citizen and of all money, industries, and property of whatsoever nature necessary to the prosecution thereof and shall limit the profits for the use of such moneys, industries and property."

Labor entered no objections to the joint resolution as it not only conscripted Labor but also "all money, industries and property of whatsoever nature necessary to the prosecution" of war. Besides, such conscription could not occur until after a declaration of war by the United States. But opposition immediately arose from the financial interests and big corporations. They insisted it was all right to conscript labor but they would not stand for the conscription of money, industries and property even in war time.

Then it was discovered that it was not necessary to have a constitutional amendment and Representative Johnson presented a bill (H. R. 13201) December 6, 1922, "to provide for the national security and defense." This provided that "in the event of a national emergency," which does not necessarily mean war, the president would be authorized to draft into the service of the United States all persons necessary without exemption on account of industrial occupation. No other interpretation could be placed upon such a bill than that it would mean there could be conscription in peace times. Section 2 of the bill provided that only in case of war the president would have power to determine material resources over which government control would be necessary to the successful termination of such a conflict. Previous to the introduction of this subject in congress a representative of the war college visited the offices of the American Federation of Labor and asked what stand Labor would take on the question of conscription. December 8, President Harding in a message which he read to congress said:

The proposed survey of a plan to draft all the resources of the republic, human and material, for national defense may well have your approval."

Under such a law as that proposed when a war would end there is no doubt but that conscription of labor would be extended into peace times. That the reactionary group that is controlling the destinies of the United States at the present time determined if they can to turn progress backward and adopt the policies of the old imperial, autocratic and militaristic governments is immediately evident by this species of proposed legislation. The convention should take a firm stand on the conscription proposal.

Bonus for Federal and District Employees

When the question of a bonus of \$240 to government employees for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, was under consideration in congress an attempt was made to reduce it to \$180. There had been delay in taking up the bonus question, Chairman Madden of the appropriations committee of the house stating that it was not included in the sundry civil appropriation bill because it was possible that the reclassification bill would pass and there would be no need of the bonus. The federal employees accepted this promise in good faith, but when Chairman Madden reported the bill providing for the bonus of 1923, the amount was fixed at the lower figure. Vigorous protest was made by the American Federation of Labor and the organizations of federal employees. Representative Lehlbach moved to strike out \$180 and insert \$240. This was adopted. During the closing hours of the sixty-seventh congress the bonus was appropriated for the fiscal year 1924.

Anti-Injunction Bills

The action of Attorney General Daugherty in using the prohibited funds appropriated by congress for the Department of Justice to secure an injunction against the railroad shopmen aroused members of congress and two bills were introduced to specifically forbid such violations in the future. H. R. 12559 by Representative Huddleston of Alabama provided that any officer, agent or employee of the United States who shall willfully deprive or attempt to deprive any person of his lawful freedom of speech, of press, or of assemblage, or of due process of law, or of any right, privilege, or immunity secured under the constitution of the United States shall have committed malfeasance in office. It declared that the issuance of any illegal injunction or other process not in good faith and with the wilful intent to deprive any person of any lawful right or immunity or to intimidate any person or put him in fear in the exercise thereof shall constitute malfeasance in office. The penalty was removal from office and a fine of \$10,000 or imprisonment for a period of not exceeding ten years, or both.

H. R. 12622, by Representative Schall, provided for adding to section 15 of the Clayton act the following:

Provided, That the authority hereby vested in said courts and said district attorneys under the direction of the attorney general to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations shall not extend to such peaceful activities and purposes of labor and agricultural organizations as are specified as being exempt from said proceedings in sections 6 and 20 of said act."

Appropriation acts for the Department of Justice contain clauses that the money shall not be used in the prosecution of farmer or labor organizations under the anti-trust act. Nevertheless, the attorney general used these prohibited funds to pay the enormous cost incurred in securing and enforcing the injunction against the railroad shopmen. No action was taken on the bills.

Lincoln Day

By direction of the Cincinnati convention the Executive Council prepared a bill making February 12 a legal holiday for the District of Columbia, to be known as Lincoln Day. It was introduced in the house by Representative Maloney. Much opposition arose, the contention being that congress has designated only two legal holidays, Labor Day and Mother's Day. Fourth of July, Christmas, New Years and other holidays in the District of Columbia and territories are holidays by general consent and not because of congressional legislation.

Notwithstanding this attitude of the leaders of congress there should be no let-up in urging the establishment of Lincoln Day in honor of the memory of our great martyred president, the great emancipator and consistent advocate and defender of the rights, interests and welfare of the common people. Lincoln Day would be a milestone each year in the struggle to maintain that freedom for which he struggled and for which he gave up his life. He represented all that was great in human conduct and the celebration of the anniversary of his birth would be an incentive to the youth of our land as well as all the people to follow the teachings of his life and thereby bring about a higher civilization.

Compensation for Occupational Diseases.

Government employees were much exercised in February last when J. R. McCarl, comptroller general of the treasury, made a decision that under the workmen's compensation act those who suffered from occupational diseases were not entitled to benefits. The workmen's compensation commission had since the passage of the law granted compensation to all those suffering from diseases contracted as a result of their employment. The decision reversing the original rule was so contrary to the intent of the law that members of congress immediately took up the matter and a bill (H. R. 14226) was introduced to counteract the effect of the comptroller general's decision. The bill provided for the payment of compensation in cases of occupational diseases to those who already had been receiving it or any who might be eligible for such compensation in the future. Congress, however, refused to pass the bill in its entirety. The law as enacted, known as Public No. 537, provides that only those persons who had been receiving compensation for occupational diseases upon an award made by the compensation commission should until March 1, 1924, be entitled to receive the amount specified unless set aside by the commission. Every effort will be made in the next congress to have a satisfactory law enacted.

Muscle Shoals

Opposition to the offer made by Henry Ford to take over control of Muscle Shoals became so strong that congress failed to take any action. Congress passed an amendment to the army appropriation bill appropriating \$7,500,000 for the completion by the government of the Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals; work to begin October 1, 1922. An army appropriation bill for 1924 also contains an appropriation for continuation of the work on Dam No. 2 on the Tennessee River at Muscle Shoals of \$6,998,800. Besides the secretary of war has authorized to contract for machinery, gates and other materials to be paid for from appropriations made from time to time by law not to exceed in the aggregate \$10,501,200. Senator Caraway declared that "there was a combination in the agricultural committee of the senate to defeat the Ford offer."

Convict Labor.

The sixty-seventh congress failed to take any action to protect free labor from competition with the products of convict labor. Representative Nolan, who introduced H. R. 10241 was chairman of the committee on labor. His death prevented pressure of this legislation.

The bill provided that any article produced wholly or in part by prison labor should upon being transported into another state or territory be subject to the operation and effect of the laws to the same extent as if made in such state or territory. The contractors who thrive on the labor of inmates of penal institutions fought the bill bitterly.

The Executive Council believes that such a bill, if it became a law, would be constitutional.

According to statistics there are 67,000 prisoners in the various prisons and reformatories conducted by the several states. Of these 18,439 are engaged in what are known as "shop trades." The remaining 48,561 are employed on state roads and farms and in maintenance of the institutions. Of the 18,439 engaged in "shop trades" 10,740 are employed in industries under contract and public account systems whereby the

products manufactured by them are disposed of in the open market. Of the 10,740 prisoners working under contract 5,749 or 53 per cent are employed in the manufacture of work shirts and overalls.

The agitation against prison contract labor is spreading over the country. The General Council of the Federation of Women's Clubs adopted a resolution in its meeting at Atlanta, Ga., declaring "that the evils of the prison system can be traced to profiteering on the prisoners by business interests." Conforming to our own Federation's declarations it went on record favoring the employing of prisoners in the production of commodities for use and consumption by state institutions, departments and public works under state control.

Many other organizations have begun to realize the menace of contract prison labor and are advocating its abolishment. Every effort will be made in the sixty-eighth congress to secure this most important remedial legislation.

Reclassification

The Classification Act of 1923, passed by congress in the last hours of the session which ended March 4, represents the culmination of a legislative campaign on the part of the National Federation of Federal Employees which had lasted for more than five years, the American Federation of Labor cooperating.

The Classification Act is regarded as the most important piece of civil service legislation since the original Civil Service Act. It writes into law principles and definitions designed to set up a genuine merit system of appointment, promotion and dismissal. Salary rates are revised on the basis of equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex, and in accordance with the skill, training and responsibility of the job, instead of the inconsistent, unequal, hit-or-miss wage scale that has prevailed. For the District of Columbia new rates are provided in the bill, these to absorb the current "bonus," so-called, of \$240 a year, and in most instances afford an increase besides more nearly proportionate to the cost of living and the scale in private industry. The new salary schedules, the law provides, shall become operative July 1, 1924. Before that date a complete survey of the field services shall have been made, and all employees allocated to their appropriate grade in time for approval by congress at its next session. A central classifying agency is created, to coordinate salary scales and establish or revise the efficiency ratings upon which salaries depend.

As finally passed, the reclassification bill, except in one respect, is essentially the same as the Sterling-Lehlbach bill, which the National Federation of Federal Employees has advocated and the American Federation of Labor endorsed. One feature is a compromise, namely, the administrative agency, which the law provides shall be a three headed board composed of the director of the budget, or his alternate, a member of the civil service commission or alternate, and the chief of the bureau of efficiency or alternate. This plan combines one element of each of three reclassification bills which have been before congress.

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION, JUDICIAL DECISIONS AND DECREES

Attempts made by employers, commercial, industrial and financial interests to destroy or to render impotent the trade union movement of America by means fair or foul, legal or illegal, are not alone foolish but are ill-designed in that they give rise to attitudes and tendencies surcharged with extremely harmful consequences to the whole social, economic and political fabric of our country. With the wide-spread of education and the constant growth of the ideals and principles of democracy the workers can not long be kept in legal or industrial subjection or be denied successfully the right of combining to equalize their power, influence and ability with that of corporate enterprise and associate industries. The necessity for mutual defence and the promptings for the advancement of the common good can not be stifled or be suppressed.

Those who would understand these truths and human incentives might well refer to and reflect upon the pages of history. The struggle of labor for freedom, equal opportunity and equal rights is indeed a tragic reflection upon humankind and the brightest hope for a better civilization is indicated in the fact that however strong and influential

those in midst of us may be and who lay claim to the greater portion of the wealth and possessions of mankind, the hopes of the real toilers of life can not be everlastingly suppressed and repressed.

Thus we find that nearly a hundred years ago the employers of England attempted to destroy trade unions. The combination acts of 1799 and 1800 were expressly designed to prevent the workers from combining to increase wages and reduce working hours. Workmen and their leaders were sent to jail and severely punished for their disregard to those anti-social tendencies and laws. But the promptings of labor could not be suppressed; anti-combination laws proved futile against the rising tide of the wage earners for equality of rights with all persons and groups.

For many years then public opinion was strongly in favor of suppressing the trade unions. Employers, government officials, journalists and clergymen urged that organizations of workers were dangerous and every possible legal and economic weapon was used to suppress the trade unions. All these repress measures failed and today the right of the workers to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing is no longer challenged but is legally safeguarded in England.

In Russia we find quite another example of the folly and danger of a policy of repression. The attitude of the former imperial government toward all movements of the workers was the recognized policy. Imprisonment, banishment and execution were the weapons used. Finally the inevitable occurred. The old regime was swept aside and the industries of Russia all but ruined. Recent occurrences can not be fairly understood without embracing a remembrance of the decades and centuries of repression and persecution of the masses.

Since the World War there has been a marked tendency and highly concentrated effort here to destroy trade unionism by an appeal to suppression and resort to repression in many forms. We are thus confronted with the all absorbing question of whether, as a people, we shall follow the progressive course experienced in England or whether we shall find ourselves thrust into currents of disorder as have been manifested in Russia.

The more pronounced and most dangerous policies of repression are those having received legislative or judicial sanction and thus constitute governmental policies which must need amendment or repeal. Chief among these repressive laws, legal policies and judicial decrees are the Sherman anti-trust law and similar anti-combination laws, the legality of individual contracts of employment denying the worker the right to join the trade union of his calling and placing the power to penalize the worker into the hands of an irresponsible employer, the continued usurpation by our judges in the exercise of their chancery powers to issue injunctive and mandatory decrees without limitation and regardless of their constant infringement upon the legislative or law making branch of government and their flagrant trespass upon the powers and rights reserved to the people by our constitutional form of government.

Sherman Anti-Trust Law

The Sherman anti-trust law and the several supplemental laws predicated upon this law have all been designed to restrain the combining and merging of industrial and commercial groups for the purpose of monopoly and the arbitrary fixing of prices through monopolistic control or restraint of trade. At the time of the enactment of the Sherman law the development of large corporate and associated enterprise was in the making. It was to prevent this further development that the Sherman anti-trust law was enacted. But this law was impotent in the face of the industrial and commercial developments and by decisions of the United States Supreme Court within the last few years its restraining influence has been annulled for all practical purposes.

At the time of the enactment of the Sherman law considerable apprehension was expressed by the organized workers in that the anti-combination features of this law would be prevented by our courts to stifle and destroy trade union organizations and activities. Despite the fact that assurances were given that no such restraint was contemplated or embraced in this law the same judicial body that freed organized capital from the operation of the Sherman law arbitrarily included labor and labor organizations under its restrictive features.

It was hoped that the subsequent enactment of the Clayton law with its labor provisions, declaring that labor was not a commodity or article of commerce would free the workers and their trade unions for these repressive limitations. It was likewise believed that the curtailment placed upon the power of the courts to invade the rights of the workers when engaged in industrial disputes with employers would safeguard the wage earners in their natural freedom and constitutional guarantees to freedom of speech—of conduct, and of assembly. But again the United States Supreme Court injected itself and by adroit construction and interpretation reversed the judgment of congress and again gave life to repressive legal measures calculated to strengthen the arm of employers when in conflict with the wage earners.

At the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor the following proposals were recommended and approved:

An act repealing the Sherman anti-trust law which intended by congress to prevent illegal combinations in restraint of trade, commonly known as "trusts," but through judicial misinterpretation and perversion has been repeatedly and mainly invoked to deprive the toiling masses of their natural and normal rights.

A law which will make more definite and effective the intention of congress in enacting sections 6, 19, and 20 of the Clayton Act, which were manifestly ignored or overridden by the court.

These proposals have been given due attention by the Executive Council and preparations are in the making to push these legislative demands in the sessions of the coming congress.

"Yellow Dog Contracts"

It is almost inconceivable that individual contracts of employment which breathe the very atmosphere of repression and which are not alone anti-social in character but specifically designed to deprive workers of their natural rights and constitutional guarantees to freedom should be upheld as legal and binding upon the individual and all others not concerned in its making. That the United States Supreme Court has added its weight of authority to such repressive measures does not lend dignity to this court but merely emphasizes how deep this germ of suppression has entered the mind of those presumed to judge all human affairs and relations in the spirit of justice and fairness.

Surely a contract of employment between an individual workman and a gigantic corporate institution of immense resources, mental, physical and financial can not be said by any stretch of imagination to be possessed of the essential elements of mutuality. If there be added the further requirement that such workman can not associate or join with his fellow worker in the trade union of his calling to improve his power of bargaining, then, indeed, do our courts perpetrate the most grievous wrong and disregard the very fundamentals of justice in holding such repressive arrangements as legal and binding obligations. Such arrangements are not contracts in the true sense of the term and deserve to be treated with contempt and indifference and the public conscience should be aroused to this gross miscarriage of justice so that all courts including the United States Supreme Court will be moved by the spark of justice.

Coronado Case

The Coronado case against the United Mine Workers of America has a legal history of nine years. It involved the question of holding national and international unions liable for alleged misconduct of individuals not directed by the national and international unions and without the approval of methods used and without knowledge of the misconduct of which complaint is made. There was also involved the question of whether suits may be brought against trade unions or voluntary associations as against incorporated bodies.

In this case the United States Supreme Court reversed the action of the lower court and virtually directed a dismissal of the cause. In so doing, however, it created a number of new principles of law not even contemplated by congress and indicated certain ap-

plications, all of the highest importance to the future of the labor movement and unquestionably inspired to devise additional repressive measures with which to harass and check the trade union movement.

As to the United Mine Workers of America, the central organization, the Supreme Court found that it had no active participation of any kind in the offenses for which judgment was obtained. As to District No. 21, the Supreme Court found that the acts which had been committed by its membership with to some extent the participation of the district organization, were not acts which bore any relation to the Sherman Act, interfering as they did merely with the production of coal and not with coal itself as an article of interstate commerce and that the purpose of the actions of the defendants was not to monopolize any part of the interstate commerce.

The first great proposition which attracts attention is, stated in substance, that so far at least as its ability or liability to sue or be sued, a labor organization is made to be on substantially the same footing at law as a corporation. This may be regarded as judicial legislation, being at variance as seems to be confessed by the decision itself with the prior holdings of responsible courts and basic conceptions of law. By virtue of this decision a labor organization may be sued directly and its funds, at least such funds as are devoted to strike purposes, may be seized, assuming wrongful acts on the part of individual members of the organization engaged in a strike. Heretofore no direct suit at law for damages has been recognized. There has existed, however, as in the *Danbury Hatters' Case*, individual liability on the part of all the members of the union for acts considered objectionable and incident to the purpose of the strike. The important point of the decision in this respect is that while it becomes possible to sue the union directly, the individual liability of the members apparently may continue in the eye of the court, precisely as theretofore. The union became a corporation so far as service of process is concerned, but its members yet remain a partnership in fact, so far as the liability of each for the acts of the other is involved.

The effect of the statement contained in the last paragraph is of the highest importance as bearing upon the future conduct of unions.

It will not be overlooked that the line between coal as an object and not as an object of interstate commerce, is a very close one and may depend upon slight facts in individual cases, a condition of affairs which will leave the industry largely under the supervision of the courts. Perhaps the same remark however may apply to a large number of other objects, with the result of making more manifest the fact that courts rather than the legislatures are the real rulers of the country.

Under the principle laid down by the Supreme Court a new suit has been instituted against the Miners' Union, the outcome of which we are not prepared to forecast.

Government by Injunction

The modern and extensive use of the writ of injunction especially as used in labor disputes is revolutionary and destructive. The injunction writ was designed when popular government was unknown and at a time it was difficult to enact such laws as would permit a speedy and adequate adjustment of controversies subject to legal determination. Thus it is said that equity in law is "the application of right and justice to the legal adjustment of differences when the law by reason of its universality is different," or "that system of jurisprudence which comprehends every matter of law for which the law provided no remedy."

Thus conceived it must be apparent, with the development of popular government and the ready opportunities to provide by legislative enactment for whatever legal deficiency that may present itself at any time that either the injunction writ has outlived its usefulness or that our legislative system of enacting laws has failed in the functions assigned to it. Indicative and demonstrative of the unwarrantable use of the injunction writ in labor disputes is the fact that in England, from whence are imported this extra legal device, the equity power is limited to property and then only where there is no remedy at law. In England the injunction writ is not permissible in labor disputes.

While the constitution confers equity power upon the courts in the same way that it is made their duty to issue the writ of habeas corpus and to insure trial by

jury, this equity power was so limited and defined by English authorities that our courts could not obtain jurisdiction in labor disputes except by adopting the legal fiction that labor was a commodity or article of commerce and that business was property. This is exactly what our courts have done and by this legal assumption our courts have vested themselves with the most oppressive and repressive legal weapon ever devised and designed to hold in subjection those who must earn their way through life by the sweat of toil and under the domination of a "master class."

These injunction writs in labor disputes have been issued in even greater and greater numbers and each succeeding injunction goes further in its repressive features than the one before. Indeed, this special form of class legislation by judicial decree is assuming an enormous proportion and the wage earners are compelled to suffer under a set of class laws which apply to no other group within our government.

It is inconceivable that this form of government by injunction can long prevail without serious reckoning. As an American people we have escaped government by the king. We have just emerged from the world's greatest conflict and glory in our achievement that we have rid the world of the most arrogant of all modern autocracies. And yet what does it gain us if, indeed, we permit the growing up of a despotic government by the judges. If we are to preserve this "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" then any and all usurpations by the judiciary must be as sternly resisted as usurpations by any king or other form of executive.

Serious attention has been given this subject by the Executive Council—numerous conferences and interviews have taken place in the effort to prepare an appropriate and all sufficient legislative proposal to adequately meet the situation. Likewise, we had had under consideration constitutional amendments designed to accomplish the same purpose. It is believed that some effective measure of redress may be perfected so as to receive consideration at the coming session of congress. Pending remedial redress from this usurped power of our courts and their unconstitutional intrusion upon the rights and liberties of our people it is urged that we reaffirm and adhere to former declarations of the American Federation of Labor to maintain our natural and constitutional rights and liberties unimpaired. Policies of repression whether practiced by employers alone or in combination with our courts must not be permitted to stifle, check or retard the righteous growth and full development of the American trade union movement.

Constitutional and Legislative Redress

Keenly alert to the dangers that beset the organized wage earners of our land, appreciative of the every increasing tendency of the judiciary to usurp and arrogate to itself constantly greater powers and more extensive authority and conscious of the need for further constitutional safeguards as expressed by the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor, consideration was given the following proposed amendment:

An amendment prohibiting the enactment of any law or the making of any judicial determination which would deny the right of the workers of the United States and its territories and dependencies to organize for the betterment of their conditions; to deal collectively with employers; to collectively withhold their labor and patronage and induce others to do so.

The Executive Council has given this proposal considerable study and a number of conferences and interviews have been held on this subject. This and like proposals are being considered by other groups and it is the hope of the Executive Council that the forces of all those groups may be marshaled into one solid array so that the purpose intended by this proposal and proposals of like character may be formulated into one complete legislative or constitutional program that will end for all time the suppression and repression that is being manifested against the trade union movement on every hand.

LEGISLATION IN THE STATES

The wave of reaction, while subsiding, has not yet died. Many laws favored by the workers have been secured and others have been amended to wipe out existing evils. There is now a covert attempt being made to tear down the existing workmen's compensation laws but with little effect. As ever, the real strength of the trade union movement has been shown in its defeat of obnoxious legislation.

Some states have recently adopted a law giving the right of a jury trial in certain cases of contempt of court. As fast as these laws have secured the attention of the courts, they have been held to be unconstitutional, as being an invasion upon the duties of one coordinate branch of the government by another. It might be well, therefore, if the strength of labor were devoted to securing constitutional amendments to cure this evil, rather than waste time and useless expenditure of money in costly and futile litigation.

As reported last year and as was experienced during the period just ending, several attempts to introduce compulsory labor laws met with failure. The various workmen's compensation laws received a considerable amount of attention by both their friends and enemies. However, the advantage lies with labor, as in most cases inimical legislation was defeated and that extending the laws was passed.

Great credit is due to the various state legislative committees for the good work performed during the past year.

Alabama.—A bill was presented in the Alabama legislature making those who practice bolshevism and anarchism guilty of treason against the state. This bill is very dangerous as many jokers will undoubtedly be discovered in it which will endanger the liberties of workmen engaged in a strike. Each state has the power to determine what acts shall be held to constitute treason against it subject only to the general limitations interposed by the Federal Constitution with reference to due process of law, etc., and such legislation should be opposed by all.

California.—Among the many favorable measures passed by the legislature are the regulation of private employment agencies, the women's eight-hour law amended to include work taken from the factory to the home, closing schools on Labor Day, several amendments to the workmen's compensation, insurance and safety acts, a barbers' sanitation act and safety measures for miners.

Several bills sponsored by Labor either failed of passage, were vetoed by the governor or died in committee. Among them may be mentioned the following: Strengthening the present law regulating advertising in time of strikes, regulating and licensing factories, the repeal of the criminal syndicalism law, additional restrictions to child labor and an act to assist persons of moderate means to acquire ground and build houses thereon. (Such land and houses to become home sites and to be sold on the installment plan). There were quite a number of anti-labor measures defeated by the efforts of the representatives, among them a proposal to establish a three-fourths jury verdict in criminal cases, attacks on the initiative and referendum, workmen's compensation law and full crew law.

Colorado.—Several bills looking towards the alleviation of the wage earners were introduced, among them being bills to repeal the state ranger law, to amend sections of the industrial commission and workmen's compensation law, to repeal the anti-picketing law, and a women's eight-hour law. With the exception of the workmen's compensation law, the above were referred to committees and there permitted to die. The workmen's compensation bill was amended by increasing the maximum amount of compensation from \$10 to \$12, but left the waiting period at ten days. A child labor law, introduced to cure the evils in the beet sugar industry was defeated, as was a joint resolution calling upon the governor to use all the powers of the state to secure full performance of their duties by transportation companies. A constitutional amendment was introduced seeking to change the procedure in contempt of court cases.

Illinois.—There were 223 bills introduced in which Labor was interested one way or the other. The forces of labor defeated 29 vicious bills aimed at the destruction of labor unions. Among them were the military police bill, compulsory labor bill, a bill providing for the suing of voluntary associations in the name of the association, a bill for

delaying final settlement in compensation cases, another for a tax on coal mined in the state, a bill to repeal the miners' qualification law, and one making officers or members of a committee of an unincorporated association of persons liable in damages for the acts of an agent. Among bills favored by labor which were defeated were the full crew, car limit, women's eight hour, car shed, one day's rest in seven, presidential primaries, old-age pension, state insurance fund, increasing maximum and minimum compensation, licensing of detective agencies and uniformity of text books. To offset these defeats, however, labor was successful in defeating every bill considered injurious and in addition improved the mother's pension law, absentee voters' law, state road maintenance police, which killed the enactment of the military police bill, Sheppard-Towner law, extended the compensation act to cover threshermen and amended the cooperative and the kindergarten laws.

A farmers' cooperative law was also enacted giving to them the power to discipline their members. This bill was fought viciously by the bankers, landlords, grain, livestock and farm produce dealers. During the closing days of the session, the strongest combination lobby of corporation interests ever assembled in the state was in the capitol.

Indiana.—Labor succeeded in defeating bills relieving farmers from provisions of the workmen's compensation law, repealing the free employment bureau law, creating a state constabulary, compulsory labor, repealing miners' qualification law, appointment as police officers of persons selected by railroads, and reducing the number of industrial board members from five to three. Bills favorable to Labor which failed of passage were amendments to the workmen's compensation act, regulating hours and employment of women, and the full-crew law. Labor succeeded in enacting the following laws: Mother's pension, boiler standards, building construction and codifying the mining laws.

Minnesota.—Among the favorable bills passed were one day's rest in seven, increasing the maximum figure under the workmen's compensation law to \$20, regulation of industrial camps, 54-hour week for women in first and second-class cities and 55 hours throughout the state, and punishing the influencing of workmen to change employment by false representation. Favorable bills killed were those regulating employment agencies, repealing road work clause in eight-hour law for state employes, regulating paint spraying machines and detective agencies. Labor was successful in defeating efforts to repeal the civil service laws in certain cases, to pass state constabulary bills, to repeal the eight-hour day law, to permit insane patients to be contracted out and the blanket amendment for women.

Missouri.—A proposal introduced in the constitutional convention to regulate pleadings, procedure and practice on the common law side of the courts was amended so as to make the rules of the judicial council subject to being amended or annulled or a new rule created in lieu thereof by the general assembly by a special law limited to that purpose. The word "injunction" was stricken from the same bill. This was intended to allow the supreme court, courts of appeals, circuit courts and other courts to issue, hear and determine injunctions. Since the supreme court of Missouri had said that a writ of injunction is not an original writ in the constitutional sense and that therefore the supreme court has no power to issue it, Labor was successful in having the word taken out.

Montana.—An old-age pension bill was passed. All other bills introduced in behalf of Labor were defeated. No efforts were made to pass inimical legislation.

Nevada.—Among the labor legislation passed is the following: For camp sanitation, state free employment service and old-age pensions. The following acts were amended favorable to Labor: Increasing the penalty for violation of the law of hours of labor for women; increased license fee for private employment agencies and increasing the vocational education board by representatives of labor and agriculture. A law was enacted requiring notices of strikes to be signed by three persons who have been residents of the state for a period of six months and a copy to be filed with the labor commissioner.

The Sheppard-Towner act was passed and signed by the governor and in addition a memorial to congress asking it to prohibit child labor. Several bills favored by labor were defeated. Among them an act amending the hours for women, obtaining

labor under false pretenses, providing an eight-hour day in mines, forbidding the importation of armed guards during strikes and the anti-trust law, which held labor is not a commodity.

New Hampshire.—The following bills favorable to Labor were passed: Amending workmen's compensation law increasing week'y benefits from \$10 to \$15, reducing the waiting period from two weeks to one, and relating to advertising during strikes. Bills to repeal the peaceful picketing law, to establish an industrial court and for compulsory arbitration were defeated. A law contesting the uses of the injunction failed of passage, while the railroads were successful in maintaining the present method of transportation, thus avoiding the full-crew provisions.

New Jersey.—There were no bills passed which could be considered inimical to Labor. On the other hand several bills sponsored by Labor and beneficial to the workers of the state were passed. The workmen's compensation act was amended to increase the minimum and maximum payments and funeral expenses and providing for the payment of waiting time if the injury lasts over seven weeks.

Night work for women between the hours of 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. was prohibited by a new law which becomes effective December 31, 1924. A law was enacted providing for a more severe penalty for the employment of minors. The teachers' pension bill was amended. Bills introduced but which failed of enactment were those relating to picketing during strikes, preventing the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes, full crew and requiring locomotives to be equipped with automatic fire box doors. An old-age pension bill was defeated. Labor was successful in defeating bills forbidding unions to restrict the number of apprentices, repealing the school continuation act, lowering the working age of children below 14 years and forbidding teachers to be active in politics or running for any political office.

New York.—In all over 4,000 bills had to be analyzed to determine their purpose. Of this number Labor was forced to keep under constant scrutiny over 160 measures. Labor was successful in instilling new life into the labor department. It secured the repeal of the Lusk law, increased pensions for widows of the fire fighters of New York City, the two-platoon system for fire fighters in second-class cities, an increase in wages for guards and keepers in states' prisons, exempting labor unions from the anti-Ku Klux Klan law and the creation of a new bureau of housing.

Among the labor bills that failed of enactment was one requiring that the state insurance fund shall be the only insurance carrier for privately-employed persons under the workmen's compensation law. This was the chief labor bill for the year 1923. A bill to limit the use of injunctions was also defeated, as was a bill maintaining the state anti-monopoly law providing that labor was not a commodity. Several amendments to the compensation law were also defeated. Labor was successful in defeating bills which proposed to regulate and control labor unions by a state licensing system, to legalize Sunday theatrical performances, to amend the education law and to repeal protective laws for women. Two constitutional amendments will go to the people for vote at the coming election. One provides for home rule for cities and the other will empower the legislature to lease to private persons public lands and water power. The labor movement will oppose this second bill.

Ohio.—Two bills relating to workmen's compensation were passed. One increased the maximum death award to \$6,500, increased the schedule for partial disabilities 25 per cent and the weekly maximum compensation to \$18.75. The other provides for a complete coverage for industrial accidents and deaths under the law and penalizes employers from 10 to 50 per cent of the maximum award where the injury or death is the result of a "lawful requirement." This will be voted on next November by the voters of the state. Labor was successful in defeating the following bills: Reducing age limits of children in agricultural employment, creating a rural state police force, and providing a fine and imprisonment for persons entering into a conspiracy against the state. A bill attempting to set up a liability insurance company in competition with the state fund plan was also defeated.

Oklahoma.—Amendments strengthening the workmen's compensation law were adopted, and some much needed farm legislation was secured.

Pennsylvania.—Labor favored the following legislation which was passed: Absent voters' law, increased appropriation of nearly a million dollars for mothers' and or-

phans' pensions, and for old-age pensions. While several bills inimical to Labor were introduced not a single bill opposed by Labor was passed.

Tennessee.—But one bill hostile to Labor was introduced. This would permit the railroads to appoint and arm special officers. It was defeated. Labor's workmen's compensation bill was substituted by an inferior one, which was passed. The following bills which Labor favored failed of passage: Repeal of the public utilities commission law, a miners' qualification law, favoring free text books, prohibiting paint spraying machines, a full-crew law, safety devices on locomotives and to repeal the state police law.

Texas.—Labor succeeded in amending the workmen's compensation law. This was the only bill introduced upon Labor's request which was passed. A constitutional amendment providing that the state should underwrite industrial compensation and a minimum wage bill, both prepared by Labor, were defeated. All railroad legislation also failed of enactment.

Washington.—The last legislature showed little improvement over preceding sessions. However, a bill to provide open and competitive insurance for workmen's compensation was defeated. Other bills opposed by Labor which were killed were a vicious anti-picketing measure, defining intimidation as conspiracy, a 10 per cent tax on theatre tickets as well as a 5 per cent tax on bill boards.

Several bills favored by Labor failed to pass. One of them provided for initiating amendments to the constitution. Others provided for non-partisan elections, the eight-hour day in the lumber industry, compelling contractors on state contracts to pay the same wage scale paid in the nearest industrial center, providing for jury trials in injunction cases and old-age pensions.

Labor was successful in passing bills providing for a more rigid examination of barbers, amending the workmen's compensation act by reducing the waiting period and increasing the compensation, petitioning congress to enact effective child labor legislation and bringing peace officers under provisions of the compensation act.

Wisconsin.—In the last legislature greater gains were made than at any single session during the past ten years. This is shown not so much by the bills enacted into law but by the objectionable measures defeated. Favorable amendments were secured to the workmen's compensation law. A nine-hour day was secured for women employed in hotels and one to require all locomotives over a certain weight to be equipped with independent straight or air-brake valves. Labor also secured a law providing that violators of injunctions in labor disputes shall be given a jury trial. A shorter work-day measure was defeated, also bills to label prison made goods and for an old-age pension.

Labor was unsuccessful in its attempts to secure the enactment of a law regulating private detective agencies. A number of bills were introduced relating to education, most of which were defeated. Labor was successful in its efforts to defeat a bill which would compel every person to testify in any criminal case against himself or anyone by granting immunity to the person testifying.

A bill seeking to impose a fine and imprisonment upon any person in the employ of a city, county or state, who became a member of a city, county or state union of employees or other similar organization was defeated as was a bill that sought to make service of legal process upon an officer of a union binding upon all the members. Two bills were prepared by the employers which were so unjust to Labor in their terms that not a single member of the legislature could be induced to introduce them.

Wyoming.—The child labor law was amended, making it one of the best in the country. An absent voters' law, semi-monthly pay day, legalizing Labor Day and Armistice Day as state holidays were also secured. A miners' qualification bill was killed and also an eight-hour day for women. Certain amendments concerning compensation payments and removing existing restrictions applied to mine workers and others under the clause making hospital provisions inoperative where arrangements are in force were defeated. However, the workmen's compensation law was satisfactorily amended in other respects, although there were no changes in compensation awards.

RAILWAY SHOPMEN'S STRIKE

At the time of our report to the Cincinnati convention the Railroad Shop Trade Organizations, affiliated with the Railway Employees Department, were soon to become involved in a nation-wide strike as a protest against the intolerable conditions being imposed on them and having no avenue of redress. Every means was used to avert the impending strike but it was self-evident from the attitude assumed by the Railroad General Managers Committee that they were unitedly determined to force the strike of the Shop Trade Organizations, evidently having the full assurance of support from the administration in Washington in an attempt to annihilate them. How well this compact was carried out is borne out by facts in the subsequent developments.

In their bill of grievances the Railroad Shop Trade Organizations cited the instance of more than 90 railroads who had flagrantly violated the Transportation Act and the decisions of the Labor Board, without penalty, while in the few instances where the employees declined to accept the decision of the board, or suspended work to force the railroad to carry out the provisions of the Labor Board rulings, they were immediately classed as outlaws and publicly condemned for their action.

Carrying out the instructions of the Department Convention held in April, 1922, three ballots were spread to the membership of the six Shop Trade Organizations, to be returnable to Department Headquarters not later than midnight, June 30, 1922. The propositions to be voted on were first, on the acceptance or rejection of the further reduction of wages ordered by the Labor Board in its Decision No. 1036, Docket No. 1300; second, on the acceptance or rejection of Amended Rules 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 46, and 177, as contained in Labor Board's Decision No. 222 and Addendum No. 6 thereto; third, on the acceptance of piece work and conceding to railroad managements the right to contract out their repair work to contractors, thereby depriving employees of their seniority rights, past privileges, rates of pay and working conditions established by negotiations and agreements and by decisions of the United States Labor Board.

Following is the result of the vote of the six Shop Trades in favor of striking against each of the three propositions: First, 94.5 per cent; second, 97 per cent; third, 96 per cent.

It will be noted that the larger per cent of vote was cast in rejection of the Labor Board's amended rules. In the modification of these rules, the Labor Board took away from the shop employees the punitive time and one-half pay for Sunday and holiday work, which had been in force on a large number of railroads for many years, it permitted the railroad to use the physical examination as a means of excluding applicants from employment for no other reason than their activity in the organization. But for the fact that many thousands of union members, principally car department employees, had been placed on furlough for nearly one year prior to taking the strike vote, by reason of the railroads contracting out their work and their refusal to accept the reduced wages and unfair conditions imposed upon them, the number voting would have been greatly increased. On the date of the strike, the organizations were still waiting action by the Labor Board on the farming out policy of the railroads, on which the shop trades unions had protested to the board some eighteen months previous, these long delays in handling our grievances through this governmental tribunal, while extremely aggravating to say the least, inasmuch as the railroads were permitted to administer the unemployment cure to thousands of union members who had given their best years of service to the railroads, was further aggravated by the fact that the chairman of the Labor Board had used the prestige of his office in public articles and public addresses to individually and collectively attack the policies and purposes of the union organizations, prejudging the grievances as set forth by the employees and thereby encouraging the railroad managements to maintain their arbitrary attitude.

The Strike—July 1, 1922.

Promptly on the hour of 10.00 a. m., July 1, the members of all shop trade organizations suspended work. The response was fully 96 per cent and also included large numbers of unorganized men together with a large per cent of general foremen and subordinate foremen, whom the railroads had succeeded in placing in a preferred

class and were exempted in the wage cut, undoubtedly, with the expectation that they would remain on the job.

The almost unanimous response involving such a large number of men, far exceeded the expectations of the chief executives of the organizations. In many instances the vote was more than sustained, not one man remaining on the job. While the vote of the firemen and oilers had not been completed in time to take action on July 1st, the great majority of these men walked out with the shop trades and were later followed by the others after securing sanction from President Healy. A considerable number of members of the U. B. M. of W. E. also swelled the ranks of the strikers smarting under many grievances of long standing, although the strike of this organization was held in abeyance by their Executive Board after conference with certain members of the Labor Board.

The Labor Board "Outlaws" the Organization Who Struck in Defense of Their Rights

Under date of July 3, 1922, Chairman Hooper of the Railroad Labor Board by majority vote of the board members succeeded in putting through a resolution, outlawing the striking shopmen and calling upon the railroads to form their own organization of the strike breakers employed, so that the board could function in the interests of these men. In reply to the Labor Board's resolution, the Executive Council of the Railway Employees' Department submitted the following:

To be released for evening papers July 4, 1922.

OFFICE OF B. M. JEWELL
President, Railway Employees Department, A. F. of L.
4750 Broadway
Chicago, Illinois

UNITED STATES RAILROAD LABOR BOARD,
Transportation Building,
Chicago, Illinois.

Chicago, July 3, 1922.

DEAR SIR: In acknowledging receipt of an order of the board issued today purporting to "outlaw" 400,000 permanently organized railway employees and to grant recognition to such temporary organizations of floating workers and professional strike breakers as the railway managements may be able to develop, we wish to advise that the statements contained in the resolution of the board are in many respects quite inaccurate.

(1) The organized employees are not combatting the Labor Board or the government.

(2) The organized employees are engaged in a dispute with the managements of the railroads.

(3) The Labor Board has failed in its effort to decide this dispute by obtaining an agreement upon wages and working conditions acceptable to both parties.

(4) There is nothing in any lawful decision of the board to prevent such an agreement being reached between the carriers and their employees at any time in the future.

(5) The resolution adopted by the board today simply means that the board has accepted its failure to bring about an agreement, and the acceptance of that same fact by the employees can not be honestly described as a fight against the Labor Board or the government.

(6) The organized employees, in their effort to maintain the American standard of living and to combat the intention of organized money power to break down that standard, are upholding and fighting for the institutions which the government of the United States was ordained to protect and to preserve.

It is perhaps peculiarly appropriate that on the 4th of July we state: "the causes which impel" the organized railway employees to declare themselves "absolved from all allegiance" to the board.

The history of the recent conduct of the board "is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object, the establishment of tyranny" over the workers engaged in the transportation industry.

The board was created for the purpose of establishing just and reasonable wages

and working conditions, when an agreement upon wages and working conditions between carriers and employes could not be reached. The board was required to take into consideration "wages paid for similar kinds of work in other industries" and "the relation between wages and the cost of living," among other standards. How far the board in its recent decisions failed to follow the law is most vividly shown in considering the lowest wage fixed by the board, because it inevitably follows that if the minimum wage fixed is below the level of a just and reasonable wage then all wages graduated upwards from that wage will be below the proper level.

The board has fixed the minimum wage at 23 cents per hour, or, according to the board's own statement, an average for all section men of 32.7 per hour. Yet on July 1st, when the wage thus established was to go into effect employes of common labor throughout the middle west, such as road contractors, were unable to employ unskilled and unorganized workers for any such rate of pay—the fact being that wages of 40 cents an hour have been offered by the railroads themselves, and that private contractors have found it necessary to pay from 50 to 75 cents per hour to obtain common unskilled labor.

The board has attempted to establish wages, which for a large percentage of the men concerned will not provide the minimum amount found by government officials to be necessary to maintain a worker and his family in a condition of decent living.

When the railway employes affected by these wage cuts informed their organizations by their strike votes that they were unwilling to continue to render service upon the terms offered, the board (having failed to fulfill its function, because the board had failed to obey the law of its creation) then attempted to bring the executives of the labor organizations into a hearing on the eve of the suspension of work. The result of this would have been a confused and disorderly suspension of work, which even though that was not the purpose of the board, would have reflected discredit upon the organizations and been the cause of widespread disturbances. The executives refused to permit themselves to be drawn from their posts of duty, and as a result the suspension of work was effected July 1, by half a million men without disorder and in a manner showing clearly the determined and peaceful attitude of the railway employes under strain of difficult conditions.

Now, the board by its order just received has attempted another disorganizing process. It is lending its aid definitely to the nation wide drive inaugurated by selfish, short-sighted financial interests against organized labor, and in favor of the so-called "open shop" which is, in fact, as you well know an anti-union shop. The action of the board would be comic if it were not even more tragic. The board well knows that such temporary groups of employes as may be assembled for the purpose of performing the work which was being done by the organized railway employes, will not in any honest sense represent the permanent employes of the railways, but will be merely company organizations subservient to the will and purpose of the managements of the railways.

Judge Page of the United States District Court in an opinion which coincided with the argument of the railroad lawyers stated that the purpose of the Transportation Act, "was to leave to the carrier and its employes full liberty to get together in their own way." The board is now attempting to direct the organization of employes and to select those whom it will recognize as organizations of railway employes.

In this partisan effort of the board to destroy the effectiveness of the organizations which the railway employes have formed by their own desire and in the exercise of their right of mutual aid and cooperation the board has "outlawed," not the organizations of employes, but itself. Charged with the duty of mediating in disputes between the carriers and their employes the board announces that unless the actions of the organizations of employes meet with its approval, the board will one by one exclude from its consideration these organizations, until, in course of time, following its present policy, we may assume the board will have excluded from its consideration the entire two million railway employes, thus leaving itself unable to perform any of the duties and obligations imposed upon it by the Transportation Act. Surely this would be high comedy were it not in fact a tragedy. It is a tragedy that the board has, first, allowed itself to be used as an instrument to lower the American standard of living at the behest of organized greed and, second, allowed itself to be used as an instrument of

attack against the national organizations of labor that have been for a generation the means for the peaceful reasonable betterment of the conditions of the wage earners.

The Labor Board has placed itself in the position of being not an arm of the government of the people of the United States which is expressed in the constitutional prohibition of the voluntary servitude, which is expressed in laws recognizing and upholding national organizations of labor, which is expressed in establishing tribunals to protect the rights of labor in its unceasing struggle against the abuses of organized money power. The board has placed itself in the position of being an arm of an organized financial and employing interest which are engaged in a nation-wide campaign to reduce wages below the level of decent living, to check the rising standard of living for the American worker, to disintegrate the protective organizations of the workers.

We are ready and willing, in accordance with the provisions of the Transportation Act, as representatives of the national organizations of railway employees concerned in the present dispute, to meet with the representatives of the carriers and to do all in our power to reach an adjustment of this dispute which shall insure reasonable wages and working conditions to employees in the transportation industry. We have no desire to promote any further misguided effort of the Labor Board to hamper and prevent a fair adjustment of this dispute and can accept the action of the board of July 3, as relieving these organizations, which the board has attempted to "outlaw" from the faintest obligation, in the present controversy, to the board which has thus abandoned its effort to fulfill the duties imposed upon it by law.

Yours truly,

By order of the Executive Council, Section No. 2,

B. M. JEWELL, *President.*

In order that President Harding might have the full facts of the controversy a lengthy telegram incorporating the railroad unions' Bill of Complaints was transmitted to the White House on July 12, 1922, by the Railway Employees' Department. This resulted in the president calling together the representatives of both parties at issue. A series of conferences were held in the White House.

Under date of July 31, 1922, President Harding submitted a proposition to the railroads and to the employees' representatives outlining terms under which the strike should be called off:

First: That railway managers and workers are to agree to recognize validity of all decisions of the Railroad Labor Board and to faithfully carry out such decisions as contemplated by law.

Second: The carriers will withdraw all law suits growing out of the strike and Labor Board decisions, which have been involved in strike may be taken in exercise of recognized rights by either party to Labor Board for rehearing.

Third: All employees now on strike to be returned to work and to their former positions with seniority and other rights unimpaired.

The representatives of the carriers and the representatives of organizations, especially agree that there will be no discrimination by either party against employees who did or did not strike.

The representatives of the employees accepted President Harding's proposition, advising him that under the pressure of the responsibility the organization representatives had voted by requisite constitutional majority to accept the terms of agreement submitted, and that the terms of settlement as proposed would be carried out in good faith. If the proposals failed to bring about the desired results, they set forth, the responsibility of failure would not rest upon the representatives of the organized employees.

Railway Executives Reject President Harding's Plan of Settlement

The railway executives balked on the question of granting seniority rights to the strikers, using as an argument their pledge to the strike breakers and to the men who remained at work.

President Harding's Second Proposal

In accepting the first proposed plan submitted by President Harding, the union representatives were assured that the power of the government would be utilized to en-

force its acceptance by the railroads, the unions were therefore the more surprised when a second proposal was offered in line with the recommendations of the railroad managers, providing on the settlement of the main question, that of seniority, to be decided by the United States Labor Board.

President Harding was promptly notified that a settlement could not be entertained on any such terms as surrendering the right of seniority for the striking employees.

The Use of the Injunction

The strike had run its course but a short time when the railroad managements proceeded through the courts to serve restraining orders of the most far-reaching nature against any and all of the employees involved in the strike, the primary object and use to which these injunctions were applied, together with the enrollment of thousands of guards and thugs, was to intimidate the strikers and create disturbances to discredit the striker in the eyes of the public to break the spirit of the men and involve them in costly legal entanglements thereby depriving the needy members of financial assistance. Hundreds of the strikers were arrested on the pretext of violation of injunctions for no more serious offense than applying the term "scab" to the strike breakers who flocked into the shops.

The Daugherty Injunction

Following the conferences in the White House and the refusal of the railroad managers to accept the president's first proposal to settle the strike, using the words as expressed by President Harding that the striking shopmen had kept the faith, but the railroads had double-crossed him after having assured him the terms would be acceptable, the unions little anticipated that the willingness of the organizations to accept these terms in good faith and in the interest of the public welfare, would be rewarded by the full power and influence of the government being used to crush their ranks. It is unnecessary to recite in detail the incidents in connection with Attorney General Daugherty's secret trip to Chicago and his appearance before Federal Judge Wilkerson seeking an injunction against the Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L. and others. The "turn about face" on the part of the administration in our opinion was brought about by the flood of propaganda from the railroad executives, big business interests and Chambers of Commerce throughout the country protesting against any consideration being given the strikers, the underlying thought being, as stated by Attorney General Daugherty in his presentation to the court—"that the administration would not permit labor unions to destroy the open shop."

The shopmen were charged with having engaged in an unlawful conspiracy and in addition to being blamed with an impending fuel and food shortage, were charged with creating a reign of terror by the use of bombs, dynamiting bridges, placing obstructions on tracks and impeding and hindering the transportation of passengers and freight. The injunction was the most sweeping and drastic ever issued extending over the entire United States and permitting the use of the federal troops in the enforcement thereof.

We are advised that immediately following the reading of the complaint and without hesitation on the part of Judge Wilkerson, even though none of the defendants were in evidence, nor had the organizations been advised of the contemplated action, the judge announced that the restraining order would be issued at once. The reply of the organizations to this high-handed action is set forth in the following press statement, issued by the railroad shop trades September 2, 1922:

Enforcement of the injunction obtained by the attorney general against lawlessness and violence in connection with the shop crafts' strike will be aided by every power of the shop crafts' organizations.

The officials of these organizations have done everything possible since the beginning of the strike to maintain a peaceful suspension of work. Considering the difficulty of preserving perfect order in any group of four hundred thousand men engaged in a struggle for a decent livelihood, it must be admitted that the strike has been a remarkable demonstration of the law-abiding character of the workers involved.

It is unfortunate that in a suit for the announced purpose of preventing lawlessness the attorney general's office has prepared and a court on hasty consideration has entered an order which, unless carefully interpreted might be read as a flagrant violation of constitutional rights of American citizens as repeatedly affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. Apparently either haste or failure to use the English language with precision has led to the drafting of an order which read too literally would deny the right of free speech or communication of any sort or just payment of debts or mutual aid in lawful association, to men engaged in the peaceful legal conduct of their business.

It can hardly be assumed that the federal court has intended to restrain, or has restrained, those lawful acts necessarily involved in carrying on the legitimate work of labor organizations, some or all of whose members are engaged in a legally conducted strike to accomplish lawful purposes. Such acts, including peaceful picketing, as have been repeatedly and recently held to be lawful by the Supreme Court of the United States can not be assumed to come within the provisions of the restraining order entered by Judge Wilkerson. If a strike of railway employees and its peaceful conduct were unlawful proceeding it can not be assumed that the attorney general of the United States would have waited two months to proceed against the strikers, or that the president of the United States would have held conferences with law breakers and proposed that the law breakers whom they represented should return to work under terms which they afterwards accepted and which the railway executives rejected. Therefore we assume that the right of the railway employees is acknowledged to continue a lawful strike in a lawful manner until a satisfactory settlement is made.

At least until advised that the Constitution of the United States and the decisions of the supreme court are no longer to be relied upon as the law of the land, the officials of the organizations of railway employees will continue to perform their legitimate duties to their members, to aid them in the lawful pursuit of their lawful purposes; and to do all in their power in conjunction with officers of the government to restrain and to punish every unlawful act of those who are rightfully involved, or who without right involved themselves, in the operation of the railroads.

BY ORDER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,
RAILWAY EMPLOYEES DEPARTMENT.

To System Federation Secretaries:

Please arrange to transmit above statement to all local federation secretaries, requesting that they in turn communicate to the membership of all crafts outlining our position in the matter of prosecuting the strike by lawful means.

Baltimore Agreement Chicago, Illinois, September 14, 1922.

The General Conference Committee composed of the executive boards of Divisions 1, 2 and 3, general chairmen of the Stationary Firemen and Oilers and the Executive Council of the Railway Employees Department met in Chicago, September 11, 12 and 13. A basis of settlement of the present controversy between the railways of the United States and their employees was carefully considered and, in accordance with the authority vested in the General Conference Committee by the laws of the Railway Employees Department and the strike vote of the membership, action was taken adopting this memorandum of agreement for the railroads as present parties thereto and directing that the memorandum of agreement be the settlement which the system federations, representing employees on railroads not as present parties thereto, shall secure prior to returning the men they represent to work.

The memorandum of agreement and the railroads signatory thereto is as follows:

The Following Statement Was Made by the Executive Council of the Railway Employees Department

Following the suspension of the negotiations held in New York, August 25th, between the committees representing certain railroads and the repre-

sentatives of the railroad brotherhoods acting as mediators in connection with the existing railroad strike, S. Davies Warfield, president of the Seaboard Air Line Railway Company, believing the differences could be reconciled, reopened negotiations that day directly with B. M. Jewell, President, Railway Employees Department, American Federation of Labor.

These negotiations were continued and conferences were held in Baltimore at the office of Mr. Warfield, at which were also present Daniel Willard, President, Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, and chairman of the committee appointed at the New York conference, and A. H. Smith, President New York Central lines, who met members of the Executive Council of the Railway Employees Department, American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council consists of B. M. Jewell, President, Railway Employees Department, American Federation of Labor; Wm. H. Johnston, International President, International Association of Machinists; J. A. Franklin, International President, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers; James W. Kline, International President, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers; James Burns, International Vice-President, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; James P. Noonan, International President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Martin F. Ryan, General President, Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America, and Timothy Healy, International President, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers.

The result of these negotiations were submitted to a meeting of the General Conference Committee of the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor, held in Chicago, September 11th, and by the required majority vote were accepted as the basis of settlement.

The memorandum of agreement is as follows:

1. In order to bring to an end the existing strike of employes upon the undersigned railroads and relieve the country from the adverse effects thereof and to expedite the movement of essential traffic, the following memorandum of agreement is made upon the understanding, which the parties hereto accept, that the terms hereof shall be carried out by the officers of the companies and the representatives of the employes in a spirit of conciliation and sincere purpose to effect a genuine settlement of the matters in controversy referred to below. This paragraph does not apply to or include strikes in effect prior to July 1, 1922.

2. All men to return to work in positions of the class they originally held on June 30, 1922, and at the same point. As many of such men as possible are to be immediately put to work, at present rates of pay, and all such employes who have been on strike be put to work or under pay not later than thirty days after the signing of this agreement, except such men as have been proven guilty of acts of violence which in the opinion of the commission, hereinafter provided for, shall be sufficient cause for dismissal from service.

3. The relative standing as between themselves, of men returning to work and men laid off, furloughed or on leave of absence, including general chairmen and others who were as of June 30, 1922, properly on leave of absence, will be restored as of June 30, 1922, and they will be called back to work in that order.

4. If a dispute arises as to the relative standing of an employe or if any other controversy arises growing out of the strike that can not be otherwise adjusted by the carrier and said employe or the duly authorized representatives thereof, the matter shall be referred by the organizations, parties to this agreement, the employes or the carrier in the interest of any employe who may be aggrieved, to a commission to be established and constituted as hereinafter provided, for final decision by a majority vote.

5. The commission referred to in paragraph 4 hereof shall be composed of six representatives to be named by the chief officers of the organizations parties hereto and six railroad officers or representatives selected from and by the railroads agreeing hereto. This commission shall be constituted within

fifteen days from the signing of this agreement and shall have jurisdiction to decide all cases that may properly be referred to it on or before May 31, 1923, but not thereafter.

6. Inasmuch as this agreement is reached for the purpose of composing in a spirit of compromise this controversy, all parties hereto agree that neither this settlement nor any decision of the commission above provided for, shall be used or cited in any controversy between these parties or between the railroads signing the same or any other class or classes of their employes in any other controversy that may hereafter arise.

7. Both parties pledge themselves that no intimidation nor oppression shall be practiced or permitted against any of the employes who have remained at work or have taken service or as against those who resume work under this understanding.

8. All suits at law now pending as the result of the strike to be withdrawn and cancelled by both parties.

The above memorandum was accepted as a basis of agreement covering the matters referred to herein, by the following named railroad companies:

BALTIMORE AND OHIO R. R.

Baltimore & Ohio Chicago Terminal R. R.
Coal and Coke Railroad.
Dayton Union Railroad.
Sandy Valley & Elkhorn R. R.
Sharpsville R. R.
Staten Island Rapid Transit Co.

CHICAGO, MILWAUKEE & ST. PAUL R. R.

Bellingham & Northern R. R.
Callatin Valley R. R.
Milwaukee Terminal R. R.
Puget Sound & Willapa Harbor R. R.
Tacoma Eastern R. R.
Seattle, Port Angeles & Western R. R.

CHICAGO & NORTHWESTERN.

Pierre & Fort Pierre Bridge Ry. Co.
Pierre, Rapid City & Northwestern Ry.
Wyoming & Northwestern Ry.
Missouri Valley & Blair Ry. & Bridge Co.

SEABOARD AIR LINE.

Chesterfield & Lancaster R. R.

CHICAGO, ST. PAUL, MINNEAPOLIS & OMAHA RY. CO.

BUFFALO, ROCHESTER & PITTSBURGH RY.

CHICAGO, INDIANAPOLIS & LOUISVILLE RY. CO.

NEW YORK CENTRAL LINES.

Boston & Albany R. R.
Chicago, Kalamazoo & Saginaw Ry.
Cincinnati Northern R. R.
Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis Ry.
Evansville & Indianapolis R. R.
Muncie Belt Railway
Kanawha & Michigan Ry.
Kanawha & West Virginia R. R.
Kankakee & Seneca R. R.
Michigan Central R. R.
New York Central R. R.

Pittsburgh & Lake Erie R. R.
 Toledo & Ohio Central R. R.
 Zanesville & Western R. R.

SOUTHERN RAILWAY SYSTEM.

Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas.
 Pacific Railroad Co.
 Alabama Great Southern R. R.
 New Orleans & Northwestern R. R.
 Harriman & Northwestern R. R.
 Cincinnati, Burnside & Cumberland River Ry.
 Northern Alabama Ry.
 Georgia, Southern & Florida Ry.

MOBILE & OHIO RAILWAY.

CAROLINA, CLINCHFIELD & OHIO RY.

Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio Railway of South Carolina.

<i>Railway Employees Department,</i>	<i>American Federation of Labor</i>
WM. H. JOHNSTON,	J. J. HYNES,
<i>International President, International</i>	<i>International President, Amalgamated</i>
<i>Association of Machinists.</i>	<i>Sheet Metal Workers, Intl. Alliance.</i>
J. A. FRANKLIN,	JAS. P. NOONAN,
<i>International President, International</i>	<i>International President, International</i>
<i>Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron</i>	<i>Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.</i>
<i>Ship Builders and Helpers of America.</i>	
JAS. W. KLINE	MARTIN F. RYAN,
<i>General President, International Brother-</i>	<i>General President, Brotherhood of Railway</i>
<i>hood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and</i>	<i>Carmen of America.</i>
<i>Helpers.</i>	TIMOTHY HEALY,
	<i>President, International Brotherhood of</i>
	<i>Stationary Firemen and Oilers.</i>
JOHN SCOTT,	B. M. JEWELL,
<i>Secretary-Treasurer.</i>	<i>President.</i>

Baltimore Agreement Commission.

The first meeting of the commission was held in Chicago, on November 13, 1922. The commission adopted regulations to handle all matter coming before them within the scope of Articles 4 and 5 of the agreement, requiring that in each case a joint concrete statement of facts be presented which may be supplemented by evidence or arguments, oral or written, and in the event of either party to the dispute declining to submit joint statement, it may be submitted as ex parte.

The commission has been in session intermittently since that time and have a number of decisions involving a considerable number of men. The principal question of "seniority" is as yet unsettled, the commission up to this time remaining deadlocked, the railroad representatives preferring that the matter first be handled by the committees and their respective managements. The prospects of an early adjustment of this matter seem for the time being somewhat obscure owing to the other work of the commission being about completed.

The overhead expenses of the commission have been borne equally by the railroads and the labor organizations.

In line with the provisions of the Baltimore plan of settlement, the following representatives were selected by their respective groups:

Mr. F. E. Blaser, Assistant to Vice-President, Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. C. H. Hogan, Mgr. Supt. of Shop Labor, New York Central Railroad, New York City, N. Y.

Mr. C. D. Mackay, Asst. to Vice-President, Southern Railway System, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Geo. T. Martin, Asst. to Gen. Supt. Motive Power, Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Company, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Wm. Walliser, Asst. Gen. Mgr., Chicago Northwestern Railway Company, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. D. N. Bacot, Genl. Manager, Seaboard Air Line Railway, Norfolk, Virginia.

Mr. Edw. J. Evans, Int'l Vice-President, Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. H. J. Carr, Gen. Executive Board Member, Int'l Association of Machinists, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. J. M. Burns, Vice-President, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Int'l Alliance, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. E. G. Tegtmeier, Vice-Pres., Int'l Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. Wm. Atkinson, Asst. Pres., Int'l Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, Kansas City, Kansas.

Mr. Frank Paquin, Vice-Pres., Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America, Chicago, Illinois.

Other Settlements.

Since the signing of the Baltimore agreement by the railroads signatory thereto, a considerable number of additional lines have reached agreements although not in all cases in accordance with the Baltimore plan. At this writing 135 settlements have been made. The following is a list of the railroads where the strike is still in effect:

Lines Where Strike Continues August 6, 1923

A. P. & A.

American Refr. Trans. Co.

Atchison, Topeka & S. Fe

Atlantic Coast Lines

Bangor & Aroostook

Bessemer and Lake Erie

Boston and Maine

Central of Georgia

Chicago, Burlington and Quincy

Chicago and Eastern Illinois

Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific

*Chicago Junction Ry.

Colorado Southern

Central R. R. of New Jersey

Delaware and Hudson

Delaware, Lacka. and Western

Denver and Salt Lake

*Indiana Harbor Belt

Kansas City Terminal

Kansas City, Mexico and Orient

Kentucky and Indiana Term.

Lehigh Valley

Long Island

Maine Central

Missouri & North Arkansas

Missouri Pacific

Monongahela

Missouri, Kansas and Texas

New York, New Haven and Hartford

Norfolk and Western

Pennsylvania

Peoria and Pekin Union

Pittsburg and West Virginia

Pullman

*Rutland

St. Louis and San Francisco

St. Louis and Southwestern

Toledo, Peoria and Western

Union Pacific

Union Stock Yards R. R. of Omaha

Virginian

Wabash

Washington Terminal

Western Maryland

*Only subsidiaries of New York Central lines that have not settled.

The above is a list of *Systems*. The employees of any subsidiaries of these lines are still on strike.

As a result of the "outlaw" resolution adopted by the United States Labor Board, the bona fide organizations are in most cases confronted with the company organi-

zations aided and abetted by the railroad companies as a means of preventing the federated shop trades from securing the right of representation by majority vote. The antagonism of these men who entered as strike breakers is very pronounced and aided by the subordinate officials insisting in many instances that all men entering the service join the company organization. This situation will require considerable time and effort to overcome, although the federations have succeeded so far in securing the majority vote on the following lines where the company organization was established:

Grand Trunk
Soo Line
Hocking Valley
Gulf Coast Line
Chicago & Alton

After thirteen months of strike, during which time many of the members and their families endured all manner of hardship and suffering, there is a most remarkable spirit of determination to continue the fight until the railroads are forced to capitulate to reasonable terms of settlement. When considering the fact that the strike has been conducted throughout without strike benefits, because of the inability of any of the organizations to meet such expense involving such a large number of men, we feel safe in saying that such a demonstration of united spirit is unsurpassed in the history of the labor movement.

The continued arbitrary attitude of the "Die Hard" railroad managements can well be traced to the lack of public interest permitting the railroads to lull them to sleep with false propaganda and the amazing and inexcusable laxity of the administration in permitting the railroads to openly violate the safety appliance and other laws.

Just how long these conditions will be tolerated is a matter of conjecture. These railroads on which the strike continues, while employing many hundreds of additional men above their normal force, are still unable to secure one-half of the former output of work and in addition are in most cases having the bulk of repairs done at contract shops under heavy expense.

The workers are keenly alert to the situation and realize that no good business institution can continue long under such conditions. Fortunately, owing to the increased business in other industries practically all of the strikers have secured employment either at their trade or other work, and many thousands have also entered the service of the railroads where settlements have been reached and are assured of reasonably steady employment for some time.

During the early part of the strike, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor called upon the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor and requested that an appeal be issued to the membership of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor through the respective organizations. This request was complied with.

Every cent of moneys contributed to the railway employes through the American Federation of Labor as well as from other sources, was distributed to the membership through a special Finance Committee created by the Railway Employes Department. All remittances were made direct to responsible local officers elected by the men themselves, and it would be extremely encouraging to all those who contributed if it were possible to convey to them the thankful, appreciative outburst of feeling which has come to us direct from those whose sufferings have been in any manner relieved.

REPORT OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR BUREAU OF COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES

To the Executive Council:

In conformity with the annual custom and practice, we submit for your consideration the report of the American Federation of Labor Bureau of Cooperative Societies:

No one can successfully dispute the fact that something is radically wrong with our system of distribution. In a great many cases it costs more to sell manufactured products and agricultural produce than it does to produce them. It is stated that out of every dollar spent for agricultural products the farmer receives only eighteen cents

and the other eighty-two cents goes to transportation, holding and selling corporations, speculators, profiteers and the merchants.

The accumulated wealth of the country, much of which is a gift from the past, is crystalized into great corporations which are generally speaking managed by salaried employees. Inventive genius has brought to the front wonderfully improved methods of production and to such an extent syndicated capitalists have had to create extensive selling facilities. This fact in itself has created a condition, in which it costs now, under our really unscientific system of distribution, more to sell than it does to manufacture.

That which should naturally go to the relief of the great masses in better wages, shorter hours and lower prices for the necessities of life is really utilized by syndicated capitalists for their own further enrichment and to bolster up and keep going a system that will ultimately, unless checked, lead to destruction. It lies in the hands of the workers and producers, agriculturally and industrially, to save the enormous criminal waste which is now adding to the cost of living, discomfort and misery of the great burden-bearing masses.

Next to our trade union one of the most simple and effective means we have in hand of saving much of this waste for the consumer as well as the producer is the co-operative movement. Through the simple Rochdale co-operative system billions of dollars that now go to further enrich the idle few and the enormous army that make up the unnecessary selling power and force would go to the producers and consumers.

The insurance business is some indication of what cooperation can do. In the life insurance companies there is fifty billion dollars involved, eight billions of which amount is cash. Forty million policies are in force. These insurance companies are surrounded by state and national laws to such an extent that they don't fail. They furnish millions of dollars to the company owners and employment to a large army of agents whose sole duty is to sell insurance. An insurance company run under the Rochdale co-operative system would have to predicate its policy on the insurance laws and it could not fail. The enormous cost of maintaining the selling forces and the profits which now go to the private owners of these concerns could and would be turned back to the cooperators in the shape of dividends or to a reserve fund, the possibilities of which are unlimited.

We recommend that the president of the American Federation of Labor employ the services of at least one member of the legislative committee during the time that congress is not in session for the purpose of explaining and promoting the co-operative movement and furnishing standard literature at cost on the different phases of the Rochdale movement. Your committee, moreover, recommends that the American Federation of Labor urge all affiliated central labor unions to establish co-operative bureaus for the purpose of study, to obtain information and to carry forward the preliminary work of education in reference to the bona fide Rochdale co-operative movement.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed)

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G. W. PERKINS, *Chairman.*

JOHN H. WALKER, *Secretary.*

JOHN J. MANNING.

A. E. HOLDER.

W. D. MAHON.

(Miss) ELIZABETH CHRISTMAN.

Bureau of Co-operative Societies.

INTELLIGENCE TESTS

During the year we have observed carefully the progress of the movement to introduce mental tests, commonly known as intelligence tests, in industrial plants. These tests are more properly known as psychological tests.

The world war brought the intelligence test to prominence, although much had been done over a term of years prior to that time to develop the intelligence test. This work, however, had been done mainly among school, college, and university students.

We have given close and careful study to the question and have consulted not only trade unionists, officials of trade unions and other laymen, but we have called into consultation the men who stand highest in the professional field in the development and application of the intelligence test.

There is, we find, a tendency toward introduction of such tests in industrial establishments, some of which have large and carefully equipped departments for engaging employes on that basis.

We find ourselves by no means able to agree with all of the claims of those who seek to measure human ability, adaptability and general fitness by such tests, though they have a use and a value.

As was the case in connection with the old Taylor stop-watch system, hailed by employers as a device of perfection and finally discredited and all but abandoned as the result of labor's analysis, the intelligence test is, in our opinion, a device that may and undoubtedly will be abused in many cases where it is applied under the sole direction of employers or those retained by employers. It lends itself, where improperly used, to discrimination against wage earners and to the humiliation of wage earners. The fact is that, if it were desired, it would be possible for a group of employers to utilize the intelligence test as the vehicle for the most infamous kind of blacklist—doubly infamous because the worker would be blacklisted on an alleged basis of scientific finding. The full implications of such an effort can easily be imagined.

We are of the opinion that the men who have done most in the direction of research and development in the field under consideration here are scientific men of the highest standing and integrity and that it is their purpose to confer upon humanity an agency of helpfulness. Our misgivings are in the direction of employer domination in the application of the intelligence test in employment relations.

For the present we find nothing to be done except the maintenance of vigilance, the careful observation and study of the uses of the intelligence test and wherever possible the demanding of labor participation in directing the uses to which such tests are put in employment relations.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

There has been no change in the situation concerning the International Federation of Trade Unions since our last report was submitted.

There has been considerable correspondence between our Executive Council and the officials of the International Federation of Trade Unions and copies of all of this correspondence are available.

There has been no change in the position of the International Federation of Trade Unions in the direction of meeting any of the objections recorded by the American Federation of Labor as a bar to our affiliation.

We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to continue negotiations in the hope that opportunity may yet be had for affiliation with the organized workers of the Old World. We are eager to bring about the reestablishment of fraternal relations as soon as it can be done without the sacrifice or repudiation of principles which the American trade union movement regards as inviolable.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Our relations with the Latin-American nations through the Pan-American Federation of Labor have continued mutually satisfactory. We have been able to be helpful in a number of situations, more than justifying our participation in the Pan-American Federation of Labor and offering conclusive reasons for its continuance and enlargement.

It has not been possible to hold a convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor during the year but the hope is entertained that such a convention may be held during the coming year.

Through the Pan-American Federation of Labor we have consistently sought to develop understanding between the masses of the people of our own country and the countries to the south. We are convinced that our efforts have been fruitful.

Specifically in the case of Mexico much has been done in an effort to end the long period of official estrangement and the conference between representatives of the Mexican and American governments was regarded as a hopeful and constructive development.

We presented to the official commissioners the viewpoint of the workers of the United States and of Mexico and we are persuaded that this expression was of some value to the commissioners in approaching their task. An expression of labor's point of view and labor's hope for an amicable adjustment was likewise presented to the commissioners who met in Washington in an effort to adjust the longstanding Tacna-Arica dispute.

We express our gratification over the opportunities for service that have presented themselves through our affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor and we express our confidence in the continued effectiveness and strength of that organization.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR FRATERNAL DELEGATES TO GREAT BRITAIN

Benjamin Schlessinger and Ed. J. McGivern, fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress, submit the following report:

We beg leave to submit to you the following report on the mission entrusted to us by the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, as fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress.

We arrived at Southport on September 2, two days prior to the opening of the congress; we attended all sessions and paid close attention to the proceedings of the important gathering.

The congress opened Monday afternoon, September 4. It was attended by more than seven hundred delegates, all of whom seemed to be animated by a determination to consolidate the power of the workers' organization, industrial and political, as the only way of overcoming the critical situation which faces British labor.

The total membership of the British trade unions as represented in the congress, amounted to 5,137,000, showing a loss of over one million since 1921. In view of the tremendous drain on trade union funds, the serious dislocation of industry, the standing army of nearly two million "out-of-works," together with the changes in the industrial structure, necessitated by the transition from war conditions to a peace basis, this reduction in membership is by no means alarming.

One of the most significant acts of the congress was the decision to launch an organization campaign among the unorganized industrial and agricultural workers of the country. It was with this object in view that the general council asked for enlarged powers in the field of national propaganda and organization.

Another important resolution passed by the congress, was one condemning the housing policy of the government which had wholly failed to take account of the needs of workers. Simultaneously with the meeting of the congress, there was also held a conference of the National Labor Housing Association, which is composed of representatives of working class organizations. This conference passed resolutions urging the workers to build cooperative homes by the Guild method and advocating that all local governments be empowered to acquire building sites at taxation values and to build houses from local revenues in the same manner as the educational, health and other public services are maintained.

The congress gave serious consideration to the problem of labor publicity. Acting upon the suggestion of the general council, it decided by an overwhelming vote to increase the affiliation fees from one penny to three pence per member in order to provide us for press and publicity. This action was taken in conjunction with the recent decision of the labor party to take over the London Daily *Herald*, until now the unofficial organ of British labor, and to make it the official spokesman of the trade union movement.

Unemployment was one of the all-absorbing topics of debate at the congress, in view of the impending terrible sufferings of the workers during the grim winter season to come. According to official figures no less than 1,331,400 persons were registered at the unemployment exchange on August 28; 69,100 additional persons were employed on short time. Over eleven million pounds was spent in unemployment benefit during the preceding nine months, and in addition to this inadequate relief, the country was involved in enormous and unproductive expenditures on poor law relief. The congress, in a ringing resolution, demanded that the government immediately undertake public

works on a large national scale to provide employment for the idle workers and that it secure proper maintenance for those for whom no work is available. Unemployment must be relieved from national revenue, not local funds, was the principle proclaimed by the resolution. If work can not be supplied by private employers, the community must find it. The nation did this for four years in order to win the war; it must continue it now to save the workers from being ruined by peace.

The congress instructed its general council to call a conference of all affiliated unions whose members are, to a considerable extent, employed by cooperative societies with a view of regulating the relations between the unions and cooperative societies upon a uniform and equitable basis. The step was taken in the hope of obviating the occasional disputes between some trade unions, as representatives of the workers, and cooperative societies in their capacity of employers, and to insure perfect harmony between the two important movements of the British workers.

Another interesting subject of debate was the problem of coordination of the industrial activities of the unions in times of crisis. The debate was precipitated by a proposed amendment of the standing rules of the congress, which would make it the duty of affiliated unions to keep the council informed of all disputes with employers which are likely to involve large bodies of workers, so as to enable the general council, in case of need, to coordinate the activities of all unions involved and to extend to them effective support in their struggles.

The plan was opposed as representing too novel and radical an innovation. It was pointed out particularly that the differences in the constitutions of the various affiliated unions would make it difficult for them to conform to the discipline of a centralized general staff. The resolution was referred back for further consideration, but it was quite evident that while the majority of the delegates considered the proposed policy somewhat premature and inclined to the belief that unity in working class struggles would be more solidly and effectively established if permitted to grow up from the bottom rather than being imposed from the top, the congress as a whole was very sympathetic to the principle underlying the resolution.

The congress also took a determined stand in favor of equal pay for men and women in all cases where they performed similar work and went on record with an emphatic protest against the policy of discrimination against women workers practiced by the government in connection with contracts and in the direct departmental work.

Of particular interest to the American workers was the high quality of the discussion on the subject of international relations. The stand which the congress took on every phase of the problem was always of advancement and enlightenment. The work of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations was endorsed with special reference to its efforts to establish minimum conditions of social welfare by international agreement. The British government was called upon to exert its influence in the League of Nations towards increasing the effectiveness of the labor office in this direction.

On the vexed question of reparations, which agitates all of Europe as no other single issue, the congress pronounced itself in favor of revising the Versailles Treaty with the object of insuring greater political and economic stability in Europe and the peace of the world. The resolution favors the general principle of a complete cancellation of indemnities, but by way of immediate relief it demands that Germany be freed from the exorbitant money obligations imposed by the Versailles Treaty and that instead of it, provisions be made for the restoration of the devastated areas of France by German labor. This proposition has the unqualified approval of the organized workers of Germany as well as of those in France. The congress furthermore declared itself as opposed to the demand that Germany pay the costs of British war pensions, and advocated the admission of the German Republic into the International Councils of Nations on an equal footing.

On the whole the congress of the British Trade Unionists was an impressive demonstration of intelligence and working-class solidarity, and we who were privileged to participate in its deliberations in behalf of the organized workers of the United States have carried away a new realization of the universal character of labor's struggles for progress and social justice and a strengthened faith in the ultimate triumph of labor's just cause.

During the week of the congress we had a conference with J. H. Thomas, the

president of the International Federation of Trade Unions, C. Mertens, the vice-president and Eddo Fimmen, the secretary of the Federation, together with the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress, at which the question of affiliation of the American Federation of Labor with the International Federation of Trade Unions was gone over. We presented the case of our American Federation of Labor as defined and formulated by its Executive Council, laying particular stress on the onerous character of the duties required from our federation, and, above all, upon the necessity and determination of the Federation to preserve its full autonomy in matters of practical policy as well as in all commitments to political views or programs. Our conferees seemed to appreciate the special difficulties which lie in the path of the A. F. of L.'s affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and the officials of the latter promised that they would lay the situation before their executive committee with a view of evolving an equitable plan which would obviate the difficulties and prove acceptable to the A. F. of L. We gained the impression that the organized workers of Europe are very anxious to have the cooperation of our organization and that they are ready to make all reasonable concessions in order to secure such cooperation.

In the course of the conference, we were also informed that the International Federation of Trade Unions has called a world congress of labor unions, Social Democratic parties and other progressive organizations to be held at The Hague on December 10, 1922. The proposed congress is to be in the nature of an international demonstration for the maintenance of the world's peace and for a general reduction of armaments, and attendance at the congress will not commit the participating organizations to any political views or material obligations. Our brothers in Europe feel very strongly that the effects of such a congress would be of incalculable value for the preservation of international peace and for the welfare of the present distracted generation of mankind, provided that the congress is truly representative of the working masses of the whole civilized world. They feel that such a demonstration would be patently incomplete without the participation of the organized workers of the one country of all countries which, at the present time, holds the destiny of the nations in its hands, the United States; and they are therefore intensely interested in securing representation from the American Federation of Labor at the congress. To this end the executive committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions has cabled an invitation to President Samuel Gompers of our Federation and the General Council of the British Trade Union Conference has decided to reinforce the invitation by a special cable request of its own.

We respectfully submit these facts to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for such action as it may deem proper to take.

We should not like to close our report without a personal allusion to the manner in which we have been received by the congress as a whole and by the individual delegates with whom we had occasion to come in contact. We have been received in a spirit of fraternity and were shown every consideration. We were afforded an opportunity of addressing the convention in session and we have endeavored to give the delegates some conception of the magnitude of our movement in America, of our achievements and of the problems and difficulties that are confronting us.

We are not unmindful that the cordiality with which we have been received and the attention that was shown us was not altogether personal, but that our British brethren have taken us for what we were, namely, the representatives of a movement which is striving for the attainment of the same ends that they are striving for. We feel that we have, to some degree, contributed toward the further cementing of the bonds of solidarity that should bind labor throughout the world.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR FRATERNAL DELEGATE TO CANADA

W. E. Hulsbeck, fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, submitted the following report:

The 38th annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada convened in the L'Assistance Publique Hall at Montreal, Quebec, Monday, August 21, 1922. The report of the credential committee recorded the presence of two fraternal

delegates, 42 international representatives, 27 delegates from trades and labor councils, and 333 delegates from local unions, a total of 404 delegates.

Mr. J. T. Foster, President, Montreal Trades and Labor Council presided at the opening of the convention. Addresses of welcome were delivered by his worship, Mayor Mederic Martin of Montreal; the Hon. A. Galipeault, Minister of Labor for the Province of Quebec; Hon. Aurele Lacombe, Minister without Portfolio in the Quebec Cabinet (elected as a representative of Labor), and Mr. Alphonse Verville, ex-president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Letters expressing regret at their inability to attend, and at the same time wishing the Congress success, were read from the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada; the Hon. James Murdock, Minister of Labor, and the Hon. L. A. Taschereau, Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec.

After the eloquent addresses of welcome a gavel, suitably inscribed, was presented by the Carpenters' District Council of Montreal to President Thomas Moore, who expressed his appreciation of welcome extended to the delegates by the speakers, and then officially declared the congress open for business.

Legislation

The Executive Council reported that "none of the measures enacted at the first session of the 14th Parliament of Canada, dealt with subjects incorporated in the legislative program of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada." In view of this statement the convention instructed the executive council to again present the program of desired legislation and any other additional matters as may be decided upon.

The convention also voiced its approval of the amendments to the Opium and Narcotic Drug Act passed at the last session of Parliament.

The convention also emphasized the importance of Parliament giving more consideration of the decisions of the International Labor Conference and the necessity for Canada being fully represented at the annual meetings of the International Labor Organization.

Although no legislation was enacted which was incorporated in the legislative program of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada a number of bills and resolutions were introduced in the House of Commons bearing on subjects of particular interest to the Canadian labor movement. These included: Amendments to the immigration act, amendment to the criminal code, unemployment, old-age pensions, restriction of Orientals, proportional representation, and pension rights of G. T. R. employees.

Officers' Reports

The committee on officers' reports recommended that the provincial executive committees and federations of labor urge upon the various provincial governments the necessity of being represented at the annual conferences of the International Labor Organization.

One delegate opposed the endorsement of the report and declared against the League of Nations, claiming that the working class had nothing to gain from the League as it was composed of nations that were breaking their promises to the working class. He contended that the working class should establish a real international of their own.

His remark prompted President Moore to vacate the chair to address the convention. The president made it quite plain that the only alternative to the League of Nations was international war and the workers were utterly opposed to international conflict. "The key to the opposition," he declared, "was that the International Federation of Trade Unions supported the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization, whilst the Third International of Moscow was opposed to these organizations. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was affiliated to the I. F. T. U. and should continue to support the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization, and the high ideals for which they stood." With this view the convention agreed and the report of the committee adopted with one dissenting vote.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report

Secretary-Treasurer P. M. Draper presented his 22nd annual report as secretary-treasurer of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. The report showed the total receipts for the year as: \$25,157.02, and the total expenditures as \$22,877.91, leaving a balance of \$2,279.91. One national union, two trades and labor councils, and two federal union charters were issued during the year. Sixty-five trades and labor councils are now chartered by the congress covering approximately every industrial center of any size in the Dominion.

Resolutions

Sixty-eight resolutions were submitted to the convention bearing on a variety of subjects, including: hours of labor, unemployment, industrial disputes act, workmen's compensation, old age pensions, mother's allowances, health and safety, joint councils, fair wage regulations, mechanics' lien act, taxation, marking act, cooperative societies, development of natural resources, election act amendments, union labels, and other matters.

A long discussion followed the report of the committee on a resolution that called for the endorsement of a loan of \$15,000, to Russia.* The committee recommended non-concurrence. On division the resolution was rejected by a vote of 147 to 56.

Non-concurrence was voted in a resolution that called upon the Executive Council to make representation to the American Federation of Labor to have a Canadian representative thereon.

Suprise was expressed at the report that the textile workers in the Province of Quebec were compelled to toil for fifty-five (55) hours and over per week and the convention went on record in favor of a forty-hour week for textile and all other workers.

The congress pledged its full moral support to the printing trade unions in their efforts to establish the forty-four-hour week in that industry.

A double-platoon system with one day's rest in every seven for all uniformed fire fighters was recommended by the convention.

The Executive Council were instructed to seek amendments to the income tax exempting from the provisions of this law trade union dues and assessments similar to the provisions of the United States Income Tax law. The provincial executive committees were also instructed to seek similar legislation in the various provinces.

The bonus system in industry, which is a form of piece work, was condemned, and the convention went on record as favorable to legislation that would prohibit it.

The Department of Labor was requested to publish the report on "Labor Organizations in Canada" every six months, instead of yearly as at present.

The Executive Council were instructed to urge upon the government the necessity of legislation granting to all workers the right to organize.

Mr. Carter, M. P. fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. made an able address. President Samuel Gompers of the A. F. of L. addressed the convention Wednesday, August 23.

Election of Officers

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: president, Tom Moore; secretary-treasurer, P. M. Draper; vice-presidents, J. T. Foster, Montreal; Bert Merson, Toronto; A'ex McAndrew, Moose Jaw. (These comprise the executive council.)

Fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, 1923, Wm. Wilkinson, Vancouver, B. C. In view of the fact that the congress will hold a convention prior to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor the election of a fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. was left to the next convention of the congress.

Convention city, 1923, Vancouver, B. C.

I found a very friendly feeling toward the A. F. of L. on the part of the delegates, who extended many courtesies to me while at Montreal, and I shall never forget the Canadian hospitality.

In conclusion, I must express my sincere thanks to the delegates of the Cincinnati convention that made it possible for me to attend the Canadian congress, as the benefits through education and otherwise were beyond my expectation.

JURISDICTIONAL AGREEMENTS AND DISAGREEMENTS**BRICKLAYERS—PLASTERERS**

During the late spring and early summer a situation developed in the building industry which threatened great injury not only to the building trades unions but eventually to the entire labor movement. We refer to the controversy between the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union and the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association. Letters and telegrams were received at Federation headquarters in protest against such a situation having developed and being permitted to continue, and pointing out the grave effect it would inevitably have not only upon the building trades unions but in its reaction upon the organized labor movement in its entirety.

With our full approval, President Gompers secured a conference in Chicago, between representatives of the two organizations and Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., over which President Gompers presided.

We are very happy to report that as a result of that conference the following agreement was reached:

FIRST.—It is agreed that the interchangeable card to be restored and further agreed that,

In the cities and towns where the O. P. & C. F. I. A. have established locals and where the B. M. P. I. U. contend that the O. P. C. F. I. A. have no right to establish locals it is agreed that hostilities cease at once, the members of both organizations to be permitted to work together in these localities with the understanding that dues will be paid only by the local where the members hold their membership at present.

It is further agreed that the dispute in reference to the establishment of locals by the O. P. C. F. I. A. be taken up for adjustment at a later joint meeting of both executive boards.

ALSO.—It is agreed that in view of the fact that the present conference was arranged by President Gompers and Secretary Spencer which has been instrumental in restoring a more friendly relation between the two contending organizations. It is agreed that the conference to be held at a later date, that the calling of future conferences as herein provided for shall be left in the hands of President Gompers and Secretary Spencer. This arrangement, primarily the object of the present conference, removes temporarily all further strife and stoppage of work on the buildings of the continent.

RAILWAY CLERKS—MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYEES

On May 7, 1920, in the city of Washington, D. C., the following agreement was entered into:

It is agreed that no application will be accepted by the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers in the future from any employee in the Stores' Department, nor from certain employees in the Agents' Department; except as are covered by the agreement entered into between the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way and Railway Shop Laborers and the United States Railroad Administration under date of December 16, 1919.

It is agreed that where employees in these departments not covered by the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers' National Agreement and holding membership in this organization will be immediately transferred to the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees' Organization.

Such transfers will be consummated by exchange of due books and the payment of one dollar (\$1.00) to cover assessments for the Benefit Department

of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

Signed by:

(Signed) E. F. GRABLE,
Grand President, United Brotherhood of
Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway
Shop Laborers.

Signed by:

(Signed) E. H. FITZGERALD,
Grand President, Brotherhood of Railway and
Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express
and Station Employees."

Memorandum

It is understood in connection with attached agreement, first paragraph, that 'certain employees' means so-called bugaroo gangs. These employees in such gangs will be covered by the Maintenance of Way Brotherhood and by their national agreement. Their duties are to do odd jobs around the yards such as cleaning cars preparatory to loading, wheeling cinders, or dirt, gathering up trash, etc. They are apt to be carried upon Stores' Department payroll for a while, or during a certain period, and may be transferred to an agent's pay-roll, where they will be engaged in doing such work in his department for a certain period. In fact, they have no clearly and well-defined regular duties in any particular department. They are not eligible to membership in the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, but they are eligible to the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers. Washington, D. C., May 7, 1920.

At our meeting in February of this year representatives of both organizations appeared before us and asked that we should interpret the agreement as the two parties signatory to the agreement were unable to agree as to its intent and meaning.

We urged that both organizations should select a committee of two, this committee to meet with Secretary Morrison, as the representative of the Executive Council in an effort to reach adjustment of existing differences.

The conference was held at the A. F. of L. headquarters, March 19-20, 1923. We regret to report, however, that nothing tangible resulted therefrom.

TEAMSTERS—BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS

The decision and directions of the Cincinnati convention of the A. F. of L. in the case of the Teamsters and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers will be found on pages 130-133, 400-402 of the official printed proceedings of that convention. Briefly stated, the convention directed:

That a conference be called within sixty days after the adjournment of the convention, by President Gompers, of both international organizations, for the purpose of reaching an agreement; failing to agree, that the entire question involved be submitted for final settlement to an arbitration board consisting of three trades unionists;

That the president of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers shall name one member of the arbitration board, the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters shall name one, and they shall select the third member. Failing to do so within thirty days the Executive Council shall select the third member.

The decision of the arbitration shall become effective immediately.

To all of which the presidents of both organizations agreed.

In due time as per the action of the Cincinnati convention the representatives of both organizations met in Cincinnati and after a conference notified the president of the American Federation of Labor that they had failed to reach an agreement.

Conforming further to the convention action each side submitted the name of an arbitrator but neither side could agree upon the name submitted by the other, for the third arbitrator.

Under the convention action it then became the duty of the Executive Council to name the third party. We named James Duncan, president of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America and in the event of his being unable to serve we selected William Collins as the alternate. Later Brother Duncan found that his duties for the organization of his trade made it impossible for him to serve as the third member of the arbitration committee and asked to be relieved from service. He was so relieved and William Collins was then called upon to act as a third man of the committee and as the representative of the American Federation of Labor.

The representatives of the two organizations together with Mr. Collins were called into conference at the Continental Hotel, New York city, on Tuesday, October 10, 1922. The representatives of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers withdrew from the arbitration. Therefore the remaining members of that conference did not then continue to make the investigation and render a decision.

Acting upon our authority, the president of the A. F. of L. invited both international unions to have their representatives on the arbitration board meet with organizer Collins, the third Monday in January at the headquarters of the A. F. of L., Washington, D. C., and that the Arbitration Board thus constituted, under the authority of the Cincinnati convention proceed to make its investigation, take such testimony as either or both sides might care to present, reach a conclusion thereon and render a decision. The Bridge and Structural Iron Workers failed to have its representatives participate in the investigation and arbitration of the dispute, whereupon the remaining two members of the committee proceeded and decided as shown in the following report:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
office of
WILLIAM COLLINS

February 4, 1923.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President*,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER. The arbitration board selected for the purpose of investigating and rendering a decision in the dispute between the Teamsters and Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, was instructed by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to reconvene in the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, January 15, 1923.

At the first meeting of this arbitration board held in New York City, October 9th and 10th, 1922, they were compelled to halt their work because of the withdrawal of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers from the arbitration.

At the meeting called by instructions of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. on January 15, 1923, the following were present: Chairman William Collins, selected by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; Michael Casey, representing the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. A letter was placed with the board of arbitration, that had been addressed to President Gompers, and received by him January 12, 1923, from P. J. Morrin, president, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, notifying him—"it will be impossible for us to participate in the hearings, which you mention are to be held January 15th." The gist of the letter was a general protest against the chairman selected by the Executive Council and that the matter was in the hands of his international executive council until they met again. No date was given as to when this council of the iron workers would meet, or whether they would then carry out their agreement. The letter was made part of the record, and the chairman declared that the arbitration board would carry out the instructions of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and proceed to make its investigation and take such testimony as

either, or both sides may care to present, and to reach a conclusion thereon and render a decision as expeditiously as possible.

There appeared for the teamsters Daniel J. Tobin, president, Thomas L. Hughes, secretary-treasurer; vice-president M. J. Cashel, New York and John Gillespie, General Organizer, Boston, Mass. With the conclusion of the taking of testimony, the board then proceeded to investigate the actual working conditions of the industry in dispute.

For this purpose New York City, Boston, Mass., and Chicago, Ill., were visited by the arbitration board, and about a week spent in each city, where the entire technical and practical phases of the industry were investigated. Jobs were visited, materials followed from their source to delivery, workers and management questioned and a thorough survey made for the purpose of arriving at a proper decision.

The chairman of the board, under the authority of the convention of the A. F. of L., at Cincinnati, and further instructions of the Executive Council, was imbued with only the desire to decide in an unbiased way, the trade union policy that exists with the American Federation of Labor, the matter of trade autonomy, the matter of the rights of each organization, party to the dispute, and the full jurisdiction of each organization and the charter rights granted to them. After a thorough investigation, this board created for the purpose of doing justice to each side and rendering a decision, are absolutely brought to the conclusion, that the fairest and most practical decision that can be rendered, is to reaffirm the decision of the committee of the Executive Council, to the Cincinnati convention, which is as follows.

It is clearly evident that the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union has gradually and persistently encroached upon the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. It has constantly endeavored to broaden the jurisdiction by claiming, and in some instances practicing the rights to load and unload material off and on wagons, trucks and automobiles. In the opinion of the committee this work clearly belongs to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. This work was conceded to this organization through its charter of affiliation with the A. F. of L. All loading, hauling and unloading of materials on and off wagons, trucks and automobiles belongs to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. However, where building material is hauled to buildings under construction and the foreman, contractor, or person in charge of the erection of the building, directs that it be hoisted from the wagon, truck or automobile, such hoisting shall be done by the members of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers International organization. Where it is loaded from wagon, truck or automobile on the ground, street or sidewalk, such work shall be done by the members of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

Under the authority invested by the board of arbitration, by the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor, we therefore so decide in the dispute between the Teamsters and Bridge and Structural Iron Workers of America.

(Signed) WILLIAM COLLINS, *Chairman,*
MICHAEL CASEY,
*Arbitrator for the Brotherhood of Teamsters,
Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of
America.*

FIRE FIGHTERS—ENGINEERS

The jurisdictional controversy between these two organizations involving the local unions of each in Chicago, was before the Denver and the Cincinnati conventions.

On December 19, 1922, the officers of the Engineers' International Union, conforming to the declarations of the Cincinnati convention, withdrew the charter of its Chicago Local Union No. 577 because that local insisted upon retaining in membership the engineers operating fire fighting engines.

BLACKSMITHS—TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS

Conforming to the instructions of the Cincinnati convention, Organizer Hugh Frayne of New York City, under the directions of your Executive Council to "define more clearly his decision in this case," decided and your Executive Council approved the following.

As all efforts made in the several conferences held in the past have failed to bring about an amicable and satisfactory understanding between the two contending organizations, there does not appear to be any other method of adjustment except through a decision which if approved by the Executive Council will be made effective.

In previous reports upon this subject I outlined the work performed by the men who are claimed by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers and who are members of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union. In my report of June 7th I defined tool sharpening in its relation to blacksmithing work so that the records upon this subject would be clear for future reference.

Taking into consideration the autonomy rights of an international union as guaranteed to it by its charter from the American Federation of Labor, the claim of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers for jurisdiction over the men doing blacksmith work such as I have set forth in my previous reports, is a just one.

In the construction of subways and before the work is completed, members of other international unions are employed, such as compressed air workers, plumbers, steamfitters, electricians, cement workers, tile layers and carpenters. In my investigation I find that no claim of jurisdiction is made by the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union over any of the men employed at these trades. The reason for this, as I see it, is because the constructors employing the tunnel and subway constructors do their own blacksmithing work which, however, in my opinion does not change the principle in the case.

With these facts in mind and with the knowledge that a decision of this kind may work a temporary hardship upon the tunnel and subway constructors, I am prompted solely in the interest of the labor movement as a whole in deciding that this work unquestionably belongs to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

BAKERS—HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES

At our meeting, May 10-18, 1920, it was decided as follows:

Upon the application of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance it was decided that the following jurisdiction of that organization is recognized:

Jurisdiction covering all hotel and restaurant employes in all its branches and departments excepting those engaged in mechanical work now organized under the A. F. of L., and Barbers, Tailors, Laundry Workers, Drivers and Chauffeurs.

Bartenders, Beverage Dispensers and Soda Fountain Workers.

Sleeping and Parlor Car Employes (conductors excepted) Dining Car Employes—(Cooks and Waiters).

Culinary Workers and Beverage Dispensers on Steamboats.

It is not intended that this is to change conditions now existing—it is to cover mostly culinary workers and beverage dispensers on lake, river, pleasure and resort steamers.

This was reported to and approved by the Montreal, 1920, convention.

While in session at headquarters, November, 1922, a letter was received from the officers of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union inquiring whether the decision of May, 1920, affected the jurisdiction of the Bakery and Confectionery

Workers' over bakery and pastry workers employed in hotels, restaurants and other catering establishments. They were advised in reply as was also the International Union of Hotel and Restaurant Employees that:

Baking and bakery jurisdiction in hotels and elsewhere belongs to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.

Thereafter the officers of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance gave notice of an appeal from the decision of the Executive Council to this convention.

LONGSHOREMEN—RAILWAY CLERKS

By resolutions Nos. 23 and 24 the delegate from the International Longshoremen's Association to the Cincinnati convention protested against transgression of jurisdiction on the part of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks.

By directions of the convention a conference was held between the representatives of the two organizations and the president of the A. F. of L. for the purpose of making an effort to adjust the existing differences. The conference was barren of results but through correspondence and individual conference as opportunity afforded the president of the Federation continued his endeavors to be helpful to both organizations.

EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION—ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS

At our meeting at headquarters in November, 1922, the International Union of Elevator Constructors, through its president, made formal application for extension of jurisdiction over elevator operators and starters.

At this meeting representatives of the Building Service Employees' International Union, the Elevator Operators and Starters' Local Union of Chicago and the International Union of Elevator Constructors were afforded every opportunity to personally present their respective claims of jurisdiction and their opposition to or approval of the application. The Elevator Operators and Starters of Chicago at the same time made formal application for direct charter of affiliation to the A. F. of L.

Taking into consideration the statements made by all parties at interest your Executive Council were impelled to the belief that the best interest of the applicants and of the labor movement as a whole would be served by granting the application of the International Union of Elevator Constructors for jurisdiction over Elevator Operators and Starters. Thereafter the officers of the Building Service Employees' International Union served notice of appeal to this convention against the decision reached by your Executive Council.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

At our annual meeting in 1922 the attention of the convention, by resolution No. 75, was called to the statement made in the public press that there was a possibility and probability that Harvard College would place a restriction upon its admission, based upon religious and racial grounds.

In conformity with the action and direction of the convention this matter was investigated, considerable correspondence passing between the president of the Federation in support of the protest of the Cincinnati convention and the other parties interested.

It is with satisfaction and pleasure that we report that the Board of Overseers of Harvard University unanimously voted "that in the administration of rules for admission Harvard College maintains its traditional policy of freedom from discrimination on grounds of race or religion."

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Modern industrial processes are so highly specialized as to produce an unfortunate psychological effect upon the wage earners. Increasingly psychologists are calling attention to this important fact. They point out that which is so well known by the workers, that is, the deterioration of nervous force and health and crushing the creative instincts.

While progress has been made within industry to improve this condition of affairs, further improvement may be made by the workers during their offtime engaging in activities which will give opportunity for self-expression, for satisfying the creative instincts and which will revitalize them generally. Much can be done by the trade union movement in dealing with the leisure time of the wage workers in such ways as to bring about these desirable ends. The field of recreational work has grown wonderfully in the last few years. It is much richer and more varied than in former years.

The national organization known as the Community Service, a non-commercial body, the outgrowth of the War Camp Community Service, is in the field to help promote in every section of the country programs for meeting the leisure time needs of the people. The president of the American Federation of Labor is an honorary member of the Board of Directors of the Community Service, while Hugh Frayne, the New York City representative of the A. F. of L., is an active member.

The chief aim of the Community Service is to help cities and towns everywhere in the United States by means of trained field service to provide facilities, public and private, for meeting the leisure time recreational needs of all the people. It seeks to secure more parks and playgrounds, more community centers with opportunities for dramatic, music and art expression, larger use of the school's, promotion of neighborhood organization for wholesome social life, etc., and the end it purposes to achieve is to overcome the evil psychological effects of machine industry, promote health and happiness, prevent misuse of leisure time, provide a chance for under-privileged youth, and neutralize the rush and strain of the present day civilization.

Our Cincinnati convention, 1922, by resolution No. 94, authorized the Executive Council to investigate the Community Service movement and directed cooperation with this movement if that be found advisable. As a result of our investigation we cordially approved cooperative relationship between the American Federation of Labor and the Community Service by pledging our moral support to its leisure time recreational and educational work.

PERSONNEL RESEARCH FEDERATION

The significant undertaking of the Personnel Research Federation has been that of exploring the general field of personnel research. In so far as opportunities and resources have been available, the Personnel Research Federation has been seeking to discover and become acquainted with individuals and organizations that are trained and competent in the execution of research progress.

Through its periodical publication, "The Journal of Personnel Research," some fifty courses in personnel and allied subjects have been given up to the present time. It is hoped that this particular function may serve not only as a source of information to the constituent and associate members of this organization, but also as a medium through which the results of the work done may be published as an incentive to others to interest themselves in similar undertakings.

The Personnel Research Federation has found need for an additional outlet for monographs and studies and has consequently arranged for a series of books, the first of the series having appeared to date and additional volumes being under way, ranging all the way from studies of the labor problems in the printing industry to such material as that for use in vocational guidance. Unquestionably this organization has served as an effective and helpful clearing house and has on some occasions been of great assistance.

Pursuant to the action of our Cincinnati convention, the American Federation of Labor has continued its participation in the work of this organization, and with the approval of the Executive Council the following were appointed representatives of the American Federation of Labor to the Personnel Research Federation: Matthew Woll, Frank Morrison, John Voll, Hugh Frayne, and William H. Johnston. One general conference of the Personnel Research Federation was held during the past year. The officers elected for the ensuing year are as follows: Robert M. Yerkes, Chairman; Samuel Gompers, Vice-Chairman; Robert R. Bruere, Treasurer; Alfred D. Flinn, Secretary, and Leonard Outhwaite, Director. The Executive Committee elected is as follows: W. V. Bingham, Alfred D. Flinn, Emma P. Hirth, Frank Morrison, and R. M. Yerkes. Matthew Woll was re-appointed as Associate Editor.

The total voting membership is ten. The cooperating membership is forty-two, and the sustaining membership is two.

Because of the growing importance of research work and the great possibilities of the Personnel Research Federation it is recommended that the American Federation of Labor remain in active affiliation.

RESIGNATION OF W. D. MAHON—ELECTION OF MARTIN F. RYAN

For many months President Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees had in mind the thought that owing to the state of his health he found it exceedingly difficult to perform the many duties devolving upon him as president of his own organization and yet give adequate service to the requirements of the position as vice-president and member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. At different times he expressed the belief that under the circumstances it was his duty to resign.

Deeply conscious of the value of his knowledge of the labor movement, his ripe experience, and his faithful service to our cause, we earnestly urged that he should continue as vice-president. Later, however, after suffering a very severe attack of illness, he felt compelled to tender his resignation, and under the circumstances with the greatest reluctance we felt it our duty to accept it.

Under the provisions of Article IX, Section 9, of the constitution, it devolved upon the Executive Council to fill the vacancy.

At our meeting at headquarters in Washington in May, for the reasons just given having been impelled to accept Mr. Mahon's resignation, we selected as eighth vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Martin F. Ryan, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY

This section of our report deals with some of the more important work conducted through our Information and Publicity Service since our last convention.

We are by no means content with the work that has been accomplished but limited finances made further expansion impossible. It is gratifying to report, however, that our efforts in this direction have exceeded our previous efforts and we look forward with assurance to more effective efforts as rapidly as more adequate financial support becomes possible.

Charting the Form and Scope of A. F. of L. Work

At the beginning of this calendar year the work of depicting the form and scope of the organization and work of the A. F. of L. by means of a series of graphic charts was undertaken. This series of charts is a demonstration of the work performed by the American Federation of Labor and a revelation of the enormous field which it covers in carrying on its great number of diversified activities.

Each chart is accompanied by an explanatory note or legend, but the aim throughout has been to make the charts so direct and simple as to tell their own story.

No other organization of labor has ever undertaken to prepare such an exhaustive survey of its own activities.

This work has been completed and will shortly be published in book form for distribution throughout the world.

No American trade unionist can fail to be proud of a movement capable of making the magnificent showing revealed by this book of charts.

There are more than one hundred pages in the book and fully half of these are required for the charted illustrations.

It is impossible at the time this report is made to determine upon a price for the book but it will not be more than sufficient to cover the cost of publication. It is highly desirable that distribution be as wide as possible. A copy of the chart complete will be placed in the hands of the committee to which this subject will be referred.

Labor Information

Labor Information is a pamphlet publication having a minimum of four pages designed to carry information about the labor movement to persons who have no trade union affiliation but who occupy positions from which they exercise an influence in the forming of public opinion.

It has long been felt that it was desirable to have a means of direct contact with men and women of this type.

Publication of *Labor Information* was begun in March. It has been the aim to produce an issue of this new publication approximately once a month but no definite date of publication is fixed because the real object is to issue the publication whenever the opportunity seems to offer itself or whenever the need arises for stating either labor's point of view or important information regarding the trade union movement.

The publication goes to a large list of persons in academic, professional and literary fields.

When the first issue was produced every person to whom a copy was sent was requested to sign and return a card asking for future copies. The response, almost ninety per cent, was most unusual. In every case since that time the same method has been employed. Thus no person continues to receive *Labor Information* unless a specific request is entered.

We feel that this new publication is serving a most useful purpose in taking the truth about the trade union movement to those whose information hitherto has been derived from sources not directly connected with the trade union movement.

Labor Information is furnished without charge.

The News Budget

The News Budget is a small clippingsheet of very brief items and quotations and is furnished to daily and weekly papers in the smaller cities.

The importance of establishing contact with the multitude of newspapers in cities ranging in population from fifteen to fifty thousand is evident to all who understand the importance of these publications in American life.

The News Budget has been designed to meet requirements of newspapers of this kind, but it is impossible at the time this report is prepared to indicate whether the undertaking is to be successful.

International Labor News Service

Through the International Labor News Service the A. F. of L. Information and Publicity Service is rendering assistance to the labor press of the country and assisting it in the establishment of what it is hoped eventually will be a powerful self-supporting news-gathering agency, owned cooperatively by the trade union publications of the United States.

The International Labor Press of America, which is the organization of bona fide trade union publications in the United States and Canada, believed it necessary to establish a news service in which trade union publications could have faith and over which the labor press could exercise control. The cooperation of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and of the Information and Publicity Service was requested. This cooperation was gladly extended.

The International Labor News Service is edited in the offices of the American Federation of Labor, the cost of the editorial work and the cost of mailing being borne by the American Federation of Labor. The mechanical cost of producing the service is borne by the International Labor Press of America through a nominal charge collected from papers receiving the service.

This News Service is designed to supplement other work of the American Federation of Labor and to meet a requirement not otherwise met.

We express the hope that the trade union publications of the United States may soon find their way to strengthen this New Service and eventually to take over the entire cost of its production.

Mats and Cartoons

A considerable demand has been made upon the American Federation of Labor by trade union publications for cartoons and cuts or matrices for their reproduction.

There have been in operation at various times a number of so-called services furnishing cartoons for labor papers but in many instances these have been as harmful as helpful to the trade union cause. The American Federation of Labor desires only to be helpful to the labor press and it believes that the labor press should do for itself everything that can possibly be done in that manner.

We would welcome the establishment of a service furnishing mats or cuts of cartoons or other illustrations if such a service could be established on a basis of thorough going support of the trade union movement under complete trade union control.

We have found it possible to furnish occasional illustrations and frequent cartoons to the labor papers but we have thus far been unable to see our way clear to the establishment of a regular service.

The Executive Council has the subject under consideration, however, with a view to taking such steps as may seem most likely to prove helpful, such steps as it may find it possible to take with the resources at its command.

Guide to Sources of Information

As the result of repeated inquiries as to sources from which certain types of statistical information might be had and from which reports of investigations and hearings might be had, the task of compiling the sources of authentic and available information was undertaken by our Information and Publicity Service. The object was to place at the command of the executives of international unions a reference book which would serve as a reliable guide to sources of information valuable to trade unions.

This publication is in loose-leaf form in order that additions may be made as new sources of authentic and valuable information are developed.

The Guide to Sources of Information was issued primarily for the use of officers of international unions. Copies are available, however, to those who have particular need to be in touch with the more important sources from which information in statistical and other forms is regularly available.

So far as we are aware there is no other volume in existence covering exactly this field.

Informing the Daily Press

The work of conveying information to the daily newspapers and press associations of the country has expanded considerably during the year.

We have regarded it as of the utmost importance that authentic information be made available to the daily newspapers and every effort has been made to see that all information that is legitimately of a public character is conveyed to the public through the newspapers at the earliest possible moment.

We believe it essential to develop this work wherever and as rapidly as possible and that it have the most careful attention at all times.

Periodical Publications

One of the reasons why labor appears frequently at a disadvantage in articles in the periodical press is because writers are poorly informed. Of course outright bias, either of author or publication, is not infrequent but there are many cases in which lack of information is not willful and where the deficit may be supplied.

During the past year much has been done in this direction. A great number of writers have sought authentic information and every effort is being made to encourage such requests.

In addition to supplying information in this manner a large number of special articles for various periodical publications have been prepared in response to requests. Not less than a hundred such articles have been furnished by the president of the American Federation of Labor alone.

Lecturers

No progress beyond the most elemental preparatory steps has yet been made toward the organization of a lecture bureau but it is hoped that at least a substantial beginning can be made in this direction before the end of this calendar year.

It is recognized as highly desirable that capable lecturers should be available in all parts of the country for addresses before organizations of labor and organizations that are interested in the problems of wage earners.

It is of great value that trade unionists should train themselves and be aided in developing themselves as public speakers with a clear understanding of the historic development of the trade union movement and its philosophy, particularly in America and we urge upon our organizations that they undertake the creation of a committee or bureau in which the art of public speaking be taught.

Information Gathering

Any consideration of publicity as contemplated in the establishment of the A. F. of L. Information and Publicity Service must take into account the complete operation, which consists of getting information, systematizing it and passing it on through one channel or another.

The importance and necessity of facts are everywhere more and more appreciated. There have not been sufficient resources at command, however, to permit of any adequate work in the field of information gathering. Some important inquiries have been made but in no case has the work been as thoroughly done as was desired or as the circumstances warranted.

The greatest efforts were made in connection with the International Conference for the Limitation of Armament, the defeat of the ship subsidy bill, the so-called open shop movement and the activities of revolutionary propagandists within the labor movement and in the United States in general.

It is manifestly desirable that there be made possible continuous work of an information gathering or research character, that it be made possible to systematize more thoroughly this work in order that a consistent, sustained and constructive program may be arranged and followed.

The Range of Subjects Dealt With

The range of subjects in connection with which information was required during the course of the year reaches into almost every phase of human activity. It is an indication of the all-embracing interests of the trade union movement and of the wide interest of others in the trade union movement.

A partial list of the more important subjects dealt with in one way or another during the last year follows:

1. *Current Labor Disputes.*—Coal Strike, Railroad Strike, Textile Strike, Packers Strike, Federal Employes Disputes, Granite Strike, Quarry Strike, Printing Trades Strikes, Garment Trades Strike.
2. *Anti-Labor Activities.*—"Open Shop" Campaigns, Injunctions, Wage Reductions, Compulsory Arbitration, Company Unions, Boycotts, Daughertyism, Garyism, Drive to Increase Immigration, Twelve-Hour Day.
3. *Legislation Affecting Labor.*—Ship Subsidy, Minimum Wage, Sales Tax, Child Labor, Esch-Cummings Act, and 2,000 other legislative matters.
4. *Industrial Progress.*—Campaigns Against Waste in Industry, Government Unemployment Investigations, Wage Determination Studies, Workmen's Compensation, Minimum Wage, Industrial Health, Safety Codes, American Construction Council's Work, Immigration Restriction, Industrial Accidents, Labor Turnover.
5. *Public Matters Affecting Labor Welfare.*—Supreme Court Decision in Coronado Case, Extension of Industrial Monopolies, Conference for Limitation of Armament, International Economic Conference, Pan-American Relations, Government Service to Veterans, War Graft Prosecution, Conservation and Reclamation Work, Stock Dividend Scramble in Finance, Alien Contract Labor, Teapot Dome and Other Oil Scandals, Loans to Agriculture, Federal Reserve Bank Developments, Politics in Customs Service, Profiteering, Prison Labor.

The Possible Future Activities

The future always provides its own requirements, and plans made for the future are frequently rendered useless because of changing circumstances.

As the field has been developed during the past year attention has centered to a considerable degree on desirable future activities which may be made possible. Summarized, some of the activities which are contemplated as facilities are increased are as follows:

Educational Service.—Workmen's education, analysis of technical reports, labor statistics, analysis of economic facts for labor consumption, increased book reviewing facilities.

An Economic Service.—A bulletin of financial and industrial information, showing trend of times and serving as guide to labor policies.

A Technical Service.—Specialized information for each trade, continuous survey of outlook for changes in industry affecting labor, survey of developments in cooperation with management for better production and protection to workmen in wage adjustments.

A Record Service.—Survey of recording methods and interchange of information on that subject, compilation, analysis, collation and distribution of related information.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The *American Federationist*, official organ of the A. F. of L., published under the editorship of the president, has continued in the service of the labor movement as in former years. Every effort has been made to improve the character of its contents and to extend their availability to other publications.

We wish to record our approval of the great benefits resulting from the publication of the *American Federationist* and to urge labor and other publications everywhere to take advantage of the opportunity offered by our official magazine to obtain authentic information regarding the various phases of labor's struggles.

A. F. OF L. WEEKLY NEWS SERVICE

The A. F. of L. *Weekly News Service*, formerly known as the *Weekly Newsletter*, one of the established branches of A. F. of L. editorial work, has continued as formerly.

It has been and continues to be the purpose of the *Weekly News Service* to supply to the labor press of the country authentic news of the trade union movement. The *Weekly News Service* is furnished free also to a considerable number of non-labor publications and individuals who are interested in securing accurate information about labor events.

We commend the work of the *Weekly News Service* as a valuable asset to labor's channels for the dissemination of labor information.

In the course of the near future it is proposed to carry the instructions of the Cincinnati convention into effect, that is, for the more thorough coordination of the *Weekly News Service* with other branches of our Federation's publicity and educational services.

LABOR PRESS

The bona fide trade union publications of the United States and Canada have within the past year improved in quality and influence to a degree that is most gratifying. There are in existence more than 300 trade union weekly, semi-monthly, and monthly publications.

The relationship between the A. F. of L. and the labor press, whether privately owned or whether owned by organizations of labor, has been most helpful and satisfactory.

Some of the most thoughtful and valuable journalistic endeavor in America is today to be found in the publications of organized labor.

In many cases the labor press finds itself the sole channel for the exposure of wrong and the sole champion of constructive remedy.

We urge upon the labor publications the vital need for the extension of circulation

at all times and we point out to the labor press the great advantage to be gained by cooperative effort through organization in its own field. Every labor publication should become a part of the bona fide organization of trade union publications in order that there may be derived not only the inspirational benefits of association but in order that there may be had the practical results of mutual helpfulness and of multiplied strength.

The mission of the labor press is to spread the truth concerning labor's cause. It is obligated to perform that mission in the most effective manner possible.

We call attention to the fact that during the year a number of publications have come into the field asserting that they speak for labor, though their real mission is the destruction of the trade union movement. Some of these publications are privately-owned and represent merely the beliefs of their owners. Others, however, are the organs of an organized propaganda for the destruction of the bona fide labor movement.

Every development of this character increases the need for vigilance on the part of the true trade union press.

We congratulate the labor press most heartily for its loyal and effective work during the past year. We look forward with confidence to another year of improved service in the cause of the trade union movement.

HISTORY, ENCYCLOPEDIA AND REFERENCE BOOK

The second volume of the A. F. of L. History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book is ready for the printer. It will contain the essential features of the activities of the American Federation of Labor, its declarations and decisions for the last four years and will make several hundred pages. As the next convention would soon be held it was thought the part of wisdom to delay the printing so as to include the proceedings of the 1923 convention. When printed it will be a valuable addition to the history of the American labor movement.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST INDEX

The first volume of the analytical index of the *American Federationist* is approaching completion. It is designed as a guide both to labor's progress during the thirty years since the magazine was first published and to the activities of the trade unionists and the trade unions without whom labor's achievements would have been impossible.

In our report to the Cincinnati convention we anticipated that the copy for the index would have been in the hands of the printers before the opening of this convention, but not only the prodigious amount of work necessary to be done on the index and the tedious and painstaking character of that work, but also the fact that from time to time the work on the index has been temporarily laid aside to give way to more immediately pressing and important work have combined the delay in the publication far beyond our anticipation.

REPORT ON FEDERATED PRESS

The Cincinnati convention authorized your Executive Council to have an investigation made of the reportorial and news policy of the Federated Press. We directed President Gompers to have that investigation made. He appointed a committee for that purpose. The committee conducted this investigation and reported as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 2, 1923.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President*,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: In accordance with your request we undertook an inquiry into the policies, methods and general affairs of the Federated Press, in accordance with Resolution No. 82 adopted by the last annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Cincinnati, Ohio.

We made careful examination of the files of the Federated Press which were put at

our disposal by Mr. Carl Haessler, managing editor. We should like to say that in every respect Mr. Haessler was courteous and obliging during the course of our inquiry in Chicago.

The Federated Press is an incorporated organization of labor publications, serving at the present time seventy-five publications which are as follows:

B. of L. E. Journal, Eteenpain, Federated Press Bulletin, Galesburg Labor News, Illinois Industrial Review, Labor Advocate (Racine), Labor Herald.

Labor Unity, Laisve, Midwest Labor News, Milwaukee Leader, Minneapolis Labor Review, New Majority, Ny Tid, Oklahoma Leader.

One Big Union Bulletin, Peoples Voice, Radnik, Tom Mooney's Monthly, Toveri, Truth.

Tyomies, Voice of Labor, Volkszeitung, Uj. Elore.

Advance, Alba Nuova, American Railroad Worker, B. C. Federationist, Cahokia Valley News, Dawn, Detroit Labor News, Free Voice.

Fur Worker, Headgear Worker, Illinois Miner, Industrialist, Industrial Solidarity, Industrial Worker, Iowa Farm and Labor News, Labor Advocate (Tacoma), Labor Age, Labor Journal.

Labor Leader, Llano Colonist, Miami Valley Socialist, Minnesota Union Advocate, Newark Leader, New York Call, Panvor, Pennsylvania Worker, Plebe, Prosvëta.

Railroad Amalgamation Advocate, Seattle Union Record, Searchlight, Spravednost, Tri-City Labor News, Vilnis, West Virginia Federationist, Williamson County Miner, World Tomorrow.

California Oil Worker, Train Dispatcher, Upholsterers' Journal, Railway Clerk, Electrical Worker, Producers' News, Maritime Labor Herald.

In addition to these newspaper clients the Federated Press service is furnished to about 200 local unions and central bodies and to somewhere between forty and fifty individuals. These take the service mainly as a means of assisting the Federated Press, the local unions and central bodies paying one dollar per week each for the service, the individuals paying twenty dollars a year, and having no right to republication of any of the material in the service.

The Federated Press maintains staff correspondents in Washington, New York City, Berlin, Moscow, Sydney, Mexico City and Chicago; and it has correspondents in other cities in the United States who are paid space rates.

It would be possible to enter into a lengthy and detailed analysis of the material furnished by the Federated Press to its various member publications but this would not be nearly as illuminating as Mr. Haessler's own statement of the Federated Press policy.

As he stated it to us the policy of the Federated Press is to attempt to report the news of all pretending-to-be factions or wings of the labor movement and to admit to membership in the Federated Press publications representing all factions and wings of the movement. It is regarded by the Federated Press as desirable that there should be on the board of directors representatives of all trends of thought in the labor movement.

Having this statement, we endeavored to get from Mr. Haessler a definition of the term "labor movement" as used by the Federated Press. We were given to understand that within the meaning of that term the Federated Press includes all protesting minorities and that the question of whether these minorities are revolutionary in character or not has nothing to do with the case.

On this point Mr. Haessler furnished us with a copy of a letter which he had written in answer to an inquiry dealing with his policy as managing editor. The following paragraph from that letter is illustrative of his attitude as he states it:

I shall work as managing editor of the Federated Press as long as I am permitted to carry out my conception of its proper function, which is, I believe, to be a cooperative labor news service catering impartially and cordially to every group in the labor movement. I have tried to cut out the factional

news and reports of internal union strife that is of no concern to labor as a whole, though wads of such news come to the desk. I have tried also to proportion the news so that all labor elements may have an opening in our columns if they wish it.

This we believe to be an accurate presentation of Federated Press policy but we can not refrain from pointing out that the phrase "all labor elements" includes all of the various revolutionary elements outside of the American Federation of Labor, hostile to the American Federation of Labor, hostile to democratic principles in general, and in open warfare in an effort to undermine and destroy the American Federation of Labor.

It appears furthermore to be the Federated Press policy to give as much weight and importance to any protesting minority as to the bona fide trade union movement in the matter of news. Thus we observed that day after day the Federated Press carries much more news in relation to the doings of various protesting minorities than it does in relation to the activities of the bona fide trade union movement. We observed furthermore that news stories relating to the trade union movement are not infrequently handled in such a manner as to reflect discreditably upon the trade union movement.

It is true that when one or two of these instances were called to Mr. Haessler's attention he manifested a desire to make correction. However that may be, the fact remains that under the policy of the Federated Press every agency or organization which may lay claim to a labor designation is entitled to representation in the news service of the Federated Press on a basis of importance equal to that of the trade union movement. Every destructive, revolutionary agency finds a ready entrée to the Federated Press service as long as it makes claim to a labor designation.

The board of directors of the Federated Press is so composed as to make any policy other than the one now in force impossible. Without entering into a detailed discussion of the personnel of the directorate, it is apparent that a majority of the present directors would in any test be either hostile to the American Federation of Labor or lukewarm toward it. Among the directors are W. Z. Foster and Arne Swaback whose philosophy is well known and with whom a majority of the directors probably will generally be found in sympathy.

In connection with the general policies of the Federated Press it is worth noting that the European manager is Mr. Louis Lochner, who, during the world war, was at the head of the notorious People's Council, the head and front of the pacifist propaganda. It is perhaps also worthy of note that general European news, and particularly British news, is supplied to the Federated Press by the London Daily Herald, concerning whose connections with the Soviet authorities there were some months ago most astonishing revelations.

It was pointed out to us that A. F. of L. publications might change the policy of the Federated Press by the simple expedient of becoming members in numbers sufficient to outvote the present majority.

There are two things to be said about this. First, not less than four-fifths of the present members must vote for the admission of an applicant; and second, even though a sufficient number of editors loyal to the principles of the American Federation of Labor should become members of the Federated Press, they would, by so doing, vote themselves into an indebtedness of approximately \$48,400, and it is our frank opinion that this would indeed be an unfortunate acquisition.

The Federated Press service is sent daily to clients in the form of printed sheets. In addition to the daily printed sheet a monthly bulletin is issued which serves as a house organ. The daily service carries a series of articles under the caption, "Economic News Service," and these are gathered together and printed on a single sheet once a week.

In addition, the Federated Press issues what it calls chain papers, there being at present four of these. In these chain papers one page is reserved for local news of the community for which the paper is issued while the remaining pages are made up entirely of material carried in the Federated Press service during the week.

Samples of all of this material are attached to this report, together with a copy of the by-laws and copies of the monthly bulletin containing the names of clients and the

current annual budget which provides for expenditures amounting to \$100,000, providing that amount of money can be secured.

We found throughout the Federated Press service a continued domination of the news by articles relating to the I. W. W., the so-called amalgamation movement, "political" prisoners, the Communist Party, the Workers' Party, the Socialist Party and Russian affairs. That is to say that there is a continuous tide flowing through the Federated Press service of a pro-Soviet, pro-Communist, pro-revolutionary, anti-American Federation of Labor character.

We found in a long series of issues, under the standing heading, "Labor Trials," a constant repetition of stories about I. W. W. cases, Communist cases and the Michigan syndicalist cases. Typical of this column is the issue of May 18, containing under this heading stories about the trial of Ruthenberg in Michigan, a story about political prisoners, and a story about the troubles of the spectacular Upton Sinclair in California. In another issue the column covered I. W. W. cases in Los Angeles and San Francisco; criminal syndicalism cases in Gary, Illinois; and a story from New York about political prisoners.

The issue of May 5, 1923, fairly well typifies the general policy of the Federated Press. The columns of the daily service are fourteen inches long and there are six columns. Few stories run more than eight inches and any story running from six to eight inches is therefore an important story from the Federated Press point of view. In this issue forty inches were devoted to various "isms" while the contents of but ten inches related to real trade union activity. In the same issue there were small items, totalling from six to eight inches, of what might be termed real or bona fide labor news, in addition to the article on economics which in this case dealt with the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Among other things in this day's issue was a news story discussing the strike of the Marine Transport Workers, using the name of the International Seamen's Union and the Marine Transport Workers in such a way as to make no proper distinction between the I. W. W. organization and the bona fide trade union.

It is true that our instructions confined us to the editorial and news policies of the Federated Press, but the Garland Fund had been so much in discussion and had been the basis of a news story in which in our judgment the President of the American Federation of Labor received unfair treatment that we deemed it advisable, in view of these and other facts, to make some inquiry in this direction and to include the results in this report.

We can not refrain from including here a letter which has some bearing on the situation inasmuch as it was addressed by a member of the board of trustees of the Garland Fund to a member of the executive board of the Federated Press who is also a member of the board of trustees of the Garland Fund, though neither held these respective positions at the time the letter was written. The letter is as follows:

JUNE 30, 1922.

MR. WM. Z. FOSTER,
118 N. La Salle Street,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR BILL FOSTER: Thanks for yours of the 26th. I can't add to what I have said about Costello's relation to the Federated Press. I do wish you could make the effort to straighten things out before you go west—or work on it at long distance, if that can be done. Costello ought to be generous enough to not stand in the way of a really able man taking his place. Can't your persuade him?

I am delighted with the prospects and progress of your league. Of course, the future belongs to your bunch.

Yours always,

(Signed) ROGER BALDWIN.

It should be explained in relation to the above letter that Mr. Costello was the then managing editor of the Federated Press later succeeded by Mr. Haessler.

The last two sentences of the letter of course constitute the most important portion

of the letter in connection with this report. They make clear the type of influence wielded by at least two members of the Garland Fund which has agreed to give \$15,000 to the Federated Press and which has already given a substantial portion of that amount.

Taking up again the analysis of Federated Press policy, we find in the issue of May 9, in a story printed under a Washington date line, the following: "European labor is warned by Samuel Gompers not to expect cooperation from organized labor of the United States in general strikes as a means to economic or political advancement." Of course the statement actually issued by the president of the American Federation of Labor had to do entirely with general strikes as a means of preventing war and did not deal with strikes in any sense in connection with economic developments.

It would be possible to proceed with analysis of a great many of the issues of the Federated Press but there would be, it seems to us, no point to an endless repetition of the same story. An analysis of issue after issue can only lead back to the conclusion that the Federated Press lends itself continuously to the spreading of doctrines subversive of the best interests of the American working people as expressed in the bona fide trade union movement and that this condition is going to continue. The personnel throughout the organization makes this clear and the record of its conduct proves the case beyond any shadow of doubt.

We are aware of the fact that a small number of publications purporting to be bona fide trade union publications are members of the Federated Press, subscribe to its service and print it in part or in whole. We make the assertion, however, as emphatically as we may and without qualification, that no publication can follow the policy of the Federated Press as expressed in its daily service and remain loyal to the fundamental principles set up as the standard of constructive trade unionism by the American Federation of Labor. There should be harmony and united action along constructive lines before we can be entirely successful in the fulfillment of our mission and the attainment of our aim in the labor movement.

Respectfully submitted,
(Signed)

MATTHEW WOLL
G. W. PERKINS,
CHESTER M. WRIGHT.

UNITED WALL PAPER CRAFTS OF NORTH AMERICA

Conforming to the well-established policy of the American Federation of Labor whenever possible to form national and international unions of existing local unions, and to bring together under one head existing national unions whose trades have so developed and extended as to demonstrate the desirability and practicability of amalgamation, after a number of conferences and much correspondence the amalgamation of the National Print Cutters' Association of America and the National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States into the United Wall Paper Crafts of North America was effected July 10th and charter issued to the amalgamated body.

WORK OF OUR ORGANIZERS

The work of the volunteer and salaried organizers has been of unusual importance during the year just closed. We wish particularly to record our appreciation of the work of the great number of volunteer organizers whose services have been given cheerfully and unselfishly for the advancement of labor's cause. It would be difficult if not impossible to conduct the organization work of the A. F. of L. without the assistance of the constantly growing number of volunteer organizers.

Our salaried organizers have continued to render valuable services not only in the organization of the unorganized but in the adjustment of grievances and disputes which otherwise might have resulted in strikes costly to affiliated national and international unions, the A. F. of L. and the individual workers directly involved. In addition to this our organizers have been of material assistance to state federations of labor in various legislative campaigns.

We commend the work of the organizers and urge upon them renewed efforts in behalf of the organized and in the organization of the unorganized.

LABOR DAY, LABOR SUNDAY, LABOR'S MEMORIAL DAY

We urge continuance of the practice of observing the fourth Sunday in May as Labor's Memorial Day, pursuant of the action of the convention of 1907. We urge everywhere an appropriate observance of Labor Day, the first Monday in September, and of Labor's Sunday, the day preceding Labor Day.

The Executive Council this year adopted an appropriate Proclamation for Labor Day and Labor Sunday which may fittingly be reproduced here. The Proclamation follows:

The labor movement of America demands for all of our people the full benefit of the life giving forces of our marvelous civilization through constantly increasing wages and improvement of working conditions and through a reasonable and proper reduction in the hours of work.

The labor movement of America demands for the wage earners and for all who serve usefully in any capacity, a sound and just economic basis for life and freedom in the fullest meaning of those terms.

The labor movement of America has ever had high regard for the development of the ethical and the spiritual in life, realizing the right of all humanity to partake freely of the great satisfaction that comes to enrich life as a result.

The labor movement of our country, recognizing the fact that all freedom and all higher development of life, rest upon first providing assurance of the essentials of existence, has first demanded economic justice as a basis for all other things.

But the labor movement has always taught that the material is essential to something higher, and that the inspiration of our movement has its deepest springs in something above and beyond the material.

The labor movement strives for economic improvement with unrelenting zeal and fidelity because economic improvement is the first fundamental requisite; but it holds out to all mankind a flaming torch lighting the way to a greater fullness of life, to complete realization of the finer and nobler aspirations of the mind and soul.

The labor movement fixes as its goal nothing less than the complete richness of life, without limitation of any kind, the attainment of the complete human ideal, in all of its economic, ethical, and spiritual implications.

Through the inspiration of our labor movement, the Sunday preceding Labor Day, which is the first Monday in September each year, has come into general national observance as Labor Sunday. On this day it is fitting to give thought to the aspirations of Labor and to find in what way the soul of Labor may give thought and expression to its longings.

Because of the aims and aspirations here set forth, we hold it fitting that all churches draw close to their altars the soul of Labor on the coming Labor Sunday and that the men and women of labor everywhere make special effort to cooperate with the churches and to secure the cooperation of the churches with them, in order that there may be in the churches everywhere on that day a great union of expression in behalf of a higher, nobler life for the masses of our people; and in order that there may be everywhere a consecration to the cause of human betterment, particularly in those things that lead to ethical and spiritual growth—in those things that give flower and fruit to the great idealism of our labor movement, the embodiment and the expression of the idealism of our people.

May Labor Sunday each year bring home to the masses of our people the great good that humanity may yet achieve, the lofty heights to which it may climb, the inspiration and the enrichment to be found in the great American labor movement which is the hope of the millions who toil.

We ask also that Labor Day, the great holiday of the toiling masses, dedicated to them and to their cause, be ennobled and enriched by an expression of the same spirit, the same high idealism and purpose, the same uplifting, inspiring search for the fullness of life and the same determination to

achieve triumph over all ills and wrongs through our great movement in its ethical and spiritual aspects, as well as through its purely economic operations.

SHORTAGE OF LABOR

The "shortage of labor" cry is for the purpose of influencing the people of our country to believe that it is necessary to open the immigration gates so that a sufficient number of Chinese coolies, Japanese coolies, Mongolian coolies and all other coolies as well as persons from southern Europe can be brought into the country to break down wage standards.

Shortly after the officials of our government admitted that there were at least 3,000,000 unemployed in the country this propaganda was launched. The A. F. of L. and every other organization of loyal American citizens has for years struggled to combat the obstacles in the way of the Americanization of the foreigner as well as of those born in our own country. It has been an uphill fight as the opposition comes from those who are powerful financially and politically and who would sacrifice the welfare of our people in order that they can satisfy their greed for greater and greater fortunes. The contest is between the privileged few and the great mass of our people.

While the premeditated propaganda was being sent throughout the states of the shortage of labor 2,000 men and women gathered before the United States Civil Service Commission Building in Washington in the shadow of the capitol in answer to a call for applicants for laborers and charwomen. Some stood all night to be the first to apply when the office opened. Furthermore the surplus of labor became so acute in Cleveland and other cities that warnings for wage workers not to go to those cities were sent out through the press associations by labor officials of those cities.

Reports received by the American Federation of Labor show that even now there are thousands unemployed in our country but the giant corporations who are never satisfied unless they have thousands of wage workers clamoring at the gates of their plants for employment care nothing for this. Their one thought is profits and dividends. The conventions should speak in no uncertain terms on this question. It should demand of the congress legislation that will not permit the breaking down of American standards in the interest of the few. Nor is American labor willing to permit the employers to impose standards of living and work and the normal workday even though there shall be a surplus of labor.

To this end the A. F. of L. should launch an intensive campaign to point out to the workers and to those who legislate the great crime that would be committed in permitting hordes of immigrants from Southern Europe or Asia to enter America. Congress should be called upon to make sufficient appropriation to permit the Immigration Bureau of the Department of Labor to function. The Secretary of Labor has claimed 100 foreigners enter the United States every day in violation of the immigration laws. This could not occur if sufficient funds were available for carrying out our immigration laws.

CONCLUSION

Our report of the year's work is representative of the labor movement. The work accomplished has been made possible by the close cooperation of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor and their members. With a spiritual consecration to the principles and aspirations of the labor movement, there has been a generous and wholehearted response to every appeal and suggestion.

The work of the year demonstrates the constant forward movement of our wage earners; it expresses their beliefs and interprets their aspirations in terms of the common good; it shows that where there is an organized will to improve labor's condition there is also an organized constructive and progressive way. The trade union movement is not static. It meets new conditions as they arise. It does today the work which the conditions of today make imperative for the protection of labor and the safeguarding of the public interest in its highest conception.

Standing firmly on the principle of representative democracy, the trade union movement seeks complete freedom for the workers through democratic representative

institutions. It knows no race, no creed, no party, no sex, and no sects. It recognizes that united labor stands, divided labor falls. It affirms, and acts upon the affirmation, that the workers have the power to obtain complete freedom through the organization and effective use of their economic power—the power to produce wealth and render service in every branch of industry, agriculture, and commerce. Therefore, for the coming year we urge unceasing efforts in the work of agitation, education, organization federation and unification.

Fraternally submitted,
SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President*
JAMES DUNCAN, *First Vice-President*
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE, *Second Vice-President*
FRANK DUFFY, *Third Vice-President*
WILLIAM GREEN, *Fourth Vice-President*
T. A. RICKERT, *Fifth Vice-President*
JACOB FISCHER, *Sixth Vice-President*
MATTHEW WOLL, *Seventh Vice-President*
MARTIN F. RYAN, *Eighth Vice-President*
DANIEL J. TOBIN, *Treasurer*
FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary*
Executive Council
American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers then assigned the subjects dealt with in the report to the appropriate committees, as follows:

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council

A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Political Campaign.
Labor and the Farmer.
Extension of Jurisdiction—Elevator Constructors.
Workmen's Compensation Laws.
Legislation—
Workmen's Compensation, District of Columbia.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions
Legislation—

Ship Subsidy.
Centralization of Government.
Department of Labor.
Soldiers' Bonus.
Fixing Wages for Miners.
Compulsory Labor.
Mediation and Conciliation.
Conscription.
Anti-Injunction Bills.
Compensation for Occupational Diseases.
Muscle Shoals.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Industry's Manifest Duty.
Supreme Court.
Evolution in the Trade Union Movement.
Legal Information Bureau.
Banking and Credits.
Kansas Industrial Law Dismembered.
Ku Klux Klan.
The Fascist Movement.
Railroads and the Courts—
Judge Wilkerson's Injunction.
Trial by Jury Held Unconstitutional.
The Railroad Labor Board.
Railroad Legislation.
Repressive Legislation, Judicial Decisions and Decrees—
Sherman Anti-Trust Law.
"Yellow Dog Contracts."
Coronado Case.
Government by Injunction.
Constitutional and Legislative Redress.
Railway Shopmen's Strike.
Personnel Research Federation.

Referred to Committee on Laws

Constitutional Amendment.
Convention City.
1924 Convention.

Referred to Committee on Organization

The Business Cycle and Unemployment.
Attacks on Trade Unions.
Observance of Contract and Cessation of Work—
United Mine Workers of America.
Granite Cutters.
International Ladies' Garment Workers.
Textile Industries.
Typographical Union.
Work of Our Organizers.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies
Community Service.

Referred to Committee on Education

Child Labor.
Patent Laws and Practices.
Report of Committee on Education.
American Legion.
Report of American Federation of Labor Bureau of Co-operative Societies.
Intelligence Tests.
Harvard University.
Information and Publicity—
Charting the Form and Scope of A. F. of L. Work.
Labor Information.
The News Budget.
International Labor News Service.
Mats and Cartoons.
Guide to Sources of Information.
Informing the Daily Press.
Periodical Publications.
Lecturers.
Information Gathering.
The Range of Subjects Dealt With.
The Possible Future Activities.
American Federationist.

A. F. of L. Weekly News Service.
Labor Press.
History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book.
American Federationist Index.
Report on Federated Press.
Labor Day, Labor Sunday, Labor's Memorial Day.
Conclusion.
Legislation—
Wages of School Teachers.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations

Women in Industry.
The Minimum Wage Law.
Legislation in the States.
Legislation—
Lincoln Day.

Referred to Committee on Legislation

Immigration.
Trade Union Legislation Conference Committee.
Shortage of Labor.
Report on Labor Legislation—
Favorable Legislation Enacted.
Hostile Bills Defeated.
Hostile Bills Passed.
Failure of Congress.
"Lame Ducks" Menace of Progress.
Sales Tax.
Coolie Labor for Hawaii.
Naturalization.
Post Office Night Work.
Civil Service Retirement Law.
Bonus for Federal and District Employees.
Convict Labor.
Reclassification.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations

International Federation of Trade Unions.
Pan-American Federation of Labor.

American Federation of Labor Fraternal Delegates to Great Britain.
American Federation of Labor Fraternal Delegate to Canada.

President Gompers: At this time I invite the attention of the delegates and of the visitors to the exhibit which is in the rotunda of this auditorium. When you are going out stop and examine the exhibit, which explains the functions of the American Federation of Labor in all the ramifications of its activities. You will find there the publications of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers announced that resolutions would be received until midnight Tuesday, referred to the appropriate committees and printed. He further announced that resolutions presented after that date could be introduced only by unanimous consent of the convention.

Mr. Eugene T. Lies, representing the Playground and Recreation Association of America, was introduced by President Gompers.

In his address on the work of the association Mr. Lies said in part:

I bring you greetings from the National Association that has in general the same great human aim that you have in the organized labor movement, the broadening and enriching of human life in the communities in which we live. This organization appreciates sincerely the attention that has been given to its work in the past year by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, its approval of that work and of the general outlines of the plan of co-operation with organized labor throughout the country.

We also appreciate the approval given our work at the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor. We are working under that plan of co-operation as far as it has been possible since the approval was given to it. Our representatives are appearing before state federations of labor and international unions to talk over this matter of co-operation in this field.

After explaining the reason why such an organization as the Playground Association is necessary, the speaker continued:

It is found that among our young, and especially those of adolescent age, there is a decided increase in nervous restlessness since the war. Students of young life in America are pointing out more and more that something hap-

pened to our youth in America as a result of the great world upheaval, something psychological, something that created conditions affecting the very foundations of our present civilization, and we, the adults, have the responsibility of creating conditions in our communities that will help to stabilize the young people, that will help to keep them in normal ways of thinking, not suppress them, but rather to make it possible to think clearly and live worthily and cleanly. This is a real issue.

We are thinking also of the growth of our cities and the congestion of population in small areas, which means that in a great many sections of our larger communities there are no longer natural places to play. The authorities point out that undoubtedly the stream of population turning toward cities will increase from year to year, and if that is true we may look for greater and greater congestion in our cities and less opportunity for our young people.

We are thinking of the extent of crime in America as another reason for having a movement capable of nipping it in the bud. There are thousands of our little people going through the juvenile courts every year. That ought not to be. I have a report about putting a playground in a congested area of a large city. The gang spirit of the boys had grown in the wrong way. The juvenile court had been getting those boys by the score steadily for the last few years. With the establishment of a playground and community center there was a change. A few weeks after it was established the juvenile judge told the authorities he hardly saw a boy from that section any more.

Mr. Lies spoke of the number of insane people in institutions, due to the speed and strain of our modern life, and of the large sums of money necessary to maintain such institutions for their care. He stated that the same amount of money spent for recreation for both the youth and the adult population in many communities would save a majority of these people from insanity. Among other things he advocated was the forming of orchestras in schools and communities, community singing, study of various arts, and other things that will tend to cause people to relax and relieve the strain of modern life.

In closing, Mr. Lies announced that the association he represented would be ready to assist any community to establish playgrounds and recreational centers, and extend the same help to organizations of labor who wished to avail themselves of such aid. He stated that men and women would be sent upon request to help in such work.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram from the Mexican Federa-

tion of Labor and the reply of President Gompers:

Guadalajara, Mexico,
Sept. 17, 1923.

Samuel Gompers, President
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Eight hundred delegates assembled fifth convention Mexican Federation of Labor convey their fraternal greetings to organizations you represent.

L. MORONES,
Presiding Officer.

Washington, D. C., Sept. 6, 1923.
Mr. Eduardo Moneda,
General Secretary,
Confederacion Regional Obrera
Mexicana,

Apartada Postal 1453, Mexico, D. F.

Owing to conditions prevailing in the United States, it has been impossible to earlier reply to your courteous invitation to have a delegate to the fifth annual Convention of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana now, reason of the near approach of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and other situations. I regret to say we cannot send a delegate to your convention. Permit me, however, to convey to you and through you to the rank and file of the labor movement of Mexico the fraternal greetings of millions of organized workers of America. I wish for your convention its greatest harmony and fullest success.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

The communications were made part of the records of the convention.

Secretary Morrison read the following additional communications:

The American Legion, Department of Oregon, Portland.

September 29, 1923.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Multnomah Hotel, Portland, Oregon.

Dear Mr. Gompers:

I take great pleasure in handing you herewith copy of a resolution adopted at our State Executive Committee meeting held in this city today.

I hope that you will present this resolution to the Labor Convention assembled.

Taking this opportunity to express

my hopes for a successful and happy convention, I remain

Yours sincerely,
HARRY N. NELSON,
Department Adjutant.

Resolution adopted State Executive Committee meeting, Portland, Oregon, Saturday, September 29, 1923:

The history of the relations between the American Legion and organized labor in Oregon has been one of sincere co-operation and mutual understanding at all times. It has been our experience that in all things affecting national welfare, national unity, and national protection, we are in common accord.

The American Legion of Oregon, speaking by its executive committee now in session, therefore takes this opportunity to extend its greetings and its cordial welcome to the members of your distinguished organization.

I hereby certify that the above is a true copy of a resolution adopted at the meeting of the state executive committee in session in Portland, September 29, 1923.

HARRY N. NELSON,
Department Adjutant.

Breckenridge, Texas, Oct. 1, 1923.
Samuel Gompers, President A. F. of L.,
Care American Federation Convention,
Portland, Oregon:

Wishing the 43d Convention a grand and glorious success.

Harvey D. Hill, I. A. T. S. E. and M. P. O. Local 584; R. P. Guthrie, Secretary Central Labor Union; L. A. Schmidt, Tailors' Union; Grover Lester, Cooks and Waiters' Union; W. L. Carter, Meat Cutters' Union; Caleb C. Smith, Barbers; S. F. Schmidt, Painters and Decorators.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 1, 1923.
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, City Auditorium, Portland, Oregon:

Impossible to attend. May the deliberations and decisions as always promote the interests of the workers of America and of the world.

ANDRIES MEYER,
President Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.

The communications were received and made part of the records of the Convention.

Delegate Kovelski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, called the attention of the delegates to cards that had been distributed giving information with regard to the restaurants in the city which employ members of his organization.

President Gompers: As has been the custom of the American Federation of Labor conventions for several years, we will pay silent tribute to our departed members who have died since the last convention. There are quite a number of

them who have been fighting in the ranks of labor and in that struggle gave all that was in them to serve. They have fallen in the struggle and have passed to the Great Beyond. In addition, the President of the United States has passed away, and I ask you, the delegates and friends in this convention hall, to arise and remain silent in meditation in honor of the memory of our departed men.

The request of the President was complied with and the entire audience arose and remained standing in silence with bowed heads for one minute.

The following resolutions were introduced and referred to the appropriate committees:

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate W. C. Hushing, of Panama Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The President of the United States issued an Executive Order, effective January 1, 1922, which deprived Government employees on the Canal Zone of many living and working conditions they had enjoyed for years (as briefly set forth in the attached pamphlet entitled "Labor Conditions, Panama Canal and Panama Railroad"); and

WHEREAS, The law as set forth in the Panama Canal Act reserves to Congress the right to change the conditions that the President did change in his aforementioned Executive Order; and

WHEREAS, Deplorable conditions now exist for Government employees on the Canal Zone, as a result of the enforcement of aforesaid Executive Order; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the pamphlet entitled, "Labor Conditions, Panama Canal and Panama Railroad," be incorporated in the proceedings of this Convention; and be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention approve the cause of the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad, on the Canal Zone, and urge upon all delegates compliance with the requests contained in the pamphlet: and be it further

RESOLVED, That President Gompers be instructed to proceed to the Canal Zone at the earliest convenient date, accompanied by such officials and attaches of the American Federation of Labor as he may deem necessary, to make an investigation which, upon his return, will enable him to forcefully and properly lay the entire matter before President Coolidge.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates Ed J. McGivern, Peter G. Cook, Wm. A. Brennan, John Donlin, of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association:

WHEREAS, As the Federal Board for Vocational Education has been consolidated by an act of Congress and is now known as the United States Veterans' Bureau; and

WHEREAS, Our last convention, assembled in Boston, adopted a resolution, placing our International Association on record as granting special privileges to disabled ex-service men, on the recommendation of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, which is now known as the United States Veterans' Bureau; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada pledges its fullest co-operation to the disabled veterans of the World War and the U. S. Veterans' Bureau, when given vocational training in shops or jobs; that the disabled ex-service men training under the direction of the Veterans' Bureau shall be given special privileges, that apprenticeship and age regulations shall not operate to prevent their entrance in any branch of our industry or courses of special instruction, and that all local unions be urged to use every endeavor to assist and further the work of rehabilitation as outlined by the United States Government; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the representatives of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association to the American Federation of Labor Convention, which is going to be held at Portland, Oregon, be instructed to present this resolution so it may become operative in every trade or craft of the labor movement, thereby giving our disabled war veterans an opportunity to overcome their war disabilities, make them independent by being able to earn a livelihood and restore them back to society; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to General Hines, Director United States Veterans' Bureau, Washington, D. C.; Major Lent, District Manager U. S. Veterans' Bureau, New York City; Thos. F. McAvoy, Sub-District Manager U. S. Veterans' Bureau, Newark, N. J., and S. A. Benway, Employment Representative, State of Connecticut, U. S. Veterans' Bureau, Bridgeport, Conn.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates E. H. Fitzgerald, J. Louie England, A. J. Pickett, Wade Shurtleff, J. H. Sylvester, P. J. Kelly, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, There are two organiza-

tions in the Dominion of Canada, namely, The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, an International Organization, and the National Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees; and

WHEREAS, These two organizations represent relatively the same class of employees, namely, Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Store-room and Station Employees; and

WHEREAS, This operates to a very serious extent against the best interests of the members of both these organizations and against the cause of labor in Canada as a whole; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, intending at all times to act for the best interests of labor as a whole, did by action of its 1922 Convention adopt a resolution favoring the consolidation of these two organizations in the following manner: That the Grand President make request to the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees that each organization appoint two representatives, who in turn shall meet and select a fifth representative who is without affiliation in either organization, this Board of Arbitration to be vested by both organizations with full authority to investigate all features of the proposal that the two Brotherhoods consolidate and to render a decision to cover the basis upon which the consolidation shall be consummated, which decision shall be mandatory on both organizations; and

WHEREAS, The Grand President of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees did make such request to the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, the result of which was the appointing of a committee composed of M. M. McLean and H. L. Preston, representing the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, and M. S. Carr, Jr., and H. Carr, representing the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, and F. McKenna was selected as the Chairman and the fifth committeeman; and

WHEREAS, The following:

Section 1 (a)—That there shall be an amalgamation of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees and the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

Section 1 (b)—Following the amalgamation there shall be created a Canadian division of the body, which shall be known by whatever name may be hereafter decided upon.

Section 2—The Canadian Division to have jurisdiction over the organization in Canada, in compliance with the general laws of the Grand Lodge and the terms of this agreement.

Section 3—That until the member-

ship of the Canadian Division shall decide otherwise, the officers of the Canadian Division shall be elected by and from the Canadian membership, who shall determine their numbers and duties.

Section 4—There shall be elected in regular convention, or as otherwise agreed, an International Representative, who shall be a member of the Canadian Division.

Section 5—That a per capita tax shall be paid to the Brotherhood Grand Lodge, the amount of which is to be mutually arranged with due regard to liabilities assumed by the Grand Lodge.

Section 6—That all funds and property acquired by the Canadian membership shall be retained or disposed of by the Division as they may decide.

Section 7—That the Canadian Division shall, if in their judgment it is necessary, issue or cause to be issued a magazine or other publication in the interests of the Canadian membership as a basis for working out the consolidation as agreed upon; and

WHEREAS, The Committee did meet at intervals from September 25 to November 29, 1922, and no satisfactory agreement as to consolidation of the two organizations was reached, due to not being able to agree on a satisfactory interpretation of the provisions as outlined in the platform hereinbefore quoted; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees is affiliated with and a part of the American Federation of Labor and also of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled, urge that the affiliated International and National Organizations make request upon their officers and local membership in Canada to assist the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees in organizing this class of railroad and steamship employees into this organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Presidents of the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada each assign a representative to assist in organizing every eligible railway and steamship employee into the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Wade Shurtleff of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, Hundreds of millions of dollars of labor's money is deposited with banks and savings institutions of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of

the American Federation of Labor has found an abundance of evidence "to bear out the findings that banking facilities are being used to destroy the trade union movement and to impoverish the workers through the savings deposited in our banking institutions"; and

WHEREAS, Fifteen trade union banks, with aggregate resources of \$50,000,000 have been established during the last three and one-half years; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give its official endorsement to the new labor banking movement and urge every trade unionist to deposit his savings with a labor bank, where such funds will be used to promote the wellbeing of the workers and not to their detriment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates T. F. McMahon, S. A. Conboy, H. A. Riviere, Gus Geiges, of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, There is a movement today among the large Textile Manufacturers of the Northern States to have erected in the Southern States mills for the purpose of keeping Northern workers in subjection; and

WHEREAS, This building movement has so grown that it now becomes a menace not only to the textile workers but to thousands of workers in other trades in the mills; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to take up this matter to the end that organizers be sent into Southern fields to organize the workers there, particularly in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate W. M. Short, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The manufacture of garments and other commodities in the various state prisons constitutes one of the gravest menaces confronting the workers employed in the garment making industry; and

WHEREAS, The purchasing public of our country is being deluded into purchasing millions of dollars' worth of such garments and commodities annually without the knowledge of their manufacture by prison labor; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of our nation demand the fullest protection the government is capable of for all free labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we petition the United States

Congress to enact legislation prohibiting the manufacture and sale of any and all commodities in state and federal prisons that enter into competition in the open market with the products of free labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate W. M. Short, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The proposed "Child Labor" amendment to the Federal Constitution hereinafter set forth has been prepared by the Veteran-Labor Child Protective League of Seattle, and has been endorsed by the Washington and Oregon State Encampments of the United Spanish War Veterans, the Washington State Convention of the American Legion and several National Veteran Encampments; and

WHEREAS, The same has been endorsed by the Convention of the Washington State Federation of Labor, which has requested that the American Federation of Labor concur therein; and

WHEREAS, It is right and just that we should do so; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we favor the proposal by Congress of a "Child Labor" amendment to the Federal Constitution in the following form:

"The Congress shall have concurrent power, with the several States, to regulate and prohibit the employment at labor of children under sixteen (16) years of age, the several States retaining their existing powers with respect to such regulation and prohibition, subject to the limitation that no employment of any such child made unlawful by law of the Congress shall be permitted in any State."

And the submission of the same to the Legislatures of the several states for ratification in the manner provided by law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed forthwith to transmit copies hereof to the President of the United States, to the President Pro Tem. of the United States Senate, and to the Speaker of the National House of Representatives; and that the National Legislative Committee be and it is hereby authorized and directed to put forth every effort and to use every lawful means with a view to effectuating the purposes of this resolution.

PASSED, And signed by me in authentication of its passage, this — day of October, 1923.

President of American Federation of Labor.

Attest:

Secretary.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate E. G. Hall, of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The 41st convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the Secretary to communicate with all international unions requesting that they use their best offices with their local unions in the various states to affiliate with State Federations; and:

WHEREAS, We believe the Secretary complied in every respect with those instructions, yet we find not that response from international unions that there should be; and

WHEREAS, We believe that never in the history of the labor movement is it so necessary as now, or since that convention, that the labor unions of every trade or calling should be affiliated that the rehabilitation of our labor movement be brought about through that co-operation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we not only reaffirm the action of the 41st convention of the American Federation of Labor, but that the delegates to this, the 43d convention, request that every effort be put forth by the international unions to have their local unions affiliate at the earliest possible moment with their respective State Federations that they may be able to function in the organizing of the workers as well as rehabilitating every local union throughout the jurisdiction.

Referred to Committee on State Bodies.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate E. G. Hall, of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The utter bankruptcy of the old political parties and their unfaithfulness to labor is clearly shown in the repeal of the Child Labor law, the Women's Minimum Wage law, the Coronado Decision, the passage of the Esch-Cummins law, and the infamous Daugherty Injunction which broke the railroad shopmen's strike, as well as in numerous other ways, all of which demonstrate conclusively that labor must have a political party of its own; and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement of Minnesota through its political efforts has successfully elected Dr. Henrik Shipstead and Magnus Johnson to the U. S. Senate, showing that the farmers and workers can be organized into a political party and elect its representatives to the state and national government; and

WHEREAS, It behooves the American Federation of Labor to lead the great mass of American workers into a more effective and progressive means of defense both on the economic and political fields; and

WHEREAS, By the assistance of the

American Federation of Labor in the victories of Dr. Shipstead and Magnus Johnson to the U. S. Senate, it has proven its capability of performing this function successfully; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Minnesota State Federation of Labor urges through its delegate that the American Federation of Labor, in national convention assembled, modify its former policy and amend its constitution and by-laws so as to remove, if any there be, sections which may appear counter-wise to this all-important step of organizing a distinct political party of the organized workers and farmers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646, of Greater New York.

WHEREAS, On page 42 of the 1923 executive council report appears a special article devoted to "Women in Industry" and directing attention to a decision by the United States Supreme Court invalidating the minimum wage law for the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, At a conference of representatives of twenty-seven organizations attended by President Gompers, Vice-President Woll and Secretary Morrison, it was urged to give earnest consideration to helping women to organize in furtherance of constructive industrial ideals; and

WHEREAS, It is an indisputable fact that women are entering the sphere of office workers in large numbers, statistics placing women workers in offices at 268,500 in New York City, equivalent to 46.5 per cent, and who are surely supplanting the men office workers; and

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646 finds in its work of organization a tremendous field of women office workers who are negligent in embracing the protection of the Union in their profession; and

WHEREAS, The women office workers now employed are divided into the following occupational groups, i. e., Agents—1,573; Canvassers, 410; Collectors—254; Accountants, Auditors—1,800; Bookkeepers, Cashiers—58,624; Clerks—95,208; Bundle and Cash Girls—448; Messenger and Office Girls—1,545; Stenographers and Typists—103,721; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Portland, Oregon, Oct. 1, make a special effort to solve this problem and adopt measures and evolve plans looking forward to a successful organization campaign whereby the

women office workers can be enrolled into the Union.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Ernest Bohm of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646, of Greater New York:

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646 entered into a campaign some months ago, having for its purpose the unionizing of Bank Clerks; and

WHEREAS, With the publicity given to this effort by the press, the Bank Clerks individually and collectively appeared at our office and told of their hardships, long hours of exacting work and low salary, others sent letters corroborating these claims, while bank messengers and watchmen all clamored to be organized, and clerks in brokers' and insurance offices all joined in the cry for a Union; and

WHEREAS, It is estimated that 20,000 clerks are employed in the banks in New York, and thousands of the other clerks in brokers' and insurance offices; and

WHEREAS, Clerks and office workers in the Federated Bank of New York and the Amalgamated Bank have joined the B. S. & A. U. 12646, and we have the assurance of the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union that when their bank opens the clerks and office workers will also join our Union, and an effort is being made to organize the office workers of the Engineers' Bank in New York City; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 43d Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., Portland, Oregon, that a plan be evolved whereby the B. S. & A. U. No. 12646 will be given such assistance as will insure success in their important organizing campaign.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates James P. Noonan, G. M. Bugniet, F. J. McNulty, Julia S. O'Connor, Edward Barton, Martin T. Joyce and H. H. Kirkland of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America, an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which, at the time of its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, specifically agreed that its jurisdiction would not trespass upon the jurisdiction of organizations already affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, During the period of federal control the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen did agree with the Railroad Administration and in the presence of officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers that it would not claim jurisdiction over any employee on

the railroad who was employed for 50 per cent or more of his time doing work recognized as coming under the jurisdiction of the Electrical Workers; and

WHEREAS, Before and during the railroad strike in July, 1922, the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America has been consistently organizing men who are employed at work recognized as coming under the jurisdiction of the Electrical Workers far more than 50 per cent of their working time; and

WHEREAS, The organization known as the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America is organizing and attempting to organize and soliciting as members employees on the railroads such as division linemen, linemen and other electrical workers whose whole time is devoted to electrical work; and

WHEREAS, This situation is inimical to the interests of not only the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, but all of the other crafts affiliated with the Railway Employees Department, because of inability to secure adjustments for the men involved, due to this insidious practice; and

WHEREAS, This condition of affairs can only inure to the benefit of the railroad companies and be prejudicial to the interests of all the men involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be empowered and instructed to call a conference of the officials of the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in accord with the laws of the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment of the existing disputes and basis for harmonious relations in the future, and that such conference be called not later than six months after the adjournment of this convention, either in Washington, D. C., at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or in Chicago, Ill., the headquarters of the Railroad Employees Department, as may be selected and designated by the President of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to meet with and advise such conference when it meets or, in the event of his being unable to do so, that he designate a representative to act for him in the premises to the end that further controversy inimical to the interests of all concerned, and the labor movement generally, be avoided.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates James P. Noonan, F. J. McNulty, G. M. Bugniet, Julia S. O'Connor, Edward Barton, Martin T. Joyce and H. H. Kirkland of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, The American Bell Telephone Company maintains a policy of antagonism to Organized Labor, sponsors

company unionism, employs the blacklist and the spy system, intimidates and persecutes its employees into subjection on the question of labor affiliation, and by every means within its power seeks to keep the workers in this industry, men and women, disorganized and powerless; and

WHEREAS, The zeal and fervor with which the telephone company labors to defeat any measure of industrial freedom and justice for its employees is paralleled by its efforts to hold and extend its monopolistic grip on the means of telephone communication; and

WHEREAS, In view of the arrogant despotism assumed both toward its workers and the public by the telephone company, there is grave reason to doubt whether the valuable stewardship which has been granted this corporation by the people is being administered in the public welfare; and

WHEREAS, The entire question of the contractual relations existing between the American Bell and its associated companies is a matter of great public moment; and

WHEREAS, This organization, including in its membership employees of this company, and being aware that the administration of this company is contrary to public policy and defeats public interest; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby call upon the Federal Trades Commission to conduct a thorough investigation of the practices of the said American Bell Telephone Company, and the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to act with and render assistance to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in bringing about such an investigation in order that the American public may be fully informed as to the price it is paying for monopolistic control of the communicating industry, as well as the practices of that monopoly.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Ernest Bohm of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646, of Greater New York:

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646 was recognized by direction of President Samuel Gompers in July, 1922; and

WHEREAS, This action was taken because of the fact that the B. S. & A. U. 12646 was dominated over and controlled by a group whose sole purpose was propaganda for communist theories, and opposed to the basic principles of the American Federation of Labor and the American labor movement it represents; and

WHEREAS, The tactics of this communist group was in effect that they would assemble in a caucus in advance of a meeting of the union, and then enter the meeting in a bloc and crush every opposition; and

WHEREAS, Owing to these tactics, nothing constructive was accomplished to organize and unite the great army of office workers in Greater New York; and

WHEREAS, Since the reorganization of the B. S. & A. U. 12646 real constructive work has been done, Representative Hugh Frayne being at all times in close touch with the officers, ready to advise and aid; and

WHEREAS, The B. S. & A. U. 12646 has gained and is gaining in membership, and has consistently embraced the policies of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Portland, Oregon, October 1, extends to the B. S. & A. U. 12646 its assistance in the work of further organizing the office workers in Greater New York, and urges all affiliated unions employing office workers to render support to the effort and inducing such workers to join the union.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates J. P. Noonan, F. J. McNulty, G. M. Bugniazet, Julia S. O'Connor, Edward Barton, Martin T. Joyce and H. H. Kirkland, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, Individual workers suffer from many ills during the active period of their lives, which quickly sap their vitality and render them physically unfit, at a comparatively early age, to earn a livelihood for their families and themselves; and

WHEREAS, Statistics prove that the vast majority of workers are unable from various causes to accumulate a sufficient competence to insure even a decent living for themselves and families when they are no longer able to work, thus becoming a burden to their friends and relatives or, what most frequently occurs, they are forced to accept charity from the community in which they live and become inmates of poorhouses or other charitable institutions; and

WHEREAS, This is an intolerable situation and a disgrace to our boasted civilization, and we are unworthy if, in the name of humanity, we are unable in this enlightened age to correct this grievous wrong; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the principle of old age pensions for those who have given the best period of their lives to industry, in order that they may have sustenance without charity when they are no longer able to work; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention stand instructed to present this matter to the next and succeeding conventions of the Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor herewith affiliated and to do everything possible to secure favorable action on this important question in every Central Body, State Or-

ganization and Local Union in their community; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to advocate and work for the passage of state and national legislation to the end that the workers who have worn out their usefulness in industry be not objects of charity or inmates of eleemosynary institutions, but shall be legally entitled to an old age pension as a proper charge on the industry to which they have given their lives.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate W. M. Short of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The League of Nations Opium Commission is arranging International Conferences looking to suppression of the production of narcotic drugs except such amounts as are strictly necessary for scientific and medical purposes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, First, that the American Federation of Labor record its gratification at this important step of progress toward control of these deadly drugs and will give its moral support to the utmost to all wise measures formed to that end; and, second, that the American Federation of Labor request the Secretary of State of the United States to extend to these conferences on behalf of the people of this nation a cordial invitation to hold their sessions in some city of this country.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate W. M. Short of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court has usurped the power to set aside and nullify acts of Congress, thus practically setting itself up as the supreme law-making body, instead of a law-interpreting body; and

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States of America specifically places the power to make laws into the hands of Congress, the members of which are elected by the people, and therefore responsible to the people for their acts; and

WHEREAS, The members of our Federal Courts and United States Supreme Court gain their positions by presidential appointment and continue to hold them for the remainder of their natural lives, and bear no seeming responsibility for their official acts to the people, placing them above and beyond and out of touch with the wishes of the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we petition United States Congress to submit a constitutional amendment providing for the election of

all Federal judges by a vote of the people, and providing for division of the country into judicial districts based on population and making the term of office for such judges for the period of four years.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Ernest Bohm of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646 of Greater New York:

WHEREAS, The City of New York is the greatest workshop as well as the greatest market on this continent; it is the money and commercial center of the United States; in the last five years it has become the banking center of the world; and

WHEREAS, New York is the world's greatest industrial center as revealed in the census figures just compiled; it has 32,590 factories, employing 825,056 workers, producing annually goods valued at \$5,260,707,577. In addition are the city's stupendous financial and commercial transactions, its transport business, its bustling municipal government; and

WHEREAS, In these various major occupations, as well as in the countless minor businesses, the army of clerical workers occupy a strategic place, their total strength being approximately 402,414 in the Greater City, divided on a 53-46 basis, the men having slightly the majority; and

WHEREAS, In this army are included secretaries, stenographers, accountants, bookkeepers, auditors, clerks of various degree, typists and office boys and office girls; and

WHEREAS, Without their skilled aid, the executives could not execute, the banker could not operate his bank, the manufacturer could not strike his balance, this city's intricate commercial structure depends to a vital degree upon the efficiency and toll of this army of trained office workers; and

WHEREAS, The importance of the army of clerks in the city's life can be ascertained by a comparison of the occupational groups as shown in the 1920 revenue figures, i. e., manufacturing 825,056, clerical 402,414, trade 392,000, domestic service 306,000, transportation 241,379, professional 168,000, public service 60,000; and

WHEREAS, Since productive workers in the city of New York are estimated at 2,531,412, the clerks' army is about 16 per cent of the total number of persons gainfully employed, second in importance only to the workers in the manufacturing and the mechanical occupations; and

WHEREAS, These office workers are eligible to membership in Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Portland, Oregon, that a determined effort be made in devising ways and means to assist the B. S. & A. U.

12646 in organizing the workers immediately.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, American citizenship was extended to Porto Rico as a token of the island's permanent and indestructible union to the United States; and

WHEREAS, The influence of the people of the United States in the destinies of the people of Porto Rico has been responsible for such progress as is observable in the island and the extension of the Constitution of the United States to Porto Rico would represent a real guarantee of civil and political liberty favorable to the enjoyment of individual rights by the laboring masses; and

WHEREAS, It is vitally necessary, in order to make the relation between continental and insular Americans harmonious and cordial as well as permanent and indestructible, that a full measure of self-government, compatible as that is with American sovereignty, shall be granted to the island; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, the Congress and the American people are inadequately informed as to the deplorable position and condition of the workers of Porto Rico, among the causes of which are the following:

(1) The rapid development of illegal monopoly of lands and of products of wealth created by labor in the island, by powerful resident and absentee individuals and corporations, which places the industrial and agricultural producing masses at the mercy of an arbitrary condition of affairs which imposes upon them the most miserable wages, driving them thus to pauperism;

(2) The violation of the Organic Act of the island by powerful corporations and individuals, resident and absentee;

(3) The avoidance by powerful corporations and individuals, resident and absentee, of an increase in taxation proportionate to the increase in wealth produced by the workers;

(4) The steady emigration of sixty per cent (60%) of the wealth produced in the island, representing an appalling amount of underpaid labor and initiative that goes to enrich other communities at the expense of misery and wretchedness in Porto Rico;

(5) The control by four hundred and forty-seven (447) corporations and individuals, American, Spanish and French, of seven hundred and sixty-six thousand, three hundred and ninety-six (766,396) acres of land, valued at fifty-seven million, eight hundred and thirty-two thousand, four hundred and thirty-seven (57,832,437) dollars, a control that has been proved to exist in a legal document forwarded to the Senate by the President of the United States on January 18, 1918;

WHEREAS, Unemployment is at all times to be found on the island, the number of jobs never approaching the number

of men and women eager to take them, due to a relatively slow industrial development, which in its turn is due to the large amount of capitalizable wealth that annually leaves the island never to return, and to the consequent exorbitant interest rates; and

WHEREAS, The Legislature of Porto Rico has appointed a commission from its membership in which are represented all shades of opinion, including that of the organized toilers, which is going to Washington to try to obtain from the President, the Congress and the people of the United States the following grants:

A declaration as to the final status of the island of Porto Rico; granting of powers to the Legislature of Porto Rico to legislate on all local matters without restriction; the granting of an elective Governor; the extension to Porto Rico of all measures of national character that tend to benefit education, labor, agriculture, and other sources of knowledge and of wealth, in the same proportion in which they are extended to all the States of the American Union; and

WHEREAS, The political control indirectly exercised over the island by powerful individuals and corporations, resident and absentee, is largely due to a defective method of popular representation, and it is desirable to institute the modern system of proportional representation and responsibility in the public life of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, The conditions of education, sanitation, industry and credit, while they have improved under the American sovereignty, are still far from what they should be; and a substantial loan should be granted by Congress, free of interest, with which to wipe out the public debt, take back the bonds of private insular and municipal loans, place school and sanitary facilities within reach of the whole population, and for the creation and extension of industrial and agricultural enterprises to absorb the surplus labor population and to generally bring the standard of living of American citizens in Porto Rico nearer to that of their brothers of the Continental United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

(1) That the fullest moral support of the American Federation of Labor be given the labor representatives in the aforementioned Commission in their endeavor to accomplish the aforementioned ends;

(2) That as soon as practicable after the adjournment of this convention, the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the bona fide labor delegation from Porto Rico, shall call upon the President of the United States to urge upon him the desirability of his recommending to Congress in his next message the granting of the measures embodied in this resolution, as they have been recommended by the insular Convention of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to direct the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. to co-operate toward the enactment by Congress of the desired legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate William F. Quesse, of the Building Service Employees' International Union:

WHEREAS, In April, 1921, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the convention of the A. F. of L. in Montreal in 1920, did issue an international charter to the Building Service Employees' International Union; and

WHEREAS, In determining the jurisdiction of the Building Service Employees' International Union, the Executive Council granted jurisdiction to that union over elevator conductors and starters (excepting, however, the local union of elevator conductors and starters in San Francisco, California, and local union of elevator conductors and starters in Chicago, Illinois, those two local unions at that time being affiliated and part of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers); and

WHEREAS, Subsequent to the formation of the Building Service Employees' International Union, the Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union in San Francisco and Chicago, with the consent and approval of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, ceased their affiliation therewith and made application to and were admitted as local unions in the Building Service Employees' International Union; and

WHEREAS, At the meeting of the Executive Council at Atlantic City in 1922, the International Union of Elevator Constructors made application for jurisdiction over elevator conductors and starters, and the Building Service Employees' International Union was notified that at the November meeting of the Executive Council consideration would be given such application; and

WHEREAS, At the November, 1922, meeting of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., after a hearing of about an hour's duration, the Executive Council granted jurisdiction over elevator conductors and starters to the International Union of Elevator Constructors; and

WHEREAS, Our Building Service Employees' International Union immediately notified the Executive Council, through President Samuel Gompers, of our appeal from such decision to this 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, There is no more reason from a trades union standpoint to give jurisdiction over elevator conductors and starters to the Elevator Constructors' Union than there would be to give such jurisdiction to the Machinists' International Union or the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, nor any more

reason that the Machinists' Union should have jurisdiction over linotype operators because they construct the linotype machine; and

WHEREAS, It is essential to the development of the Building Service Employees' International Union that elevator conductors and starters who are part of the employees engaged in the maintenance and upkeep of buildings should be members of the same international union as the janitors, scrubwomen, window cleaners and others in that line of work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the International Union of Elevator Constructors to transfer all elevator conductors and starters now under charter by them to the Building Service Employees' International Union, and that jurisdiction over such workers be and hereby is vested in the Building Service Employees' International Union.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate John H. Walker of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Many of our State prisons are engaged in the manufacture of overalls, shirts, brooms, and various other articles; and

WHEREAS, These commodities are being sold in the open market and at retail prices far below that of similar articles manufactured by organized workers under union conditions throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, This unfair competition is working a great hardship on our organized crafts by undermining production costs, and will eventually lower our standards of living by reducing our earning power; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, through its accredited officers, communicate with all State Federations of Labor affiliated with the A. F. of L., urging them to use every means in their power to abolish this unfair competition, and keep up the fight continuously until all convict labor, wherever it enters into competition with free labor, is stamped out forever; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this matter be brought to the attention of the A. F. of L. at its convention to be held in Portland, Oregon, next month, by the delegates representing the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates M. F. Tighe, W. E. Brewster, F. W. Wheale, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America:

WHEREAS, We believe that there should be a closer affiliation of all organized labor than there is at present; and

WHEREAS, The rapid advancement of

modern production makes continuous employment in any one line of work rather uncertain; and

WHEREAS, It is quite a handicap to members of organized labor to have to pay so many initiation fees when compelled to change vocations so often; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 48th Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, so amend our constitution that we may accept the paid-up card of any member of any International or National organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in lieu of an initiation fee; provided, that the International or National of which such members are a part shall have agreed to accept the paid-up card of any of our members in lieu of the initiation fee into their membership; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be presented by our delegates to the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates M. F. Tighe, W. E. Brewster, F. W. Wheale, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America:

WHEREAS, Every member of organized labor needs to have a thorough knowledge of the ethics of trade unionism, economics and history; and

WHEREAS, The means of obtaining this desirable knowledge is at present very limited; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the 48th Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, that we call upon all labor organizations to come together and establish a labor college for the sole purpose of teaching these desirable branches of knowledge; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be presented to the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor by our representatives.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates M. F. Tighe, W. E. Brewster, F. W. Wheale, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America:

WHEREAS, We see on all sides the danger that organized labor faces, while it continues to allow its united political power to lie dormant. From every side on every quarter come clarion warnings. State constitutions, in the great Southwest, are declared unconstitutional by the highest court in the land because they would protect the rights of the workers. Money-mad masters have purchased legal laws in the great west which

make it a crime for the workers to try to exercise liberties which our Declaration of Independence has guaranteed them. In the north that same power causes its henchmen to merely wink at laws which it has taken the worker years of effort to get written on the statute books. From the east comes word that the railroad labor board is not concerned in seeing that the worker even gets a reasonable wage. From the south comes the cry that little children may again be fed into the grinding jaws of money-making machines, even though Congress has said it shall not be so. Surely organized labor must see the danger, if government is to continue to be allowed to remain in the hands of reactionary men who have been chosen by the advocates of the open shop; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the 48th Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, that we call upon the organized labor movement of the country to come together and unite their great political strength into one independent political party; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be introduced into the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor by our delegates.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate John H. Walker, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Only a small percentage of the great working masses are as yet members of trade unions, great numbers being still unorganized in nearly all the industries; and

WHEREAS, This state of affairs not only militates against the unorganized, who are helpless, but against the organized as well, who find themselves severely handicapped in their struggle for better conditions by the ever-present army of unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The present temporary spurt of prosperity offers a splendid opportunity to bring these unorganized masses into unions and thus enormously strengthen our ranks against the bitter onslaughts that are bound to come from the employers at the first slackening up of industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois Federation of Labor, in its Forty-first Annual Convention, calls upon the American Federation of Labor to unite all its affiliated organizations for a great organization drive in all localities and industries in order to finally bring within the protecting folds of organized labor the masses who still remain outside.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

At 4:20 o'clock the rules were suspended and the Convention was adjourned until 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, October 2, 1923.

Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Portland, Oregon, October 2, 1923.

The Convention was called to order at 10 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees

Gillmore, Scott, McGuire, Childs, Desepte, Holtschult, Austin, Kaufman, Pinkofsky, Greenstein, Keegan, Bryan, Askew, Milliman, Carroll, Hogan, J. Lewis, Carey, Parker, Berry, Burke, Cone, Soderberg, Schwartztrauber, W. T. Harris, Percy, Walden, Valentino, Altman, Morris, Karston, Bowen, Hammer, Finley, Van Patten, Sturm, Bower, Nelson, Keckler, Sims, Frampton, W. E. Martin, Anderson, W. T. Allen, Hickey, Harrigan, C. S. Evans, R. T. Wood, Meyer, Pettipiece, Alter, Tyden, Jacques, Belknap, Marin, Mezzacapo, Rogers, Flynn, J. J. Ryan, Rincker, Sesma, Sherman, Crawford, Hannah.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Belair, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

We have examined credentials and recommend the seating of delegates as follows:

Federal Labor Union No. 17112, San Juan, Porto Rico, Luiz Munoz Marin, 1 vote.

Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council, Steve Sumner, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C., Edward J. Tracy, 1 vote.

Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union, Fred J. Dempsey, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor, Arnold Bill, 1 vote.

National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Abram M. Steckle as an additional delegate from that organization.

Upon the request of the organizations in interest we recommend the seating of delegates who have been substituted as follows:

Stage Employees of America, International Alliance of Theatrical, Wm. F. Canavan in the place of C. C. Shay.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor, H. L. Franklin in the place of W. T. Harris, 1 vote.

Engravers' Union of America, International Photo, Peter J. Brady in place of Henry F. Schmal.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union, Teto Pacelli, 30 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, John Corcoran in the place of Peter Shaughnessy.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of, Otto Hartwig in the place of George F. Hedrick.

Vice-President Green in the chair.

Upon motion of Secretary Morrison the report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

During the morning session Delegate Healy, Stationary Firemen, requested that the name of R. W. Beatty be substituted in that delegation for the name of C. L. Shamp, who was unable to attend the Convention.

The request was granted and the substitution made.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication and telegrams:

Portland, Ore., Oct. 1, 1923.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L., Multnomah Hotel, City.

Dear Sir: It gives me great pleasure to extend to the delegates and visitors to your Convention a most cordial invitation to attend divine services at St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral next Sunday, October seventh, at 11 o'clock.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. CAMPBELL.

Utica, N. Y., Sept. 29, 1923.

Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Hotel Multnomah, Portland, Ore.

Please announce, opening of Convention, attention of delegates from New York State that Federation of Labor Executive Council has arranged important conference of unions of state at Albany, Sunday, October 14, to take action on amendments to State Constitution to be voted on at coming state election.

EDWARD A. BATES.

Secretary.

New York, Sept. 30, 1923.

Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Multnomah Hotel, Portland, Ore.

Please extend to the officers and delegates to the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor my most sincere good wishes for a successful convention. I express the hope that your deliberations will be helpful in advancing the cause of labor

and protecting generally the interests of the workers of America.

JOHN F. DOWNEY.

Proprietor Aberdeen Hotel, New York City.

The communications were made part of the record.

Secretary Morrison announced that in compliance with a request made by a number of the delegates, he had filed application with the railroads for an extension of the time limit on the excursion tickets beyond October 31. He then read a telegram from Mr. E. L. Bevington, stating that application for the extension had been made by the carriers to the Interstate Commerce Commission, but that the Commission declined to grant the application unless it extended to the general public and included holders of tickets purchased as early as May 15, and that in view of this the railroads were unable to make the necessary arrangements to grant the extension asked. The telegram stated that it would be necessary for the delegates to arrange their return trips to the starting point prior to midnight of the original date of expiration, October 31.

President Gompers in the chair.

President Gompers: The chair desires to announce that an arrangement has been made with the fraternal delegates to suit their convenience, as well as the convenience of our convention, for their addresses, and it has been arranged, subject to the convention's approval, that tomorrow, Wednesday morning, be set as a special order for the addresses of the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress. If there be no objection, that course will be pursued.

No objection was offered, and the Wednesday morning session was set apart for the addresses of the fraternal delegates

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Delegate John Sullivan, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Portland, Oregon, October 1, 1923, submit the following report:

Rule 1. The Convention shall be

called to order at 9:30 A. M. and remain in session until 12:30 P. M.; reconvene at 2:30 P. M. and remain in session until 5:30 P. M., except on Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9:30 A. M. to 12:30 P. M.

Rule 2. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the Chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to call to a point of order.

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention. The Committee recommends that this rule be strictly observed.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the Convention, no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order.

Rule 12. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the Convention the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within thirty minutes after the Convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least thirty delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak on it if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll-call has been taken and all delegates present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll-call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Robert's Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 21. The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

Order of Business

1. Reading of minutes of previous session, which will be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of officers.
4. Report of regular committees.
5. Report of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN SULLIVAN, Chairman,
P. J. RYAN, Secretary,
W. G. POWLESLAND,
EDW. I. HANNAH,
E. J. CANTWELL,
DAISY A. HOUCK,
J. V. MORESCHI,
W. E. WALDEN,
WM. J. SKINNER,
PATRICK ELYNN,
A. J. PICKETT,
A. H. FUNTE,
HUBERT S. MARSHALL,
E. E. CLARK,
JAMES BAILEY.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Sillinsky, Journeyman Tailors, objected to Rule 14, stating that he believed it was misleading and that it was not proper to record a delegate as present when he was absent.

President Gompers explained that a delegate's presence is not recorded, but that note is made of his absence. Secretary Morrison added that it had not been the custom in the past to record as absent those delegates serving on committees and not in attendance at the convention sessions.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

Delegate Belair, chairman of the committee, presented the following report:

Portland, Ore., October 1, 1923.

To the Officers and Delegates of the

43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

As your Auditing Committee, duly appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor as provided by Section 4, Article 3, of the Constitution, we herewith submit for your consideration and action the following report:

We have examined and audited the books and records of the American Federation of Labor covering all fiscal transactions for sixteen months, beginning May 1, 1922, and ending August 31, 1923.

The total receipts and disbursements for the respective accounts are as follows:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand April 30, 1922.	\$198,794.68
Per capita tax	\$515,626.37
American Federationist	87,573.66
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from	
locals	\$45,243.77
Refund of strike	
benefits	252.00
	<u>45,495.77</u>
Initiation fees	12,789.84
Reinstatement fees	506.75
Interest:	
Bank deposits	\$5,762.75
U. S. Liberty Bonds	2,450.00
Canadian Victory	
Loans	1,100.00
	<u>9,312.75</u>
Supplies	8,356.53
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the	
A. F. of L.	6,368.76
Special assessment, Freight	
Handlers	446.55
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued	1,403.34
	<u>\$687,890.22</u>
Total receipts	<u>\$886,675.06</u>

EXPENSES

General	\$536,354.71
American Federationist	\$ 83,512.50
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to	
local trade and	
federal labor	
unions	\$36,629.00
Per capita tax received from A. F. of L. locals and forwarded to Building Service Employees' International Union (Refund, 37c) ..	251.37
	<u>36,880.37</u>
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	5,310.10

Refund of initiation fees	8.75
Special assessment, Freight Handlers	332.41
Total expenses	\$662,398.84
Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1923	\$224,276.16

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund	\$ 40,281.88
In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions	183,994.28

Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1923	\$224,276.16
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Where Funds Are Deposited and Invested

The bank balances of the secretary and the treasurer were confirmed by statements from the respective depositories.

The United States Liberty Bonds and the Canadian Victory Bonds, as listed in this report, were inspected and counted by us.

We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be deposited as follows:

Certificate of deposit by Treasurer Tobin in the Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing certificates	\$100,000.00
On deposit in the Indiana National Bank, subject to check.	67,276.16
Liberty Bonds	40,000.00
Canadian Victory Bonds	15,000.00
On deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., subject to check of Secretary Morrison \$3,223.19	
Outstanding checks.. 6,223.19	
	2,000.00

Total	\$224,276.16
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Fund for Promoting and Advancing Cooperation

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing cooperation upon the plan of the Rochdale Cooperative Society System, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo 1917 American Federation of Labor Convention, showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including August 31, 1923, \$4,324.38, and expenses from February 6, 1919, to August 31, 1923, \$2,171.51, leaving a balance on hand August 31, 1923, amounting to \$2,152.87.

RECAPITULATION

Total of donations, April 1, 1918, to August 31, 1923	\$ 4,324.38
Total expenses, February 6, 1919, to August 31, 1923	2,171.51

Balance on hand August 31, 1923	\$ 2,152.87
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An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to April 30, 1920, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters. Additional report will be compiled when this fund is closed.

We have examined all records and find them correctly reported.

Fund for Publicity Purposes

Contributions received from international unions upon request of President Gompers, for publicity purposes, showed receipts from February 3, 1923, to and including August 31, 1923, \$7,221.00, and expenss from March 26, 1923, to and including August 31, 1923, \$1,160.74, leaving a balance on hand August 31, 1923, amounting to \$6,060.26.

RECAPITULATION

Total donations, February 3, 1923, to August 31, 1923	\$ 7,221.00
Total expenses, March 26, 1923, to August 31, 1923	1,160.74

Balance on hand August 31, 1923	\$ 6,060.26
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We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Contribution to Railway Employees Fund

An appeal was issued on August 19, 1922, by order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, for contributions to assist the striking Railway Shop Craft organizations in the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor. The total receipts from August 29, 1922, to and including February 14, 1923, \$16,178.13, and expenses from September 8, 1922, to and including February 14, 1923, \$16,178.13, the account being squared February 14, 1923.

RECAPITULATION

Total of donations August 29, 1922, to February 14, 1923..	\$16,178.13
Checks drawn September 8, 1922, to February 14, 1923, to John Scott, Secretary- Treasurer, Railway Depart- ment, less one unpaid check for \$20.00 made good to bank	16,178.13

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to

February 14, 1923, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Contributions to Labor Publicity Fund

Contributions to American Federation of Labor Publicity Bureau, as authorized by the Executive Council upon the recommendation of the conference of national and international trade union representatives in Washington, D. C., February 23-24, 1921, showed receipts from May 9, 1921, to and including February 14, 1923, \$5,742.34, and expenses from July 22, 1921, to and including February 14, 1923, \$5,742.34, the account being squared February 14, 1923.

RECAPITULATION

Total of donations, May 9, 1921, to February 14, 1923.....	\$5,742.34
Total expenses, July 22, 1921, to February 14, 1923.....	<u>5,742.34</u>

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to February 14, 1923, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Contributions From National and International Unions to Assist the Kansas State Federation of Labor in Its Efforts to Repeal the Kansas State Industrial Court Law

An appeal was issued on January 15, 1923, by order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, for contributions to assist the Kansas State Federation of Labor in its efforts to repeal the Kansas Industrial Court law. The total receipts from January 22, 1923, to and including August 25, 1923, \$900.00, and expenses from February 14, 1923, to August 25, 1923, \$900.00, the account being squared August 25, 1923.

RECAPITULATION

Total donations, January 22, 1923, to August 25, 1923.....	\$900.00
Total expenses, February 14, 1923, to August 25, 1923.....	<u>900.00</u>

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to August 25, 1923, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Contributions to United Textile Workers of America, Quarry Workers' International Union of North America, and the Granite Cutters' International Association of America

An appeal was issued July 3, 1922, by order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in carrying out instructions of the American Federation of Labor Cincinnati 1922 convention, to assist financially the United Textile Workers of America, Quarry Workers' International Union of North America and the Granite Cutters' International Association of America, whose entire memberships were practically forced on strike, due to unwarranted reduction of wages. The amount received and forwarded to these organizations from July 18, 1922, to and including November 10, 1922, \$6,888.55, and expenses from July 25, 1922, to and including November 10, 1922, \$6,888.55, the account being squared on November 10, 1922.

RECAPITULATION

Total donations, July 18, 1922, to November 10, 1922.....	\$6,888.55
Total expenses, July 25, 1922, to November 10, 1922.....	<u>6,888.55</u>

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to November 10, 1922, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Contributions to American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee Fund

An appeal was issued April 4, 1922, by the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the American Federation of Labor for contributions to assist in carrying out the instructions of the American Federation of Labor convention, to defeat candidates for office

hostile to the trade union movement, and elect candidates who may be relied upon to support measures favorable to labor. The amount received in response to the appeal to carry on the 1922 congressional campaign from April 12, 1922, to and including October 25, 1922, \$4,928.33, and expenses from May 6, 1922, to and including October 25, 1922, \$4,928.33, the account being squared on October 25, 1922.

RECAPITULATION

Total donations, April 12, 1922, to October 25, 1922.....	\$4,928.33
Total expenses, May 6, 1922, to October 25, 1922.....	<u>4,928.33</u>

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to October 25, 1922, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

American Federation of Labor Building Fund

Balance on hand April 30, 1922	\$ 5,872.95
Receipts	<u>35,726.53</u>
Total receipts	\$41,599.48
Expenses	<u>32,433.12</u>

Balance on hand August 31, 1923	\$ 9,166.36
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RECAPITULATION

Receipts	\$41,599.48
Expenses	<u>32,433.12</u>

Balance on hand August 31, 1923	\$ 9,166.36
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Moneys deposited and invested as follows:

Mount Vernon Savings Bank	\$ 4,166.36
United States Treasury Certificates	<u>5,000.00</u>

Balance on hand August 31, 1923	<u>\$ 9,166.36</u>
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(See page 17, Executive Council's report, for itemized statement of receipts and expenses.)

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

We find the balance—\$9,166.36—in-vested and deposited as follows:

Treasury certificates bearing 4½ per cent interest.....	\$ 5,000.00
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Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., interest bearing certificates at 4 per cent	3,500.00
Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., at 3 per cent interest, subject to check	\$848.71
Outstanding checks..	182.35
Total	<u>\$ 9,166.36</u>

We also personally inspected and counted the United States treasury certificates in the safe deposit vaults of the Mount Vernon Savings Bank of Washington, D. C., amounting to \$5,000.00, and the \$3,500.00 certificate of deposit and bank book, and found them correct.

Another item worthy of note and pertinent to this report is the American Federation of Labor Building, which, through the courtesy of President Gompers, we have inspected from cellar to roof and in which are located the offices of the great organization in whose membership we may all justly feel proud. Imposing as it is to the casual observer, it is indeed impressive to those whose membership in this organization may well be a proud boast. Emblematic as it is of the dignity and stability of the labor movement, it is a worthy monument to those whose years of toil have been responsible for the upbuilding of our movement to a place permanent and firm in the public life of our people and implanting in the lives of those who toil a sense of security in the foundation of justice, liberty and freedom.

Securities in Hands of Treasurer

U. S. Liberty Bonds	Par Value
Second issue, No. 482.....	\$ 5,000.00
No. 483	5,000.00
Victory, No. 1210.....	10,000.00
Third issue, No. 1287.....	10,000.00
Fourth issue, No. 1527.....	10,000.00

Canadian Victory Bonds.....	\$40,000.00
	<u>15,000.00</u>

Total	<u>\$55,000.00</u>
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The attention of the delegates is invited to the fact that despite hostile propaganda of the most vicious character, the normal growth of the American Federation of Labor has been maintained. Abnormal growth during the

war period is not at all a fair barometer and can be safely discounted in measuring our growth, and we find the average normal growth of about 50,000 members per year to have been easily maintained during all the years of our existence.

The stability and virility of the American Federation of Labor was never more in evidence than at present and clearly indicates the aggressive determination of its membership to carry on its noble work of uplifting the human race by enabling it to carry forward its battle for human liberties and the rights of those who toil.

The work of Secretary Morrison and his able corps of assistants we find worthy of the highest commendation for the systematic manner of keeping records and accounts. The system of accounting is most thorough and remarkably well adapted to the efficient and accurate handling and safeguarding of the finances of the American Federation of Labor.

We were given every opportunity by President Gompers and Secretary Morrison to make a most thorough inspection of the records and properties of the American Federation of Labor covering this report.

We also deem it worthy of note that everything in the way of modern equipment tending to facilitate the efficient dispatch of office business is in use to the complete and thorough handling of a modern business.

Respectfully submitted

FELIX J. BELAIR,

Chairman.

R. S. SEXTON,

FRANK KASTEN.

Secretary.

Chairman Belair moved the adoption of the report. (Motion seconded.)

Delegate Mahon, Street and Electric Railway Employees, asked whether there was a fund known as a Research Fund, and the Chairman of the committee replied that the fund was for publicity purposes.

Delegate Mahon then stated that at a meeting of the Executive Board of his organization some months ago a representative of the American Federation of Labor had presented an appeal for dona-

tions to the Research Fund, and that the Street Railway Men's organization responded to that appeal with a donation of \$100 per month until such time as its convention could take action as to future donations. At the convention, Delegate Mahon said, the matter was left in the hands of the officers, and it was his desire to have a detailed report of the international organizations that were contributing to this fund, for the future guidance of his organization.

President Gompers, in reply to Delegate Mahon, explained that late in the year 1922 the Federation's fund for publicity purposes was exhausted, at a time when the officials felt that every effort should be put forth to sustain the men and women in the labor movement who were resisting the onslaughts of the employers. He stated that he appeared before the Executive Board of several International Unions and called their attention to the conditions then existing, at the same time reminding them that it was necessary, in the interests of labor, to have some available fund for publicity purposes, and appealing to them to make voluntary contributions. Several of them responded, for periods ranging from one to ten months, until the fund reached the amount of \$7221, out of which only a small amount had been expended up to this time. He explained that it was the desire of the officers of the Federation that these contributions continue to the best of the ability and generosity of the International Unions.

Secretary Morrison explained that a list of the International Unions contributing to this fund, in accordance with the request of President Gompers, would be published in itemized form for the period ended August 31, 1923, and that at that time there was a balance of \$6,060.26 in this fund; further, that the statement would be forwarded to the contributors and to the officers of the International Unions. He also stated that he could secure a statement of the International Unions that had contributed to the fund something more than \$7000 and present it to the Convention before adjournment.

Treasurer Tobin offered the following motion: That Secretary Morrison bring in a report to the Convention as soon as convenient, and in that report name the several organizations and the amounts

contributed by them to the publicity fund, on the request of the President. (Motion seconded.)

President Gompers: We will first take action upon the report of the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Auditing Committee was adopted unanimously.

The motion offered by Treasurer Tobin was adopted by unanimous vote.

Treasurer Tobin in the chair.

Reports of committees were called for, and none was prepared to report at this time.

President Gompers in the chair.

President Gompers: For the past two years the American Federation of Labor found it to the advantage of the general idea of education to co-operate with and have the co-operation of the Workers' Education Bureau. I shall not attempt to describe here and now the work of the Bureau or the history of it, but I cannot help saying that there has been a spirit of co-operation among all of those who are called upon to function and to teach, with the American Federation of Labor, the movement to bring light into the lives of the working people of America.

We are not going to concede the absolute right of education to any class of people. We want education from every viewpoint—no dogmatism, no propaganda, simply enlightenment and information and to allow the young and the mature to form their own judgments for the development of thought and brain within themselves.

As the chief spokesman of the Workers' Education Bureau, Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., is present, upon the invitation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and I have the pleasure of presenting Mr. Miller to you at this time.

**ADDRESS BY SPENCER MILLER, JR.
Secretary Workers' Education Bureau
of America**

I

The genius of America consists in our correlation of government by the people with education by the people. In the development of this genius, the working people of this country have played a conspicuous and distinctive part. The movement to achieve political democracy which began over a hundred years ago in the United States culminated with the achievement of the corner-stone of an educated democracy—universal free education. And it will ever remain one of the outstanding achievements of the working people of this country that they had the vision and the will to erect a system of free public education for the children of the entire citizenship.

No worthy appeal for education direct-

ed to the working people of America has ever fallen on deaf ears. It is with this knowledge and assurance, that whatsoever is of good report will have a full measure of your co-operation, that I have accepted the invitation of your President and your Executive Council to present to the delegates to the 43d Annual Convention what I conceive to be the Promise of Workers' Education. For this privilege, and I assure you that it is one, I am grateful personally, and the Workers' Education Bureau of America, which I have the honor to represent, is equally appreciative.

It is not necessary for me, I am sure, to point out how many and varied are the reasons that are turning men's attention more and more toward education as the process by which we must shape the course of our future development as a nation. Those reasons are implicit in the very character of our modern complex industrial society. They are a part of the dynamic quality of the machine age which in less than a hundred years in America has so transformed the character of our national life that from an agricultural people we have become today the greatest manufacturing nation in the world. So rapid has been the development and so complex has become the modern system of production and distribution that it is well nigh impossible for the average man to fully comprehend the world in which he lives.

Furthermore, in our modern industrial society, knowledge increases more rapidly than our understanding. The rapid accumulation of this unrelated knowledge greatly adds to the complexity and confusion of our life. As a result the industrial worker, in company with other workers, finds it increasingly difficult to understand the world which he has done so much to create. The primary task of workers' education is to interpret modern industrial society to the worker that he may better understand his relationships to the industry in which he works and the society in which he lives.

Fully twenty years and more have elapsed since Walter Vrooman, an American, fresh from his efforts in establishing Ruskin College for the working people of England, came to this country and to your annual convention to invite the American Federation of Labor to participate in the direction of Ruskin College, which had been established a short time previously at Trenton, Missouri. But the time had not come when this Federation felt workers' education to be an indispensable part of its service to its membership. And so Ruskin College, and many other educational experiments, suffered many vicissitudes during this early period.

By 1915, however, the dynamic change wrought in the world by the Great War gave a new impulse to this movement for workers' education and according to your convention reports, a committee of inquiry was established to examine into the various efforts at self-education which were

shaping themselves within the structure of the labor movement. The report to your 39th Annual Convention in Atlantic City was an important evaluation of what had been begun. The establishment of educational committees in the various affiliated organizations was included as well as a definite recommendation in this report.

Today, as never before, the problems of our modern world challenge unremittingly the collective intelligence of all men of good will in all walks of life. It is to adult workers, particularly, who daily experience the social effects of these national and international problems, that we present again this appeal in behalf of education—of workers' education. Our purpose is to join labor and learning in the certain knowledge that both may share of their true inheritance in life and, in turn, better serve the needs of a troubled world.

II

"But what is education?" you may properly ask. A simple definition is not easy nor is it sufficient to inform our understanding. It may be helpful to know what it is not. Education is not information, it is not intelligence, though it uses it, nor is it training. It is emphatically not propaganda. Education is as fundamentally and functionally different from propaganda as is the real from the false, as is pure gold from imitation. To the educationalist, inquiry is free and unrestricted; to the propagandist it is bound and fettered. The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, is the spirit of the true educator; to the propagandist truth is subordinated to ulterior and narrow ends. Education is not a quantity that is added to life, but a quality that comes out of life. It becomes a kind of guidance in the acquisition of the whole body of human experience. In short, education is an interpretation of life; it is life. In the words of the poet: "What life itself may be we cannot know, till all men share to chance to know."

But education is as well a social process. It is the measure of our progress. It is the method by which we share the experience of the past generation with the present. It is the social memory of the race. If man had no memory and no language he would have no education and no civilization. The educated man is not necessarily the man who has been to school or to college, but rather the man who uses his own past experience and the past experience of the race in determining the course of his future actions. There are many educated men who have never been to college and had mighty little formal schooling. They are self-educated, as we say. And the path of self-education in America has not infrequently led from relative obscurity to national prominence. In one case, at least, it has led from a lowly log cabin to the White House. As if to indicate the educational nature of his path, Abraham Lincoln has left us that homely saying, prophetic of his own life: "I'll study, and some day, perhaps, I'll have my chance."

Education, then, is not the exclusive product of the school house. It does not begin with the kindergarten and end with college. But it is a continuous process which comes out of the experience of men's lives. The University of Hard Knocks grants no academic degrees, but its graduates know something of the ways of life and can adapt themselves accordingly. Education, thus conceived, is the result of human experience and in turn guides men in the acquisition of further experiences. This gives to adult men and women a new hope of education. It becomes not limited, but continuous; not for adolescence alone, but for adults as well. To borrow an old adage, it is never too late to learn. For every man and woman there is a kind of education that corresponds to his or her needs. Adult education seeks not to fit the human personality to a rigid mold, but adjusts the educational process to the individual.

When we translate education into terms of life experience, the mystery which surrounds education disappears. I admit that the degree of specialization which has gone on in the field of higher education makes education seem at times a highly abstract process divorced from life, to be enjoyed by a privileged few. I sometimes think of it as a Tree of Knowledge. Some specialize on the trunk, some on the limbs, some on the twigs, and some on the leaves. When the layman looks at the leaf, it seems strangely remote from the trunk of this tree of knowledge—and sometimes it is. A botanist can describe the tree merely by examining the leaf; the layman cannot. Our task is to show the relationship between the leaves and the tree trunk; for there is a fundamental unity to knowledge because it all proceeds out of a classification of human experience. Like the basic unity of the human family, there is a basic unity of all knowledge. All history, all science, all knowledge, is one. It is, in the words of Plato, "the many in the one."

To speak of certain aspects of knowledge, one as history, another as economics, another as science, another as law, another as philosophy, is a mere convenience. They merely describe man in relation to a certain social phenomena. To understand man's action it is necessary to understand this phenomena. The value of the study of history, for example, by any adult, whether he be a worker or not, consists not in one's increase in knowledge of the battles fought or the names of past kings, though they may be of interest to some, but rather in the ability it gives one to recognize situations in man's past experience that will illumine his present and future actions.

History, in its real sense, is an interpretation of the present and a forecast of the future. It is not dead, but living; it is not a luxury, but a social necessity. When the U. S. Weather Bureau forecasts the conditions of the weather on the basis of fifty years' records, it is using history for our guidance. To the farmer and the mariner these reports

may mean the difference between success and failure, life and death. There is an old saying that history repeats itself. And so it does, with certain changes. If there is a cycle of history, he were a wise man who knew something of the past. For it gives one an unfailing capacity to distinguish the oldness of new things and the newness of old things.

So economics is another aspect of experience. It is more than a body of theory. It is an attempt to explain the reasons for the cost of living, the nature of business institutions, the reason for depressions and unemployment—and the method of adjusting these difficulties. These problems, we know full well, will not solve themselves; we cannot follow the principle of "let well enough alone," for social disease grows by neglect. What is more important from an educational standpoint is that we are coming to realize that the adult (this student of the University of Hard Knocks), with his experience with living costs, unemployment and wage earning, is more capable of critical economic study than the immature, inexperienced college youth. And his need is more immediate and more pressing. That this feeling of the relation of knowledge to the solution of these problems is world-wide is the witness of no less an observer than Lord Haldane, who recently wrote:

"All over the world those who work with their hands are calling for a higher knowledge. Without that knowledge they feel they cannot be free. They are held back by the fetters of ignorance to solve their own social problems. Those who know these problems most profoundly know that they would disappear were they in the hands of educated men."

So, too, such subjects as philosophy, psychology, sociology, literature, law and the natural sciences lose both their abstraction and their mystery when we conceive of them as interpretations of man's experience. These subjects need to be humanized and they can be by treating them, not as separate and distinct fields of knowledge, but as aspects of a great inclusive body of human experience. This may be one of the great services of labor to higher education through the workers' educational movement. It is precisely by the method of informal discussions, which is the method of adult workers' education, wherein each contributes of his experience to the sum total of the discussion that will render these subjects both understandable to adults and insure their value to human life.

This is not the time nor the place to discuss in detail the methods of adult workers' education. But the technique that has been developed brings men together in a study class, not as teacher and students, but as friends in an adventure of learning. As Xenophon, the Greek historian, wrote many hundreds of years before the Christian era. "How shall a man learn save from one who is a friend?" In a workers' study class of thirty students and one teacher, it is

said there are in fact thirty-one students, or, if you will, thirty-one teachers.

III

It is sometimes asked, Why Workers' Education? By others it is asserted that the interest of workers in education tends to narrow the concept of education to special and particular ends. If I understand the purposes that underlie this movement and the educational aspirations of working people, they want nothing less than the finest and fullest and most inclusive education. They believe in the democratization and extension of culture, in education for all.

But the workers have a very special interest in education. They look out upon the world as craftsmen as well as citizens. And they see the world as craftsmen just as any other professional group, whether they be doctors, engineers, farmers, or the like. Furthermore, the average worker has long since recognized that organization does not exist for its own sake. It must enhance his life as a worker, as an individual, and as a member of the community. By its social function organization becomes worthy of the loyalty of the worker.

There are, thus, problems within as well as without the labor movement which require education for their wise solution. The world cannot be reordered and reconstructed until one's own household is set right. There are problems of growth and function to which labor everywhere must give its attention. Wage negotiations, trade agreements, a labor press, labor banks, co-operative societies and labor research are matters which suggest some of the present problems, as well as the growing service of labor to the community without and the membership within. Yet even these services must be made plain so that labor understands full well, for example, the responsibilities of a press to the public, a bank to its depositors, and a co-operative society to its members.

It would be unnecessary to emphasize again to the delegates to this convention that workers' education is an expression of and rests upon the labor movement. If we had had no labor movement we would have had no workers' education, and if we had no education of the worker we should have no great movement of labor. So I shall ask you to think of workers' education not as something added on to the labor movement, but a quality which emerges out of those deeper purposes of the movement. It was this conviction on the part of your own Committee on Education and your own Executive Council which led to the development of the organic relationship of the Workers' Education Bureau of America with your Federation. It was, I repeat, the firm conviction that Workers'

Education was an expression of the cultural and humanistic purposes of the labor movement—the outward manifestation of an inner impulse—which brought first persuasion, then unqualified support to this program.

These deeper purposes of the labor movement, I fear, we sometimes lose sight of in the business of administration of a great organization of men. The every-day task, the immediate problem, sometimes obscures the more subtle and permanent underlying ideals. It is the privilege of such conventions as these to renew our faith as well as our friendships. I shall not ask your indulgence for considering these ideals as I purpose to establish that fundamentally the cultural aims of labor and of education are one—that as both are concerned with the development of the fullness of man's stature, they have a common goal.

No one would, I suppose, urge that the appeal of wages and hours has been the motivating ideal of American labor. As goals they are both inadequate and insufficient. They do not even touch the mainsprings of men's action. The labor movement can't live on wages and hours. Nor is it probable that any great movement of the people could be sustained on the mere satisfaction of material needs. Only this year your Executive Council has given expression to what it holds to be the essential religious impulses at the heart of the movement and has urged central labor bodies throughout the country, following Labor Day, "to organize a labor week or series of meetings which shall be addressed by representatives of labor, who shall give voice to the religion that is in the American labor movement, speaking out of the religious heart and soul of the associated workers of America entirely apart from any ecclesiastical or denominational auspices of association, without antagonism to any." Have you not in your proclamation said, "The labor movement fixes as its goal nothing less than the complete richness of life, without limitation of any kind, the attainment of the complete ideal, in all its economic, ethical and spiritual implications"? Labor requires fundamentally not a fuller pay envelope, but fuller opportunities. Labor seeks not a living, but a life. But these aims are, I assert, the high aims of education and correspond to human aspiration whenever it is nobly expressed.

IV

But when one begins to view your organization of labor as an educational institution it is possible to reconsider the policy and methods that thus far prevailed. It does not mean that one's organization becomes less effective or less stable because its aims are held clearly before one's eyes; it may mean and it does mean greater solidarity because of greater understanding.

Let us examine for a moment one or two of labor's policies in the light of this educational method. (a) In a recent article in the *International Labor Review*, Professor J. R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin has observed that the growing importance of trade agreements in the process of collective bargaining is an outstanding development of recent labor history. On more than one occasion labor has asserted its right to collective bargaining as inherent in a just settlement. But have the implications always been clear? It is far easier to achieve the form than the substance of political or trade union government. Collective bargaining does not exist, in fact, merely when an equal number of workmen sit down with an equal number of employers to discuss problems of wages and hours. An equality in numbers is not a real equality. Unless there is an equality or parity of intelligence and understanding of all the financial and industrial problems involved in a particular industry, there is no parity, in fact. How seldom such is the case, and how needed it is to achieve the real substance as well as the form of a collective bargain.

It is a part of the promise of Workers' Education that men should be trained for negotiation and should know the structure of our modern industry and business and should thus have an "equality" when they sit down at the conference table.

(b) In every struggle of labor there is a force which weighs in the decision depending upon how it is informed. It is the force of public opinion. It is urged at times that labor is too busy with its struggle to bother with education, too busy to seek to win public opinion. Yet it must be evident that when labor wins public opinion, part of its struggle has been won. A struggle may not even be necessary to secure one's rights. How handicapped labor has been in the past because it either could not or did not state its case squarely and simply to the public. It is the promise of Workers' Education that to leadership and to the membership will be brought a capacity for expressing one's opinions in the press and on the platform.

(c) The history of labor tactics in America during the past ten years has witnessed the change from the rule of force to the rule of reason. Power is a social privilege which has definite social responsibilities. The power of labor consists in its power to serve and not to dominate. The possession of power by any group is no guarantee of its social use. Indeed the history of power is a history of its abuse. It is not enough to link emotion to power; it may lead to fanaticism—or merely mind to power, it may lead to autocracy. When the mind and emotions are joined to power, it may become a mighty force

for good. It is the realization of this fact which has persuaded an increasing number of the leaders of labor to the position that, while organization is necessary for collective aims, education is necessary to make organization responsible and effective. It is the fulfillment of this aim which again is the promise of workers' education.

(d) I have said that the labor movement could not live on wages and hours. For men who join an organization for these purposes leave when their aims have been accomplished or when they fail of accomplishment. By their nature these aims fluctuate, and the membership does likewise. To bring stability to membership is to enroll membership, not on standards which fluctuate, but on those which endure. Education is a constant standard; it is continuous and parallels human life. To offer workers, educational opportunities as one of the privileges of membership is to present an appeal which need not diminish, but grow with cultivation. The mind of man grows upon the things it feeds on. Workers' Education, touching a fundamental problem of organization, promises stability and permanence of membership.

V.

These illustrations may suffice to argue the thesis of this address. And I return to the main current of my appeal. There is today as never before a need before labor for adult workers' education. It concerns labor as members of their organizations, as citizens of this Republic, and as members of that larger fellowship of our world. One hundred years ago labor determined that free education should be; labor, with the other adult citizens, must determine what it shall become. The task is not complete; it has just begun. Free education in a democracy advances as the will of the people is informed and as it in turn impresses itself upon our social institutions. We have not yet in this country determined how far our standards of culture will withstand the public whims. Of this we are sure—unless democracy can become educated, its future is not secure.

"Only trained and widespread intelligence will save the American democratic experiment."

I charge you men of labor with your full share of responsibility in upholding this American democratic experiment, because you believe in education, because you care about democracy and because you love America.

I submit, finally, that adult education is the surpassing need of democracy. It is not to be regarded as a privilege for a few, nor as the concern for a short period of early manhood, but it is an indispensable part of our democratic citizenship and should be universal and lifelong. For we have

achieved the form of democracy before our people have been educated for its wise operation. You remember the words of the ancient Greek philosopher, Epictetus, who said:

"The rulers of the state assert that only the free shall be educated, but God hath said that only the educated shall be free."

Repeatedly you have been urged to establish a great national university for the working people of this country where men and women without educational opportunities may pursue higher learning. I think this proposal arises out of a misconception of the nature of education and the nature of a university. Historically, a university did not mean a college campus, extensive buildings, a resident faculty and students. It was merely an aggregate of persons associated by a common tie. It was thus applied to the body of masters of the old medieval University of Paris or the body of students at Bologna. The university as a collection of colleges and fellows, and students and endowments is a later development. "The true university," as has been well said, "is not a superstructure, but an intelligence pervading the whole social system."

I would not discourage those who seek to establish such a people's university, but I do assert that this Federation, with its departments, its affiliated internationals, its state, city, central and local bodies spread over this country, is potentially a University of Labor. It remains for you who care about universal higher education to make your organization a great university of the people, with its local colleges in each industrial center where you have central labor bodies or other interested groups. Oxford University, England, with its twenty-odd colleges, would seem very small in comparison with an American workers' university with a thousand federated central labor colleges.

Here is a dream big enough for the hearts and minds of four million organized workers. It would give form to the prophecy of your President Gompers, who wrote recently:

"Whatever progress the labor movement makes rests upon an educational basis."

This is not a Utopian dream, nor a ready-made formula—it is the road of constructive progress.

Labor pledged to educational ideals is labor true to its highest purposes. We have hoped twenty years in America for this day to come when labor would embark on this high educational adventure. We may not, we shall not, have waited in vain, if Labor NOW will unitedly give its whole-hearted support to an ideal which it has always cherished:

**EDUCATION FOR ALL THE PEOPLE,
UNIVERSAL AND LIFELONG.**

Delegate Mahon, Street and Electric Railway Employees: I move that the address of Mr. Miller be made a part of the record and that the subject matter be referred to the Committee on Education. (Seconded and carried by unanimous vote.)

President Gompers informed the Convention that practically all the committees were in session and suggested that it might conserve the time of the Convention if an adjournment were taken until Wednesday morning, in order to afford the committees ample opportunity to continue and complete their work.

Delegate Mooney, United Mine Workers, moved that the rules be suspended and that adjournment of the morning session be taken to Wednesday morning at 9:30 o'clock. (Seconded.)

Delegate Tighe, Iron and Steel Workers, announced a meeting of the Executive Council to organize the Steel Workers, in the Hotel Benson, on Tuesday afternoon, and asked the representatives of the various organizations interested to attend.

President Gompers stated that under the rule prevailing for the past several years, delegates would be permitted to file resolutions up to the hour of 12 o'clock midnight, Tuesday, October 2.

He also announced that the official convention photograph would be taken on the steps of the Auditorium at the close of Wednesday morning's session.

Announcement was made of a meeting of the Executive Council at 2:30 o'clock p. m., October 2, and the delegates of the Journeymen Tailors' Union and the Cleaners and Dyers were requested to be present at that meeting.

Secretary Morrison announced a meeting of the International Labor Press Association in the Labor Temple on Tuesday evening.

President Gompers stated that the local entertainment committee, desirous of meeting the convenience of the Convention and of taking the visitors and delegates over the Columbia Highway drive, would like to have the Convention set aside a convenient day or afternoon for the trip.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, moved that the afternoon of Wednesday, October 3, be set aside for the Columbia Highway trip. (Seconded.)

The matter was discussed briefly by Delegates Hartwig, Oregon State Federation of Labor; Hartwig, Meat Cutters, and Stickel, Oil Workers. Delegate Stickel offered an amendment that the entire day, Thursday, October 4, be set aside for the trip, but later withdrew the amendment with the consent of the seconder.

The motion offered by Delegate McCullough was adopted.

Secretary Morrison announced the re-assignment of the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 8 transferred from Committee on Organization to Committee on State Bodies.

Resolution No. 9 from Committee on Executive Council Report to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 15 from Committee on Resolutions to Committee on Executive Council Report.

Resolution No. 25 from Committee on Resolutions to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 26—By International Molders' Union of North America:

Resolution No. 45—By Frank Brown on Union No. 164, Endorsed by Union No. 164, of San Francisco, Calif.

WHEREAS, Time, the great healer of wounds and impartial explorer of human events, has in the great legal tragedy known as the Mooney case heaped circumstance on circumstance, fact on fact, confession on confession, and accumulated irrefutable evidence not available during the trial, leading to the almost universal unprejudiced opinion that Thomas J. Mooney is innocent of the crime for which he is immured at San Quentin State Prison; and

WHEREAS, The trial Judge and Appellate Justices, the members of the jury, with but one exception, and all the material witnesses in the case, also with but one exception, are convinced that they contributed to the commission of irreparable error in the conviction of an innocent man, and now regret such action and would undo the wrong, if it were within their power; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of California has settled the law of the State declaring the legal impossibility of granting a new trial and advising and recommending to the defendant as his only recourse under the constitution and the laws of the State being an application for pardon at the hands of the Governor of the State; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the International Molders' Union of North America, in the 26th Convention assembled in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, that we, as

fellow craftsmen of Thomas J. Mooney, believing in his innocence of the crime charged, and having faith in the people of the State of California, its Courts and Government, and in their fairness and love of justice, do hereby most sincerely and earnestly petition His Excellency Friend W. Richardson, Governor of the State of California, to grant an unconditional pardon to Thomas J. Mooney, and thus in a measure right the wrong done to him and vindicate the verdict of public opinion.

Your committee reports concurrence. It was moved that the report be adopted.

The Chair declared the motion carried.

Delegate Blom, No. 59, moved as an amendment that a special committee of this convention be appointed to present this resolution to the Governor.

The Chair declared the motion carried.

The chairman of the committee, R. H. Curran, moved that the A. F. of L. Convention be requested to adopt the resolution.

The Chair declared the motion carried.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Arthur J. Olsen, of the Gardeners and Florists' Local No. 10615:

WHEREAS, Thomas Mooney and Edward Billings are still in jail, although their innocence has long been established; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has heretofore expressed itself in favor of their liberation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we send a telegram to the Governor of California, urging immediate action in behalf of Thomas Mooney and Edward Billings, that justice may be restored and the men freed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, Horace A. Riviere and Gus Guiges:

WHEREAS, In the Southern States, where many textile mills are located, the longer work week prevails; and

WHEREAS, These states are so controlled by the textile interests, making it impossible to secure human remedial legislation for women and children who, through necessity, are compelled to toil for their existence; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of the longer work week is to exploit these women and children by forcing them to work from 54 to 66 hours per week; and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America are now and have been fighting against this abominable working condition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Committee on Shorter Work Week requests through this convention that all National and International Unions having affiliated local unions in the south instruct their representatives and advise their local membership to aid the United Textile Workers in their fight for a forty-eight (48) hour work week.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate J. J. Riley of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The class-conscious working class in all civilized countries celebrates the first of May; and

WHEREAS, Here in America Labor Day is also observed, being, however, in September, thereby being at a different time than the general International Labor Day; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor Convention go on record to change the Labor Day to the first day of May, that we may celebrate on the same day as organized workers in other countries.

Referred to Delegate to A. F. of L. Convention.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate J. J. Riley of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A movement is on foot in Pittsburgh, Pa., to establish and publish a metropolitan daily newspaper in the interests of Organized Labor, to be known as the Pittsburgh Evening American; and

WHEREAS, Said paper has already received the unanimous indorsement of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor at its last session; also the unanimous indorsement of the Allied Printing Trades Council of Pittsburgh, as well as that of Typographical Union No. 7 of Pittsburgh; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor will control at least 51 per cent of the voting capital stock of said paper, and the policy of said paper will be fixed and determined from time to time by a Board of Control to be composed of prominent trade unionists of Pennsylvania; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask the full co-operation and indorsement and support of this National Convention and records of same.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate J. J. Riley of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is a known fact that the working class will not attain its full rights as long as individual ownership of the means of production, national resources and means of transportation exists; and

WHEREAS, We know that their nationalization requires political action; and

WHEREAS, The workers in the different fields are not strong enough to make such a political change by themselves in their own industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor Convention go on record as forming a Labor Party, based upon Trade Unions, which will be composed exclusively of workers and working farmers and all working class parties without regard to political differences.

Referred to A. F. of L. for general action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate J. J. Riley of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The employers throughout the Nation have solidly united, being bound together by a solidarity of interest and organization which leaves no room for divided action or desertions, and, moreover, they are supported by the government, the courts and the press in any union-smashing undertaking in which they may engage; and

WHEREAS, They are carrying on a vicious attack upon the labor movement, singling out various unions and forcing them to engage in a bitter struggle for self-preservation; and

WHEREAS, These unions, because they are divided against themselves along trade lines and are thus unable to make a united resistance to the employers, and are constantly suffering defeat after defeat with heavy losses in membership and serious lowering of the workers' standards of living and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The only solution for the situation is the development of a united front by the workers through the amalgamation of various trade unions so that there will remain only one union for each industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, call upon the American Federation of Labor to take the necessary action toward bringing about the required solidarity within the ranks of organized labor, and that, as a first step in this direction, the various International Unions be called into conference for the purpose of ar-

ranging to amalgamate all the unions in their respective industries into single organizations, each of which shall cover an industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, The workers of the Virgin Islands have, by unanimous vote, requested the American Federation of Labor to petition the Congress of the United States to organize and establish a form of Civil Government in those islands; and

WHEREAS, It is proper that this American Federation of Labor Convention should formulate such a petition to establish a form of Civil Government in the Virgin Islands, instead of a government by the Navy Department, and that this petition should be made to the Congress and the President of the United States, through the President of the American Federation, so that all such demands as the present situation of the Virgin Islands require, politically, economically and socially, may be achieved; and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy, who is in charge of the Virgin Islands, and a recent Commission from the Congress of the United States that investigated conditions in said islands, undoubtedly will give their support to the establishment of a form of Civil Government in said islands; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested and instructed to urge upon the President and the Congress of the United States the necessity of the establishment of a new form of government in the Virgin Islands, which will grant the citizens of those islands the rights of citizenship for their political, economic and social development; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all such measures of a national character that tend to benefit education, agriculture, economics, and other branches of knowledge, and for the protection of the wealth in those islands, shall be extended to the citizens of the Virgin Islands in the same proportion in which they are extended to all of the people of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate R. Askew of the National Federation of Rural Carriers:

WHEREAS, Rural letter carriers are required to furnish and keep in repair the equipment they use in their work of transporting the public's mail; and

WHEREAS, This requirement does not

apply to other groups of postal workers whose working equipment is furnished by the Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention instruct the Executive Council to co-operate in securing from Congress the necessary legislation granting equipment allowance to rural carriers.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate R. Askew of the National Federation of Rural Carriers:

WHEREAS, Rural letter carriers' wages are now computed on a two-mile basis up to 24 miles; and

WHEREAS, Many rural carriers travel within a fraction of the even mileage without additional compensation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Executive Council to co-operate in having the present law amended so that payment shall be made for each mile or major fraction of a mile.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Wm. P. Hohmann, Chas. W. Redfern, Abram M. Steckle, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, Grace E. Talbott, J. C. Grady, W. H. McManus, National Federation of Federal Employees; Wm. M. Collins, B. E. Thompson, A. A. Sutton, Charles Brown, of the Railway Mail Association; T. J. McQuade of the Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Compensation-for-Injury Act of September 6, 1916, covering Federal Employees injured in the performance of duty, fixes monthly benefits ranging between \$33.30 and \$66.67; and

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated that benefits under this law are inadequate and do not meet the needs of the workers affected; and

WHEREAS, Under a recent restrictive ruling of the Comptroller-General the benefits of this law would be withheld from all employees whose injuries occurred in any way except by an accident definitely fixed in point of time; and

WHEREAS, This decision is obviously at variance with the intent of the law and contravenes the administrative policy of the Commission having jurisdiction over the operation of the law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to aid the affiliated Government employees to lib-

eralize the Compensation-for-Injury Act by increasing the benefits and by also securing the enactment of corrective legislation to offset the restrictive ruling of the Comptroller-General.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Committee.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Wm. P. Hohmann, Chas. W. Redfern, Abram M. Steckle, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, Grace E. Talbott, J. C. Grady, W. H. McManus, National Federation of Federal Employees; Wm. M. Collins, B. E. Thompson, A. A. Sutton, Charles Brown, of the Railway Mail Association; T. J. McQuade of the Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union:

WHEREAS, After continued agitation on the part of organized government employees, supplemented by the effective co-operation of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of the United States enacted legislation establishing a federal retirement system under which aged employees are retired on service annuities; and

WHEREAS, While this federal civil service retirement system has had a stabilizing effect on government employment and has brought relief to many superannuated government employees, it is evident from a close observance of the operation of the law, that it would be greatly improved if promptly amended in at least two respects, viz: the annuities should be increased above the present inadequate rates; and, secondly, eligibility for optional retirement should be based on length of service, not to exceed 30 years; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to continue to give its assistance to the affiliated government employees in securing from the 68th Congress the remedial legislation required to correct these inadequacies in the present federal retirement system.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Wm. P. Hohmann, Chas. W. Redfern, Abram M. Steckle, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, Chas. Brown, B. E. Thompson and A. A. Sutton, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United

States on June 5, 1920, in response to an aroused public opinion, stimulated by the affiliated postal organizations and the trade union movement, enacted legislation establishing higher pay rates for Postal Employees; and

WHEREAS, This wage was accepted by the Postal Workers with the expectation that its adequacy would be enhanced through a reduction in living costs; and

WHEREAS, The experience of the past three years has fully demonstrated the inadequacy of the Postal Wage Award of June 5, 1920, as reflected in an increasing labor turn-over and the great difficulty in getting efficient workers to enter or to remain in the Postal Service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the importance of providing sufficient and dependable manpower for this necessary public utility, and appreciating the justice of paying adequate wages to experienced employees, instruct the Executive Council to co-operate in every possible way with the affiliated postal organizations in urging upon the 68th Congress the need for a substantial increase in postal pay rates.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Wm. P. Hohmann, Chas. W. Redfern, Abram M. Steckle, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, Grace E. Talbott, J. C. Grady, H. W. McManus, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Wm. M. Collins, B. E. Thompson, A. A. Sutton, Charles Brown, of the Railway Mail Association; T. J. McQuade of the Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union:

WHEREAS, In some Government establishments, notably the Postal Service and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, there have been instituted obnoxious practices, under the guise of "Efficiency Systems," which are harmful to the workers, and therefore injurious to the service; and

WHEREAS, These "Efficiency Systems" are devised by so-called experts who have little or no understanding of the practical work over which they assume jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated in all lines of endeavor that any method of "speeding up" workers beyond their endurance is disastrous to both employer and worker, and, particularly, such a policy has no place in Government employment, where service and not profit is the motive; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct its Executive Council to lend every effort in eliminating from Govern-

ment employment these dehumanizing practices which are so harmful to the workers and to the public service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, William P. Hohmann, Chas. W. Redfern, Abram M. Steckle, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Schwartz, Chas. D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, Chas. Brown, B. E. Thompson and A. A. Sutton, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department is now engaged in an accounting to ascertain the cost of collecting, distributing and delivering the several classes of mail; and

WHEREAS, The postal service is not now self-sustaining, the cost of operating being in excess of the revenues, despite the fact that postal workers are receiving inadequate wages, and various expedients not beneficial from a service standpoint are resorted to by the postal administration in order to lower labor costs; and

WHEREAS, While the postal service should be conducted for service and not for profit, it is desirable that the service be virtually self-sustaining, in that the users of the postal system should pay practically the cost of the service they exact; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council to co-operate with the affiliated postal organizations in obtaining from Congress appropriate action, based upon the findings of the present investigation, to revise postal rates in order that the revenues may approximate operating costs.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate John H. Donlin:

WHEREAS, There has been a condition of turmoil and strife existing between the building trades mechanics and the contractors in the City of San Francisco during the past two years; and

WHEREAS, This condition of affairs has been constantly growing worse as a result of the activities of the Industrial Committee in that city continuing its attempts to keep the building trades mechanics and the employers in that city who desire to be fair, apart, in order that this committee may foster and advance the open shop movement in the City of San Francisco; and

WHEREAS, This Industrial Committee of San Francisco and neighboring cities has, by illegal and unlawful means, coerced the contractors in these cities who have endeavored to be fair with their employees, to refrain from resuming such friendly relations as have heretofore existed between themselves and their employees in the City of San Francisco and vicinity; and

WHEREAS, These illegal and unlawful acts have been condemned by the Attorney-General of the United States and the Department of Justice and attempts of prosecution of those responsible have been pending in both the State and Federal Courts during the past 18 months without any relief being accorded the injured parties in this conspiracy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 17th annual convention of the Building Trades Department, in convention assembled, does hereby insist that the Attorney-General of the United States and the officers of the Department of Justice proceed at once to prosecute all of those who are responsible for the continuing of these illegal and unlawful acts which have been, and are now being, carried on by the Industrial Committee of San Francisco, and which acts constitute a crime of conspiracy against the employer who desires to be fair and the building trades mechanics of San Francisco and neighboring cities in the State of California.

The foregoing resolution was concurred in by the Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, and referred to the American Federation of Labor for consideration and final action.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates James P. Noonan, F. J. McNulty, G. M. Bugniat, Miss Julia S. O'Connor, Edw. Barton, Martin T. Joyce, H. H. Kirkland, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and Andrew Furuseth, Paul Scharrenberg, of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, At the 1922 general election in the State of California there was submitted a State Constitutional Amendment designated as the California Water and Power Act, which declared it to be "the policy and purpose of the State to conserve, develop and control the water of the State for the use and benefit of the people," and proposed to accomplish this by placing the credit of the State back of municipalities and local political subdivisions in order that they might at a minimum cost develop and operate their own works for the storage, diversion and distribution of water for irrigation, domestic and industrial uses, and for the generation and transmission of hydro-electric energy; and

WHEREAS, Private power corporations selfishly interested in maintaining their monopoly of hydro-electric power, raised and expended an enormous campaign fund—namely, more than half a million dollars—as was shown by the testimony taken before a Special Investigation Committee of the California State Senate appointed to investigate such matters, to defeat the California Water and Power Act, and by a campaign of misrepresentation, deception and vilifi-

cation actually succeeded in defeating it; and

WHEREAS, Under the policy of this California Water and Power Act the people would be relieved of the burden of the extravagance, waste and costly financing of private development and ownership; and

WHEREAS, The adoption of the policy of the California Water and Power Act generally throughout the nation would assure profitable employment, increase the yield of the land, relieve the people from exploitation and promote stability and safety in agriculture and industry; and

WHEREAS, The State of California and other states, following California's lead, propose to present the question of public ownership and distribution of water and power to the electors of the several states at the general elections in 1924; and

WHEREAS, Co-ordinated development of the nation's vast water and power resources constitutes an economic program that should be undertaken by the people; and

WHEREAS, According to widely distributed articles in the public press, private interests that seek monopolistic control of the nation's hydro-electric power resources are constructing each privately owned local power generating and transmission system as though it were a component part of one super-power system, so that in due time each and all can be so unified; and

WHEREAS, Said private interests are seeking to mould public opinion and to influence legislatures so as to secure governmental aid and legislation favorable to their program of private development and control of super-power; and

WHEREAS, Those who control this super-power will exercise so great a control over the people that if super-power comes into existence under private ownership and control, the people will ultimately find it necessary to reacquire their power sources at a great advance in cost; and

WHEREAS, Private interests will not and can not solve the related water problems or assure an abundance of water and power at the lowest economic cost; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor assembled, that we recommend to forward-looking citizens in all states the program of State conservation through complete use and development and control of the waters of the State as submitted to California voters in the Water and Power Act, and for the service of the people at cost, as opposed to corporation development and control of water resources for private profit; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this organization is unanimously opposed to the subsidizing or granting of other Government financial aid to any private corporation or corporations for the purpose of establishing a privately owned and operated power system, or to any encouragement whatever to a privately owned and op-

erated super-power system; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we individually and collectively urge upon our respective State legislatures and upon the Federal Government, and cause to be given the utmost publicity, the necessity for a co-ordinated public development and control of said water resources for the service of the people at cost, giving due regard to the four-fold duty of water for domestic supply, for irrigation, power production, and navigation, and to the necessity for flood-water storage and control and to the rights of political subdivisions to the measure of local control in these matters; and that we favor and urge the withdrawal and curtailment of special privileges to private interests controlling this natural resource for incomplete and costly development for private profit.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Wm. P. Hohmann, Chas. W. Redfern, Abram M. Steckle, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, Grace E. Talbott, J. C. Grady, H. W. McManus, National Federation of Federal Employees; Wm. M. Collins, B. E. Thompson, A. A. Sutton, Chas. Brown, Railway Mail Association; T. J. McQuade, Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Saturday half-holiday observance, which wage earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power, has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employees and employers; and

WHEREAS, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly period of rest and recreation for workers is becoming more general in its application in private industrial pursuits and in state and municipal governments; and

WHEREAS, In some instances notable progress has recently been made in applying this beneficial policy in Federal activities, with resultant benefits to the public and the employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the importance of the United States Government establishing and maintaining advanced employment standards, instruct the Executive Council to cooperate with the representatives of the affiliated government employees for the purpose of having the Saturday half holiday observance in government establishments extended to benefit every possible worker.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate William F. Dunne, of the Trades and Labor Council of Butte, Mont.:

WHEREAS, Centralization of industry has been going on at a rapid pace since the early nineties until today the labor movement is confronted with a solid front of the employers in practically every basic industry; and

WHEREAS, The latest development of this process has brought the government of the United States into the labor struggle as the servant of the industrial monopolies, as in the coal and railway strikes; and

WHEREAS, No group or section of the organized labor movement can go on strike to protect their hardly won wage scales and working conditions without being confronted with the solid front of the organized employers, backed in most cases by the various government agencies; and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement is still divided into 108 national and international unions which have little connection with and oftentimes little knowledge of each other's difficulties; and

WHEREAS, Where any tendency toward closer unity exists it is slight in comparison with the rapid centralization of the power of the employers, because of the jealousies and rivalries of the officialdom of the various national and international unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is instructed to urge upon all international and national unions the advisability of conducting an intensive educational campaign among their memberships, designed to familiarize them with the necessity of amalgamating under one head all unions in the same industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the principle of industrial unionism as against craft unionism and instruct the Executive Council to work out a plan of amalgamating the scattered units of the American Federation of Labor into industrial unions and to submit such plan for the consideration of the next annual convention of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The 42d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in session at Cincinnati, Ohio, went on record as recommending to all affiliated National and International Unions the adoption of such changes in their laws as would provide for the acceptance of traveling cards, or such other evidences of membership in good standing in any other recognized trade union, based upon the applicant's ability to perform the work covered by such organization in such a manner as to com-

mand the going minimum scale, in lieu of any initiation fee; and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of many experienced trade union members that the removal of the necessity for additional entrance fees, under conditions that will properly safeguard the various organizations affected, will more closely cement the labor movement and will eliminate much of the seasonal loss in membership, when once generally adopted; and

WHEREAS, Certain affiliated organizations at the present time accept such evidence of membership, in lieu of initiation fees, from certain other organizations, and this practice has not been found destructive or hurtful, but rather of a helpful character; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we reaffirm our position on this question and again recommend its adoption by the various affiliated national and international unions.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The success of the trades union movement depends in large part on the proper functioning of local and state central bodies; and

WHEREAS, These bodies can only efficiently serve the movement when they have the maximum affiliation and cooperation of all eligible locals, a condition that does not now exist owing to the refusal or neglect of these locals to conform to the spirit of the American Federation of Labor in effecting such affiliation in many instances; and

WHEREAS, Where voluntary affiliation is in effect the burden of carrying on the active work of local and state central bodies is borne by those unions whose virile membership maintain such membership or whose organic laws require such affiliation, a burden that could well be borne by all to the greater advancement of the movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that while we express appreciation for the continued efforts of the American Federation of Labor officers as well as those of affiliated national and international unions, in urging such voluntary affiliation, we recommend to all of these affiliated organizations such changes in their organic law as will provide for the compulsory affiliation of all subordinate local unions with all regularly chartered local or state central bodies of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate E. J. Tracy, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association 11773, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The American Federation has been repeatedly asked to appoint organizers to work chiefly in the interests of the office workers of this country; and

WHEREAS, There are over two million workers in this branch of industry who are unorganized and to whom the labor movement stands as their only hope for industrial betterment; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council in its report to this Convention has pressed the necessity of organizing women and children; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the local unions now chartered by the American Federation of Labor be granted an international charter as soon as possible, to the end that the organization of the office workers may soon be achieved; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if possible one or more of the staff of American Federation of Labor organizers be designated to assist in this work of organization.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 48—By William P. Clarke, Charles J. Shipman and John B. Easton, of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The daily minutes and final proceedings of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor are burdened with resolutions of unnecessary length, including therein numerous whereases that are unnecessary and meaningless, thereby incurring needless cost, wasting valuable time and making the record so cumbersome that it appears necessary to place a limit to the length of such resolutions; and

WHEREAS, We believe that each resolution could be printed in the daily and final proceedings under a heading which would immediately indicate its purpose; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That these suggestions be referred to the Executive Council for thought and action, and that the Executive Council be requested to present a plan to condense and improve the printed minutes of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, thereby making the record more definite, attractive and pleasing to peruse.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates Timothy Healy, Stationary Firemen; Thos. Sweeney, Tailors; Christian M. Madsen, Max S. Hayes, D. C. Smart, D. G. Ramsay, Wade Shurtleff, A. J. Pickett, J. Louis England, E. E. Schwartztrauber, Max J. Sillinsky, Tailors; W. F. Dunne,

Trades and Labor Council, Butte, Mont.:

WHEREAS, Organized labor is vitally interested in encouraging normal international relations and the spirit of good will among all peoples; and

WHEREAS, The one hundred and sixty million people living in Russia have suffered immeasurably due to the policy of ostracism practiced by various governments; and

WHEREAS, As long as this policy prevails, a return to normal conditions will be impossible and the peace of the world will be constantly in danger; and

WHEREAS, The present government in Russia has been in existence for almost six years and is gradually gaining the recognition of the powers, partly because there seems no possibility of an alternative to the present regime in the near future; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge the Government of the United States to take steps leading to the resumption of official trade relations with Russia and the eventual recognition of the Russian government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates A. A. Myrup, Peter Beisel, Jacob Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company, operating bakeries in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, N. Y.; Providence, R. I.; Boston, Mass.; Newark, N. J.; Baltimore, Md.; Pittsburg, Penna.; Youngstown, Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio; South Bend, Ind.; and Chicago, Ill., has declared for the non-union shop in all of its manufacturing departments; and

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company by such declaration cancelled its agreement with the Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union of America in behalf of its subordinate local unions, locking out all of its union employees; and

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company by its declaration is assuming the leadership and dictatorship of the reactionary anti-union employers of the baking industry in America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled declare its undivided support to the Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union of America in its contest against the anti-union attitude of the Ward Baking Company; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, through the officers of the American Federation of Labor, convey this declaration to all State Federations, City Central Bodies, and directly affiliated Federal Labor Unions located in the manufacturing and business jurisdictions of the Ward Baking Company, urging them to render whole-hearted and undivided support to the Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union in this terrific contest.

tionary Workers' International Union in this terrific contest.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate James F. Brock, of the Laundry Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, A special circular letter, issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor requests the salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor to pay particular attention to organizing the workers in the laundry industry; and

WHEREAS, This circular letter was productive of very good results; and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' Union is not in a financial condition to be able to carry on active organizing work in the many and various sections of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor, calling their attention to the fact that the laundry industry is to a great extent unorganized at the present time and requesting them to do their utmost to organize the laundry workers, as many thousands of women employed in the laundry industry at this time are now receiving far less than a living wage.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate E. E. Schwartztrauber, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is definitely committed to a program of education for adult workers; and

WHEREAS, It is vitally interested in the type of education in the public schools upon which adult education must be built; and

WHEREAS, Such public school education is secured through the instruction of a teaching body largely unacquainted with the problems of the wage earners of America; and

WHEREAS, This results in a type of instruction unsocial in its effects upon the youth and hostile to the efforts of organized labor in developing a constructive program of reform in industrial conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give its financial support to the American Federation of Teachers in its efforts to effect a thorough organization of the teachers of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in further cooperation with the American Federation of Teachers, initiate through affiliated International and Central Labor bodies a campaign of organization of teachers in their respective localities, to the end that the teachers of America be brought

into intimate and understanding contact with the ideals and aims of the American Federation of Labor, and that democracy in education and education for democracy be made possible thereby.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates G. A. Von Schrlitz, of the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity, and O. R. Hartwig, of the Oregon State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A number of local unions affiliated with national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are not affiliated with Central Labor Councils and State Federations of Labor in localities where such councils and federations exist, which is in violation of principles of the American Federation of Labor, resulting in much criticism of local central and state bodies which are endeavoring to promote peace and harmony within the local labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the city of Portland, Oregon, hereby requests all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, or which may hereafter become affiliated, to amend their constitutions and by-laws so that all local unions of national and international unions must affiliate with the local Central Labor Councils and State Federations where such councils and state federations exist; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor requests all affiliated national and international unions to strictly enforce the laws requiring all of their local unions to affiliate with the Central Labor Councils and State Federations of Labor.

Referred to Committees on Laws.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate G. A. Von Schrlitz, of the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, No doubt should longer remain in the minds of the people of the complete organization of the employers of the United States for the purpose of reducing wages, lengthening hours, and destroying, if possible, the organizations of labor; and

WHEREAS, The employers' organizations have the support of the present administration, the courts and the daily newspapers in their attempt to subject the wage earners to conditions bordering on slavery, which statement is amply confirmed in the strike of the railroad shop crafts, and the miners and the textile workers, as well as in other labor disputes of lesser magnitude; and

WHEREAS, The unions under the present form of craft organizations are unable to render the assistance to other organizations in the same industry that

is so essential to their well being; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in the 43d Annual Convention assembled, endorses the amalgamation of craft unions, thereby providing for only one international head for each industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to every national and international union, departments, state branches, state central bodies, local trade and federal labor unions, with the request that it prosecute as vigorously as possible, in conformance with the laws of its particular international, the idea expressed above.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates M. A. McConville, Albert Peterson, A. M. Huddell and Dave Evans, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and the Quarry Workers' International Union entered into an agreement on October 18, 1921, for a period of two years; and

WHEREAS, This agreement provided that no wage scale would be made by either organization without the consent of the other; and

WHEREAS, A strike occurred in the granite industry, which lasted several months; and

WHEREAS, When this strike was settled, the Quarry Workers' International Officers insisted upon agreements being signed with their International Union for Engineers; and

WHEREAS, The local unions in Barre, Vt., and Concord, N. H., insisted upon engineers joining their local union, this being done under the direction of their international officers; and

WHEREAS, The above named action was in direct violation of the agreement entered into; and

WHEREAS, When this matter was called to the attention of President Gompers and a conference was asked for, the representatives of the Quarry Workers refused to meet in conference, and from January, 1923, up to the first of May of that year continual correspondence was kept up by President Gompers, trying to bring about a conference at any time or place agreeable to the Quarry Workers; and

WHEREAS, Such failure to meet showed an entire disregard on the part of the Quarry Workers for the agreement entered into, and disrespect to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the Quarry Workers' International Union be and is hereby ordered to notify the firms in Barre, Vt., and Concord, N. H., that the Engineers' Local Unions in those states have a perfect right to sign agreements

for the employment of engineers in the quarries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to notify the Quarry Workers' International Union that the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has jurisdiction over men engaged in the operation of engines in quarries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of the Quarry Workers' International Officers not notifying the firms in Barre, Vt., and Concord, N. H., about the rights of the engineers' locals in those places, the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to send such notice to the firms involved.

Referred to Committee on Adjustments.

Resolution No. 56—By E. J. Tracy, of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association 11773, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The organization of the office workers throughout the country is a thing to be greatly desired, due to the intolerable conditions under which they toil; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has throughout the United States and Canada more than nine hundred central bodies which can be utilized in this move; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to direct letters to the officers of the central bodies requesting the assistance of their organization committee in an effort to organize a local of office workers, if none now exists in their city; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all national and international officers, organizers and delegates are requested to have such work as may need to be done for them performed where possible by a member of an office workers' union.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Chas. H. Moyer of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers:

WHEREAS, Safety laws covering the operation of deep mines in the State of California have been inferior to the general standard set by other Western mining states; and

WHEREAS, The Argonaut mine disaster, with a loss of over forty lives, forcibly called attention to the urgent need for strengthening the safety laws in the mining industry; and

WHEREAS, The recent session of the California Legislature passed two bills especially designed to prevent a recurrence of the horrors incident to the Argonaut mine disaster; and

WHEREAS, Both of the safety meas-

ures referred to were vetoed by the present Governor of California without any reason or explanation whatsoever; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in 43d Annual Convention assembled, that we urge the labor movement and the citizenship of California generally, notwithstanding the veto of the Governor, to continue their efforts for better safety laws and greater protection for the workers employed in underground workings.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Dennis Lane and C. S. Hartwig of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America:

WHEREAS, Organization of the workers in the meat-packing and stockyards industry of America was virtually destroyed in the winter of 1921-22, after making a noble struggle to preserve the standards that had been established by an organized effort of the workers; and

WHEREAS, Many of these workers were never allowed to return to their places in the industry, eliminating those most active in their organization and forcing them to obtain employment elsewhere; and

WHEREAS, The industry is one of America's basic industries, the standards of labor there employed reflecting upon the workers in other trades, we believe the American labor movement should make every effort to assist the packing-house and stockyard workers to rebuild their organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention adopt and promote a plan that will assist the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen in their efforts to reorganize the workers engaged in America's great meat-packing plants and stockyard centers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Flore, Sullivan, Koveiski and Farrell, of the H. & R. E. I. A. & B. I. L. of A.:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor conceived the plan of establishing special departments for the national and international unions whose members are working in the large basic industries, for the purpose of promoting harmony, efficiency and advancement of the common interests of the membership of such departments; and

WHEREAS, The food industry is one of the largest and most important basic industries of the countries covered by the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor, and there are millions of workers in this industry who

could be organized and benefited by the establishment of a separate department to care for their common interests and welfare; and

WHEREAS, The present membership of the national and international unions eligible to form such a department is greatly handicapped in the building up of their respective organizations, through the lack of an agency to unify their policies, deal with their specific problems, and promote co-operation in whatever enterprise they may undertake that requires a unity of plans and a coordination of forces and means to bring the same to fruition and success; and

WHEREAS, The General Executive Board of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America were instructed by their recent convention held in the City of Chicago to make proposals to the governing bodies and conventions of all national and international unions eligible to affiliate with the food industry department, for the holding of a general conference of their representatives to consider the advisability of establishing, and to prepare plans for the formation of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 43d Convention of American Federation of Labor that we again reaffirm our faith in the efficacy of such a department; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use his good offices to bring about such conference or conferences and to co-operate in every way possible consistent with his many other duties to bring about a formation of such a department as an integral part of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate O. R. Hartwig of the Oregon State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In June, 1924, the present laws governing immigration will expire; and

WHEREAS, Labor, as pointed out by the Executive Council's report, should make every effort to prevent those who would flood our country with cheap foreign labor from doing so; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby demand that Congress pass a law suspending immigration for a period of five years, at the end of said time a general naturalization day to take place for those who are fit to become citizens, and those who are not fit to be deported at once,

and provision to be made for those who have wives and children in foreign lands, who have become citizens.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates J. W. Kline, W. G. Powlesland, of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Dropforgers and Helpers:

WHEREAS, On July 26, 1921, in the City of New York, after an investigation of the controversy between the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Dropforgers and Helpers, and the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union, by the representative of the American Federation of Labor, Brother Hugh Frayne, an agreement was entered into and signed by the duly accredited representatives of the above International Organizations. That agreement also bore the signature of Brother Hugh Frayne as the representative of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, That agreement was not at any time complied with by the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union, and later repudiated entirely; and

WHEREAS, At the Cincinnati convention Resolution No. 80 was introduced by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Dropforgers and Helpers, which was referred to the adjustment committee, and their recommendation to the convention was that the controversy be referred back to the representative of the American Federation of Labor, Brother Hugh Frayne, to more clearly define his decision. The convention adopted the report of the committee. Brother Frayne later submitted his decision to the Executive Council, clearly defined, and the same was adopted, and appears on Page 109 of their printed report to this convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the charter of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' Union be revoked, unless they comply with this decision before November 15, 1923.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate W. E. Hulsbeck of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The best interests of organized labor demand that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation shall by affiliation become members of their respective State Federations; and

WHEREAS, The machinery provided by the American Federation of Labor Constitution seems to be and is inadequate to compel that solidarity so necessary to the success of the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended to contain the following prin-

ciple: "That National and International organizations shall compel all Local Unions under their jurisdiction to affiliate with their respective State Federations of Labor under pain of suspension of charter.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Morris Sigman, Louis E. Langer, Louis Pinkofsky, Max Amdur, Harry Greenberg, Luigi Antonini, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Fascista reaction in Italy has ruthlessly murdered thousands of men, women and children of the working class, burned hundreds of labor temples, destroyed scores of labor papers and other property, imprisoned tens of thousands of union men without cause, substituting the oligarchic rule of a handful of adventurers and marauders to the democratic form of the state, and made it virtually a crime to belong to a labor union; and

WHEREAS, Having practically destroyed the Italian labor movement, the Fascisti now seek to extend their brutal union-smashing activities to the rest of the world, being especially anxious to get a foothold in America, where Fascisti bands operating under direct orders from Italy are already in existence, encouraged by the labor-hating elements here and actually attempting to substitute Fascista organizations to the bona fide labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The spread of Fascism in America represents a dread menace calling for uncompromising action by organized labor, whose very foundations and source of power it seeks to undermine and destroy; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 43d Annual Convention assembled in the City of Portland, Oregon, abhors and condemns every manifestation of Fascism, and calls upon all affiliated unions to combat its importation into the United States under any guise or form whatsoever; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does endorse and grant its fullest moral support to the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America in its unremitting drive against Fascism and all its nefarious connotations of strike-breaking, thuggery and ruffianism and asserts its readiness to cooperate with it to protect especially the Italian-speaking members of American Union Labor from the poisonous taint of this international plague.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates J. H. Sylvester, A. J. Pickett, J. Louie England, Wade Shurtleff, P. J. Kelly, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship

Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees is at the present time, and has for the past three years, experienced considerable difficulty in forcing the Pennsylvania Railroad to recognize this organization as a representative of the employees, notwithstanding the fact that this organization does represent a majority of the class or craft properly represented by the organization and employees on the said railroad, and

WHEREAS, The Pennsylvania Railroad has deliberately, and for the express purpose of disrupting this organization upon its properties, refused to apply to the employees represented upon its lines such favorable decisions as have been handed down by the United States Railroad Labor Board upon the application of this organization, and has defiantly refused to comply with the provisions of the transportation act of 1920, all of which has had for its purpose the obliteration of the organization from its properties; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Justice did take steps to force the employees on various railroads throughout the United States to observe and respect the decisions of the United States Railroad Labor Board through court action; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the United States Government is greater than the Pennsylvania Railroad, in that the government of the people has the power, if its properly constituted officers will exercise their prerogatives of office and their duty to the people, by forcing and requiring the Pennsylvania Railroad to observe the supreme law of the land; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct the President of the Federation, and he, together with the Executive Council, to call in person upon the President of the United States and the Attorney-General, and present a demand to the Department of Justice that it institute such measures and take such steps as will force the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to respect the supreme law of the land and decisions of such tribunals as may be created by the Congress of the people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled call upon every citizen of the United States to observe the lawlessness of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and that organized labor as a whole take such steps as will forever brand the Pennsylvania Railroad as the "premier law violator of the age."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department:

WHEREAS, The Federal Eight-Hour

Law, enacted in 1862 and amended several times since that date, has been narrowly interpreted and its application confined to but few contracts let by the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, It was the intention of the American Federation of Labor to have this law apply to all contracts let by the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, There is no guarantee that the law will be made to apply to any contracts let by the United States Government other than armor and armament, both of which are especially mentioned in the law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to cause the present bill to be amended providing for a more general application of the law to contracts let by the United States Government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The officers of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. have had introduced in Congress a bill for the purpose of relieving unemployment among civilian workers of the Government, to remove the financial incentive to war, to stabilize production in Federal industrial plants, to promote the economical and efficient operation of these plants, and for other purposes; and

WHEREAS, The bill known as H. R. 10967, which provided that the Government navy yards and arsenals, through their proper officials, should have the opportunity to bid upon all contracts being let by the Government, provided such navy yards or arsenals are prepared to perform the work and have the necessary machinery and equipment to do such work, and if such navy yards and arsenals are the lowest bidders for such contracts, the same should be awarded them, failed of passage in the 67th Congress; and

WHEREAS, We believe that legislation such as that proposed in the above mentioned bill is still essential in the interest of economy in government operations and stabilization of employment in government industrial plants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the principles embodied in the bill, H. R. 10967, and direct its officers to continue their efforts to secure favorable action by Congress upon this legislative subject; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. desire at this time to express their appreciation of the splendid assistance already rendered by the officers of the A. F. of L. and request their continued co-operation in an effort to secure the enactment of this or similar legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The future development of the United States will be dependent in a great measure upon the efficiency of its civilian employees; and

WHEREAS, In the Civil Service there has been established a merit system of competitive examinations founded upon the theory that service to the country in a civil capacity should be an opportunity of public usefulness, open fairly and equally to all competent citizens; and

WHEREAS, Laws have been enacted by Congress (Legislative, Executive and Judicial Act of Aug. 23, 1912, Census Act of March 3, 1919, and Deficiency Act of July 11, 1919) giving a sweeping preference to all honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines, or their widows, and to the wives of injured soldiers, sailors and marines who themselves are not qualified to hold such positions; and

WHEREAS, In addition to the laws giving preference to veterans in the matter of appointments to and retention in positions in the civil service, an executive order was issued by the President under date of March 3, 1923, extending the preference allowed under previous executive orders, so that it will apply in the matter of retention in the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby records its opposition to any weakening of the civil service merit system through the creation by law or otherwise of a preferred group, believing as we do that legislation creating class distinctions and preferences, especially based upon military service, is not consonant with the ideals of this Nation, whose founders declared against the military being superior to the civil power and for the equality of opportunity for all men; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that those who serve the Nation in time of war deserve much from a grateful country. We believe it is only proper that those citizens who rendered hazardous service in time of national peril should be rewarded in a fitting manner. We cannot, however, regard it a fitting reward of patriotic service to grant to those who have rendered military service privileges which can but result in the impairment of the civil service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate John Donlin, of the Operative Plasterers:

WHEREAS, There has been enacted in several states and possessions of the United States of America legislation termed workmen's compensation; and

WHEREAS, The ambiguous phrasing of such laws in many instances defeats the

intent and purpose for which they were enacted, and

WHEREAS, The many and various conflicting interpretations of these laws result in both faulty decisions and delay of enforcement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the city of Portland, Oregon, does hereby declare in favor of amending all existing workmen's compensation laws where said laws exist to the extent of incorporating the following:

First—Exclusive state fund insurance for workmen's compensation and the elimination of all other forms.

Second—Lump sum payments for death and permanent disability.

Third—Incorporating loss of hearing in both ears as a permanent injury.

Fourth—Eliminating the waiting period and making all injuries compensatable from date of occurrence.

Fifth—Incorporating payments for all medical and surgical treatment and appliances necessary to recovery, including artificial parts in addition to all other devices required during the life of the injured.

Sixth—Recognizing claims of husband or wife when both are employed and the claim of either or their children when not living together in all cases except when divorced.

Seventh—Permitting injured employees to select their own physician or surgeon.

Eighth—Prohibiting compulsory examination before employment and removing age limits in connection with same.

Ninth—Requiring compensation payments to be based upon seventy-five per cent of daily wage at time of injury and requiring employer to give employees statement in writing at time of employment, setting forth wage rate and further statement as to board, lodging, transportation or any other expense incurred.

Tenth—Requiring that notice of wage reduction or increase be mailed workmen's compensation commission by employer at time same goes into effect.

Eleventh—Providing for payment of flat funeral expense of at least two hundred and fifty dollars in addition to all other expense incurred in cases where body is transported for interment.

Twelfth—Providing that employees under the age of twenty-one years shall be considered as minors.

Thirteenth—Providing for payments of expense incurred by claimant when appearing at hearings of commission when claims are contested by employer.

The foregoing resolution was referred by the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. to the American Federation of Labor for consideration and final action.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate D. A. McVey of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, At a regular meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, August 19, 1923, a resolution was there introduced proposing that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by striking out Section 8 of Article III, and the Executive Council be instructed to take the necessary steps to form a political party based upon the trade unions, and "including all working class political organizations"; and

WHEREAS, During the discussion it was stated that the aforesaid resolution had emanated from the Workers' Party and the so-called Trade Union Educational League, and that its purpose was to inveigle the Chicago Federation of Labor into an approval of the outcome of the conference (which action was repudiated by the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States) held in Chicago, July 3-4, 1923, wherein irresponsible groups masquerading under the title "working class political organizations, led by the Workers' Party and the so-called Trade Union Educational League, sought to wreck the Farmer-Labor Party and did actually usurp its title; and

WHEREAS, In an effort to make it clear that the Chicago Federation of Labor was not in accord with the wrecking party organized at the July conference under the name of Federated Farmer-Labor Party, the committee to which the resolution had been referred recommended that it be amended by striking out the reference to working class political organizations and inserting "farmer and other organizations in harmony with the organized labor movement," this change being made and adopted by a vote of ninety-nine to twenty-nine at the meeting, against the protest of the introducers of the resolution; and

WHEREAS, At the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, where said resolution was introduced according to instructions and there defeated by a vote of four hundred and fifty-six to sixty-five, advocates of the Workers' Party, the alleged Federated Farmer-Labor Party and the so-called Trade Union Educational League indicated that the change made in the original resolution by the Chicago Federation of Labor was of no consequence, and that the amended resolution would serve their ends, this being a purpose contrary to the intentions of the Chicago Federation of Labor when the resolution was adopted; and

WHEREAS, The delegate representing the Chicago Federation of Labor at the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor is still under instructions in accord with the action of the meeting of August 19, therefore, with the above statement of facts in relation thereto, the resolution is herewith presented for the consideration of the

43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, as follows:

WHEREAS, In the struggle between the organized workers and the employers it has become more and more apparent that the power of the government is being used on the side of the bosses, as witnessed by the infamous Daugherty injunction against the railroad shopmen, the abolition of the Federal Child Labor Law and the Women's Minimum Wage Law, and many other similar acts; and

WHEREAS, To protect our interests we workers must so organize ourselves politically that we can secure strong representation in the various governmental bodies, which are now almost entirely controlled by the employing interests; and

WHEREAS, To so protect our political interests we must have a political party of our own, the prevailing political policy of labor being incapable of getting the best results; and

WHEREAS, In many other countries the workers, notably in Great Britain, have built up powerful labor parties which exert tremendous influence in the respective governments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, declares that labor must form a political party of its own, based upon the trade unions, and farmer and other organizations in harmony with the organized labor movement, and herewith instructs the Executive Council to take the necessary steps to form such a party; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to permit this action, the A. F. of L. constitution shall be herewith amended by striking out Sec. 8, Art. III; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the Chicago Federation of Labor to the 1923 conventions of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and American Federation of Labor stand instructed to introduce and vote for the above resolution in these conventions.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates Morris Sigman, Louis E. Langer, Louis Pinkofsky, Max Amdur, Harry Greenberg, Luigi Antonini, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The attitude of antagonism toward organized workers by the courts in a great many jurisdictions in the United States, notably in the cities of New York and Chicago, has manifested itself lately in an ever-growing number of sweeping and severe injunctions against labor unions engaged in legitimate struggles to maintain living standards; and

WHEREAS, Such injunctions have in some instances been accompanied by opinions from the bench proclaiming it a crime and a conspiracy for organized workers to peacefully persuade their fellow workers to join a labor union on the spurious ground that these unorgan-

ized workers have been forced by their employers to sign, upon entering employment, fake agreements binding them against becoming members of organized labor, and making such peaceful activity punishable by fines and imprisonment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Portland, Oregon, emphatically and solemnly protest against this alarming practice of the courts, which menaces the very existence of American workers as freemen; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Executive Council of the Federation once again to take up this paramount question of injunction abuses by the courts and to do its utmost, in conjunction and co-operation with all affiliated organizations, to check this intolerable practice by legislative relief or otherwise.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The declared intention of Congress, Government officials, associations and organizations of every kind and character to force a reduction in living costs, the purchasing power of the dollar has not increased; and

WHEREAS, It is common knowledge that high living costs can be traced direct to profiteering; and

WHEREAS, The profiteers in the necessities of life and moving along in the even tenor of their ways, continuing their nefarious practices without much opposition or hindrance from those in public life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to use their best efforts to bring to the attention of the public the truthful causes of the high living costs; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to bring the subject matter of this resolution to the attention of the President of the United States and request that he take such steps as he deem necessary to bring about reduction in living costs.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, William A. Campbell, R. S. Sexton, of the Cigar-makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Fascist movement in Italy has, in the words of its leader, Benito Mussolini, declared that the liberties of the people of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries must be obliterated, and that in our time power and

force strides over the decomposed body of liberty; and

WHEREAS, The Fascisti, under the dictatorship of Mussolini, has by force, violence and tyrannous oppression taken possession of the Government of Italy, and taken from the people the rights of freedom of assemblage, freedom of press, freedom of speech and the denial of workmen to cease work (strike) in defense of any furtherance of their rights and interests as wage earners, and in the process of such force countless outrages have been committed upon the lives of the Italian wage earners; and

WHEREAS, Attempts have been made to transplant the Fascist movement in the Republic of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The American people, while striving to eliminate any wrong or injustice which may prevail in America, yet holding that under our democratic form of government we have in our own hands the means and the power to eliminate the wrong and injustice and establish right and justice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, denounce in immeasurable terms the establishment of any form of tyranny, either in Italy or any other country, under whatsoever name it may be launched; that we protest against any movement having for its purpose the imposition of tyranny or autocracy in America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Frank Walsh of the California State Federation of Labor:

RESOLVED, That Section 2, Article XI, Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"All National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall make it mandatory upon their local unions to join chartered Central Labor bodies, departments and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. The American Federation of Labor shall make the same requirement of all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Morris Sigman, Louis E. Langer, Louis Pinkofsky, Max Amdur, Harry Greenberg, Luigi Antonini, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Ever since the founding of the republic it has been the policy of the United States to offer an asylum to all victims of racial, religious and political persecution in the Old World; and

WHEREAS, The general political, industrial and moral upheaval of Europe,

following upon the heels of the devastating world war, has produced many renewed outbreaks of religious intolerance, racial oppression and religious persecution, driving thousands of unfortunate men and women from their native land, the American Federation of Labor, assembled in its 43d Annual Convention at Portland, Oregon, hereby declares that, regardless of any provision of the immigration laws of this country now in force or hereafter to be adopted, and of any restrictions contained in such laws, the United States should at all times maintain the glorious tradition of keeping its doors open to the victims of racial, religious and political persecution in all lands.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Frank Walsh of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The opportunity for organizing women's auxiliaries of the labor unions is particularly auspicious in the State of California; and

WHEREAS, Because of the fact that wives of union men hold the majority of purchasing power in their hands, the need for the education of women in the principles, ideals and purposes of organized labor is apparent to everyone, and the particular work should receive all the support possible; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council be authorized to assign, if possible, a paid woman organizer for the State of California who can devote her entire time and attention to perfecting and centralizing this particular work.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates W. W. Britton and H. C. Diehl of the Metal Polishers' International Union:

The Metal Polishers' International Union, in their 15th International Convention, from September 10 to 15, 1923, inclusive, directed their representatives to submit the following resolution to the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The H. P. Snyder Manufacturing Company of Little Falls, New York, makers of bicycles, whose entire output is distributed by the D. P. Harris Company of 26 Murray Street, New York City, forced thirty-six members of the Metal Polishers' International Union out on January 20, 1922, to resist a second reduction in wages within a period of six months, all efforts to prevent the strike and effect a settlement since it occurred having been refused by this company and the strike is still on; and

WHEREAS, The Winchester Repeating Arms Company of New Haven, Conn., forced forty-nine members of

the Metal Polishers' International Union on strike September 4, 1919, by refusing to grant an increase in wages to conform to the union scale (this company also makes the Barney & Berry skate), all efforts to adjust this strike having met with an obstinate refusal on the part of this firm, which continues to operate a non-union shop; and

WHEREAS, The Whitehead & Hoag Company of Newark, N. J., manufacturer of badges, lapel buttons novelties, etc., attempted to reduce wages of the members of the Metal Polishers' International Union along with a dozen or more crafts of other National and International Unions, the refusal to accede to this cut in wages forcing a strike there on May 1, 1922, and the strike is still on; and

WHEREAS, These strikes are still being prosecuted with relentless vigor on the part of the union men on strike, and in view of the fact that every effort was made to adjust the difficulties before the strikes occurred, and that every possible pressure has been brought to bear since these strikes started to effect an honorable adjustment of the same, which in each and every case was met with a point-blank refusal on the part of these firms; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to issue a circular, setting forth these grievances, to all Central Labor Unions, Building Trades Councils, State Federations of Labor, and International Unions, with the further request that the International Unions in turn give the matter as much publicity as possible, either by circularizing their local unions or through the columns of their official publications.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Luis Munoz Marin of Federal Labor Union 17712, of San Juan, Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, It has been persistently alleged for the past ten years by workers, newspaper men and others, native and non-native, coming out of Venezuela, that the present government keeps possession of the power of the state in that country by violence and tyrannous oppression, that it has rendered null the right to suffrage, the freedom of speech, of assembly, and of organization, and denies to the workers the right to cease work (strike) in defense of their just aspirations for a higher standard of living; and

WHEREAS, It is further alleged that the methods employed to prevent effective protests against that tyranny are in many cases more inhuman than those employed for similar purposes during the darkest centuries of the history of mankind, and include the confinement of free men, without any proc-

ess of law whatever, in infected cells and dungeons for indefinite periods of time, with iron balls chained to their ankles; the use of the rack; hanging by the toes, the fingers, and by parts of the body unmentionable in a convention of decent American workmen, and other revolting tortures; and

WHEREAS, It is further alleged that among those arbitrarily imprisoned by the present government of Venezuela there have been American citizens, inscribed, when at all, under foreign names and ascribed to nationalities other than that of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is a member of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, an organization founded to carry to the sister republics of the American hemisphere the fight for better economic and civil conditions for the workers that has been so conspicuously successful in the United States, and as the most powerful body in the P.-A. F. of L., the A. F. of L., is depended upon by the oppressed masses of those republics for moral support in their nascent struggle against economic and civil disqualifications; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Portland on the first day of October, 1923, that it denounces in the strongest terms the establishment and permanence of any sort of despotism in Venezuela or in any other country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention instructs the President of the A. F. of L. to request the central office of the P.-A. F. of L. at Washington, D. C., to make a thorough investigation of the allegations embodied in this resolution; that, if the result of the investigation carried out by the P.-A. F. of L. confirms in a detailed manner the allegations generally embodied in this resolution, the President of the A. F. of L. is instructed hereby to appear before the President of the United States, and his Secretary of State, and place before them the facts, with the request that they, as constitutional executive powers of a Christian nation, give consideration to the convenience of withdrawing diplomatic contact with the present Government of Venezuela; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That, provided the result of the investigation by the central office of the P.-A. F. of L. confirms the allegations embodied in this resolution, the convention hereby instructs the delegates of the A. F. of L. to the forthcoming Convention of the P.-A. F. of L. to present to that convention the subject matter of this resolution, and all the findings related thereto that may at that time be of the knowledge of said delegates, with a view that the denunciation of and protest against the present inquisitorial

Government of Venezuela may be accentuated by the great masses of organized labor in Mexico, Central and South America, as well as in the United States, and that the workers in our sister republics to the south may be urged to present to their respective governments requests similar to the one the A. F. of L. shall have presented to the Government of the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the executive offices of the Latin-American labor organizations affiliated with the P.-A. F. of L., and to the labor and liberal press of the United States and the Latin-American republics, where labor organizations affiliated with the P.-A. F. of L. function.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Jeremiah H. Driscoll of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The New England Telephone Company, enjoying a complete monopoly over the giving of telephone service in this and other states which it serves, has persistently and unreasonably, and at the cost of public hardship, refused to submit to unbiased scrutiny through arbitration the justice of its recent refusal to grant increased wages and improved working conditions to its operating employees; and

WHEREAS, It is at the present time further demonstrating its contemptuous disregard for the public interest through its policy of locking out competent operating and supervisory employees and subjecting the public to the harassing inconvenience and hardship of the miserably inadequate grade of service being given by incompetent forces; and

WHEREAS, In view of these circumstances there is grave reason to doubt whether the valuable stewardship which has been granted this corporation by the people is being administered in a manner which serves the public welfare; and

WHEREAS, The question of the immediate restoration of decent service is a matter of great public moment to the industrial, commercial and social life of our communities; and

WHEREAS, The problems of the relation of telephone rates to telephone wages, the greatly increased cost of telephone service in recent years, the surtaxes devised in the way of installation and removal charges, the annual tribute paid by this company of several million dollars to the American Bell, the great salaries of executives enormously increased during the years in which wage increases have been arrogantly denied to the working employees, all challenge public concern; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Convention of the American Federation of Labor consider the matter of an investigation by the Federal Trade Commission of the nation-wide telephone monopoly.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Jeremiah F. Driscoll of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There exists great need of a more active agitation for all union labels, shop cards and buttons; and

WHEREAS, The best way to reach all the workers with union label propaganda is through the official journals of the International Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all International Unions be requested to provide for a space in each issue of their journals in which the consistent patronage of all union labels, shop cards and buttons shall be advocated.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Jeremiah F. Driscoll of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is affiliated with the Workers' Education Bureau; and

WHEREAS, The Bureau proposes to publish a Workers' Bookshelf of Books on all subjects for the education of the organized workers; and

WHEREAS, The volumes so far published have been printed on non-union paper; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in all future volumes published by the Workers' Education Bureau nothing but union watermarked paper be used; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor representatives on the Workers' Education Bureau see to it that this is carried out.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Frank Walsh of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is now existing a jurisdictional dispute between the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, It is the earnest desire of the organized labor movement in California that this dispute be settled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby declares its intention to grant a rehearing of the case of the International Brotherhood

of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, with a view to settling the question at issue.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department:

WHEREAS, A sound basis for the determination of wages is fundamental not only to labor, but to society as a whole; and

WHEREAS, There was introduced in the 67th Congress a bill (H. R. 11956) "to create a board of adjustment which constitutes a wage board and board of appeals for employees of navy yards and arsenals, and to define its powers and duties"; and

WHEREAS, Under the provisions of the above mentioned bill the following relevant factors would be considered in the determination of wage rates:

(a) The maintenance of a standard of living for the worker and his family which will insure health and decency.

(b) The relation between wages and the cost of living.

(c) The average change in per capita productivity of manufacturing industries in the United States over a period covering the preceding ten years.

(d) The progress made in per capita production in manufactures in the United States since 1900 which has not already been reflected in increased wages.

(e) The training and skill required.

(f) The degree of responsibility, and

(g) Inequalities of increases in wages or of treatment the result of previous wage orders or adjustments; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has for some time been devoting some attention to a study of wage theories without as yet having reached definite conclusions upon the subject; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the principles of wage determination as set forth in the bill (H. R. 11956) would, in their application to the employees at the Federal navy yards and arsenals, constitute an improvement over any method yet tried, and if put into effect would furnish a practical experiment from which a constructive policy could be formulated in connection with this subject; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention place itself on record as favoring the enactment by Congress of legislation similar to that proposed in H. R. 11956 introduced in the 67th Congress; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the principles contained in this proposed measure in so far as same shall apply to the industrial establish-

ments of the government, such endorsement, however, to be considered as a recognition of a constructive attempt to work out an improved method of wage determination and such endorsement to be considered as subject to the later adoption of any policy which may result from the Executive Council's research and study of the question.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates George W. Perkins of the Cigarmakers' International Union, and Matthew Woll of the International Photo-Engravers' Union:

WHEREAS, Group insurance has made phenomenal progress during recent years and is being used by unfair employers as a means of alienating the affiliation of wage earners from their respective trade unions under the cloak of philanthropy and the plea of paternalism; and

WHEREAS, It is believed that group insurance is subject to efficient use by trade unions, not alone to combat the misuse of these devices by unfair employers but to give added strength and stability to the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, There are many trade unions carrying on insurance or death benefit features of some kind and character, and a number of them having provided for group insurance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to conduct or to appoint someone to conduct an investigation of all forms of insurance and death benefit systems now provided by National and International Unions; that this investigation include group insurance plans and other insurance features used by employers to provide insurance for their employees; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized, with the approval of the Executive Council, to advise the National and International Unions of the findings and recommendations resulting out of this investigation, so that these beneficial features of the trade union movement of America may be strengthened and solidified so that a unified and intensified policy of defense and of aggression may be directed against the misuse of group insurance by those who would weaken or destroy the trade union movement or prevent its full growth and development.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, William A.

Campbell and R. S. Sexton of the Cigar-makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Labor conditions in the Philippine Islands are, as reported, far from those which human beings within the jurisdiction of the United States should enjoy; and

WHEREAS, The Philippine Islands is the only possession of the United States which has not so far been visited by an authorized committee of the organized labor movement of our country; and

WHEREAS, The introduction of many of the products of the Philippine Islands into the states duty free comes in direct competition with the higher paid working men and women of the mainland, thus making it practically impossible for employees and independent manufacturers to meet competition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby, authorized and instructed to appoint a special committee for the purpose of a general survey of working and living conditions of the workers of the Philippine Islands, and report its findings to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates Wm. Hannon, M. F. Tighe, Wm. H. Johnston, Chas. H. Moyer, J. A. Franklin, J. P. Noonan, D. P. Haggerty, Edw. J. Evans, J. W. Kline, Andrew Furuseth, A. M. Huddell, Tim Healy, J. W. Morton, and P. J. Morrin:

WHEREAS, At a meeting of the Iron and Steel Institute held in the city of New York a few months ago, a declaration was made by the steel trust officials to the effect that the twelve-hour day in the steel industry would continue indefinitely; and

WHEREAS, Despite the protests of newspaper editors, church societies, influential bodies and citizens, the steel trust officials gave no indication of a change in this policy until the Executive Council of National and International Organizations in the Steel Industry, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, issued a declaration, after their meeting in Chicago, on June 20, 1923, to the effect that a campaign against the twelve-hour workday and for organization of the workers in the steel industry would be inaugurated immediately; and

WHEREAS, Immediately following this declaration the steel trust officials announced that they had decided to change their policy and would put into effect in the steel mills in this country the eight-hour workday in lieu of the twelve-hour day, and the three-shift system in lieu of the two-shift system; and

WHEREAS, Despite this action on the part of the steel trust officials, the campaign for organization was inaugurated and was enthusiastically received by the steel mill workers, which caused the steel trust officials to make further concessions in the form of increased wages; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that in order to successfully organize the steel industry it will be necessary to continue this campaign indefinitely to the end that the steel trust officials may be compelled to place the entire industry on a real eight-hour basis, and to the end that this industry may be thoroughly organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations, pledge its support to this campaign, and that International Unions with jurisdiction in this industry are urged to place active organizers in the field, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor also be urged to place active organizers in the field and at the disposal of the Executive Council of National and International Organizations in the Steel Industry, to the end that the campaign may be carried on without interruption until such time as the steel industry is one hundred per cent organized.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Paul Scharrenberg of the International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, The terrible calamity which recently befell the people of Japan has justly aroused universal sympathy throughout America; and

WHEREAS, There is serious danger that this sympathy for a stricken people is likely to be guided into channels that have always obstructed labor's demand for the effective exclusion of Asiatics; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in 43d Annual Convention assembled, that we hereby reaffirm our previous declaration upon immigration legislation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we again urge Congress to hereafter deny admission, as immigrants and permanent residents, to all aliens who are ineligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Paul Scharrenberg of the International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, The past two years have witnessed an increasing tendency among American shipowners to disregard and violate laws enacted to protect life and property at sea; and

WHEREAS, The general disregard of safety laws has been accompanied by an organized effort on the part of the shipowners to discourage American citizens from serving in the American Merchant Marine and to replace self-respecting,

competent and efficient citizen seamen by Orientals and other cheap and servile labor; and

WHEREAS, The means adopted by the shipowners to accomplish their purpose is the maintenance of private shipping offices, compulsory registration of seamen and forcing each seaman to carry a blacklisting discharge book, which has been properly branded as an industrial passport; and

WHEREAS, An inefficient and alien personnel in our country's Merchant Marine is a positive danger in peace and war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in 43d annual convention assembled at Portland, Oregon, October 1, 1923, that we enter our most emphatic protest against the policies now pursued by American shipowners whereby American seamen are driven into other occupations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon our Federal Government to enforce all laws enacted to provide greater safety of life at sea and do everything possible to develop a personnel that can compete in peace and defend our country in war; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Department of Commerce, and to Congress when it shall assemble.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, D. P. Haggerty and James Murray:

WHEREAS, Several years ago the representatives of the local and national Trade Unions representing employees of the Federal Government formed a voluntary organization known as the Joint Conference on Retirement, for the purpose of securing united action with regard to the attempt then being made to get Congress to enact a law which would provide a system of old age retirement for the civil service employees; and

WHEREAS, The Joint Conference on Retirement, as its name implies, has been merely a conference body without power to commit its constituent organizations to any specific program and has served the purpose for which it was formed, namely, that of getting a civil service retirement law placed upon the statutes, which was accomplished when the present retirement law was approved, May 22, 1920; and

WHEREAS, While excellent work has been performed under the auspices and in the name of the Joint Conference, it should always be borne in mind that it has been the Trade Union organizations which have given the Joint Conference its strength and support. Neither has this support been merely moral support; for, as a matter of fact, a great amount of the actual work which made retirement legislation possible was performed by its member organizations and their regular officers and committees and the

legislative committee and officers of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Trade Union representatives engaged in this work have had a clear understanding that the Joint Conference was merely an instrument for securing united and concerted action, others hearing and seeing only the "trade-mark" or "label" of the "Joint Conference" in connection with these activities, have, in some instances, seemed to have formed the opinion that retirement legislation was secured by an organization separate and apart from the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, In recent months there has been some effort made to develop a permanent national organization composed of local groups made up partly of trade unionists and partly of non-unionists, with the object of furthering retirement legislation; and

WHEREAS, The Trade Unions have been organized and are maintained for the purpose of securing improved conditions and protecting the interests of their members, and these unions severally and through joint action have developed ample facilities for handling retirement as well as other legislation in which the membership may have an interest; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we do not recognize any organization as representing the organized workers in any industry where such organization admits as members persons not affiliated with the Trade Union of their craft; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all trade unionists are hereby requested to refrain from making financial contributions to or assisting in the formation of any organizations designed to handle business which properly comes within the province of their Trade Union except where the proposed organization is to be confined strictly to trade unionists and has the approval of the national or international organizations affected.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates Jas. P. Noonan, Frank J. McNulty, Julia S. O'Connor, Martin Joyce, Edward Barton, H. H. Kirkland, G. M. Bugniazet:

WHEREAS, For many years the people of the United States have been of the opinion that the employment of children under the age of 16 years was not permissible by an action of Congress, but recently the Supreme Court of the United States has ruled this legislation unconstitutional; and

WHEREAS, The taking of children of this tender age into industries is sapping the very foundation of our future citizenship; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Congress shall have concurrent power, with the several States, to regulate and prohibit the employment at labor of children under 16 years of age, the several States retaining their existing powers with respect to such regulation and prohibition, subject to the limitation that no employment of any

such child made unlawful by law of the Congress shall be permitted in any State; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse this resolution and mail a copy to each member of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Peter J. Brady of the International Photo-Engravers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Community Service work maintained by the Playground and Recreation Association of America received the tentative endorsement of the American Federation of Labor at the Cincinnati Convention in 1922; and

WHEREAS, After investigation the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its February meeting, 1923, cordially approved co-operative relationship between the two organizations and pledged its moral support to the leisure time recreational and educational work of the Community Service, which has as its fine purpose the helping of cities and towns to provide adequate physical education in the schools, greater park and playground facilities and athletic fields, more community centers with opportunities for educational, musical, dramatic and art expression and for neighborhood social gatherings; and

WHEREAS, It is aimed through all these means to offset the strain and rush of modern life, promote national health and sound citizenship, overcome some of the evil effects of present day machine industry and provide a happier, richer community life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at this 1923 convention, assembled in Portland, Oregon, hereby recognizes the fundamental importance of this movement in the life of America, cordially approves the same and urges upon all international unions, central labor bodies and local unions to take the initiative or co-operate with other civic bodies in the furthering of community recreation programs, co-operate with the workers of the Playground and Recreation Association of America and with public recreation officials, invite speakers from that Association to their annual and other meetings, and open their official publications to articles on subjects pertaining to this general field of activity.

It is understood that the Playground and Recreation Association of America stands ready to help in all of this effort by means of its literature, through counsel based upon its 17 years of experience, through its field staff and in other feasible ways.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate M. J. Flynn, of the Boston Newspaper Writers' Union:

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union, by referendum vote of its membership, has relinquished jurisdiction over newspaper writers; and

WHEREAS, It is in the interests of the wage workers to welcome those employed in the news departments of weekly and daily newspapers to membership in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council are hereby directed to issue local union charters to those employed as editorial writers, desk editors, feature writers, reporters and news-gatherers employed in the news departments or contributing to the news columns of daily and weekly newspapers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their best efforts toward organizing and assisting in the organization of those employed in the news departments of daily and weekly newspapers.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate W. E. Hulsbeck of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The delegates in convention assembled have been presented with proof that the late Mrs. Mary Towles Sasseeen Wilson is the author of "Mothers' Day," which is so generally observed throughout the land; and

WHEREAS, The conception as to the authorship of the celebration of this day is credited to Miss Jarvis of Philadelphia, Pa., we urge upon all publications throughout the State of Kentucky to make necessary correction and give credit where it will fully belong; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in view of the proof as to the original founder of "Mothers' Day," we recommend the erection of a memorial chapel in Henderson, Ky., in honor of Mrs. Mary Towles Sasseeen Wilson, which shall be thrown open for religious service to all denominations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to defray the cost of such a memorial, we urge a volunteer contribution from the membership affiliated with the Kentucky State Federation of Labor first, and all civic and educational societies of our state, and that upon completion of this memorial that same be given into the care of the Henderson Historical Association; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call the attention of the A. F. of L., at its convention which is to be held in Portland, Oregon, that it may review the evidence discovered as to the author and founder of "Mothers' Day," and urge upon it their

co-operation in the purpose and object reflected herein.

Referred to Committee on State Bodies.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates Dan W. Stevens of the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, and James A. Duncan of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, One of the cardinal aims of the American Federation of Labor is to organize all wage workers, regardless of race, creed, color, or sex; and

WHEREAS, Groups of lady barbers in various cities have made repeated application for a charter in order that they might affiliate with the bona fide trade union movement, but have, up to this time, been denied the right and opportunity of such affiliation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session assembled, that the Executive Council be, and hereby is, authorized and directed to use its good offices in an effort to have the lady barbers admitted to membership in the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America; and, further, be it

RESOLVED, That in case of failure upon the part of the J. B. I. U. of A. to make provision for female workers in that organization within 60 days after the adoption of this resolution, the Executive Council is directed to grant Federal charters to such groups of lady barbers as may make application for same, subject to rules governing such applications and with the understanding that such groups shall be transferred to the J. B. I. U. of A. whenever such transfer can be arranged.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate J. E. Giles of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has declared repeatedly for the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, It is regrettable that this un-American system of government is permitted to exist in our National Capital; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention again condemns this condition and calls

on every national and international union, state branches and city central bodies to write their respective Senators and Congressmen to use every effort that a bill remedying this situation may be introduced and become a law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate W. M. Short of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The best laws cannot keep opium, morphine, cocaine and like drugs from finding entrance to any country, to the irreparable ruin of millions; and

WHEREAS, We are convinced that there is only one way of suppressing the traffic, namely, by stopping production; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we appeal to Great Britain, Persia and Turkey, as the principal seats of opium-growing, to cease growing the opium poppy; and we appeal to the United Netherlands, Peru and Bolivia, the principal growers of the coca shrub, from which cocaine is made, to cease production of the coca shrub, except in such amounts as are strictly necessary for medical and scientific purposes; and we call upon China to undertake again the extirpation of the poppy, which she undertook so successfully in 1906; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor appeal to the labor unions of Great Britain, and like organizations in other countries, asking them to urge their respective governments to take adequate action for total suppression of these ruinous drugs, except so far as they can be utilized for strictly medical and scientific purposes; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to lay these resolutions before the Government at Washington, requesting their transmission through regular channels to the various nations herein named.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

The chairmen of the several committees made announcements regarding the time and place of meetings, and at 12:20 p. m., under suspension of the rules, and upon motion of Delegate Mooney, the Convention adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, October 3.

Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Portland, Oregon, October 3, 1923.

The Convention was called to order at 10 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees

Gillmore, Boyer, Fitzgerald, England, Holtschult, Austin, Greenstein, Keegan, Bryan, Askew, Milliman, Carroll, Hogan, Gorman, C. S. Hartwig, Barrett, J. J. Ryan, Crawford, J. L. Lewis, Murray, Kennedy, Mooney, Farrington, J. Moore, E. Canavan, Carey, Parker, Hannah, Berry, J. P. Burke, Launer, Freil, Funder Burk, Cone, Thomas, Walden, Kohn, Jewell, Valentino, J. H. Walker, Altman, Fisher, F. E. Morris, Robinson, Hammer, Finley, Van Patten, Sturm, O'Dell, Andler, McSpadden, Keckler, Sims, Framp-ton, Martin, W. T. Allen, Bower, Horrigan, C. S. Evans, Meyer, R. T. Wood, Pettipiece, Alter, Lyden, Jacques, Mez-zacapo, Rogers, Rincker, Sesma, Belk-nap, Sherman.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram and communication:

New York, October 2, 1923.
Samuel Gompers, President A. F. of L.,
Convention Hall, Portland, Ore.

Please convey to the delegates my greetings. I hope that the 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor will be fruitful to the cause of organized labor. I also hope that the Convention will seriously consider the question of workers' education under trade union auspices and will discuss ways and means of advancing its progress. Yours for education.
FANNIA M. COHN,
Vice-President Workers' Education Bu-reau of America.

September 24, 1923.

The American Federation of Labor,
Portland, Oregon.

Dear Friends:

I desire, through the instrumentality of Hon. Daniel J. McDonald, delegate, to extend to the members of the American Federation of Labor an especially hearty and cordial invitation that they may hold the Convention of 1924 within the city of Boston.

Our city is marked in the possession of those historic shrines which are indicative of the early battles for the freedom of the American nation, and in the event that Boston may be chosen as the convention city I assure you the most eventful convention in the history of your honored organization.

The city of Boston will be pleased to contribute the amount of \$10,000 to the convention fund of the American Federation of Labor, in the event that Boston

may be chosen as the city of the convention. Sincerely yours,

JAMES M. CURLEY,
Mayor.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Kasten, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

We recommend that George W. Briggs be seated to act as alternate delegate for the Illinois State Federation of Labor in the place of John H. Walker, who will be delayed in reaching the Convention.

We further recommend the seating of J. A. Madsen as a delegate representing the International Longshoremen's Association.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Franklin, Boilermakers, requested that the name of Joseph Reed be substituted for that of Charles F. Scott as a delegate representing that organization, Mr. Scott being unable to attend.

The request was granted and the substitution made.

Secretary Morrison announced that a request had been made that the name of Daniel J. McDonald be substituted for that of Martin P. Higgins as a member of the Committee on Laws.

No objection was offered and the substitution was made.

Delegate Hartwig, chairman of the local arrangements committee, announced that 100 automobiles had been provided for the Columbia River highway trip and that all plans for the dinner at the end of the trip had been completed, subject to the desires of the Convention.

President Gompers informed the delegates that he had been advised by expert chauffeurs and others that, due to the first rain of the season, the highway trip was a rather dangerous one, and that the trip could be made with a greater degree of safety at some later time.

Delegate Doyle, Painters, moved that the local committee be notified of the desire of the Convention to postpone the trip until the weather conditions permit

of a safe journey. The motion was seconded and carried.

Reports of committees were called for, and none was prepared to report at this time.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Mr. J. J. Handsaker, representing the Near East Relief. Mr. Handsaker said, in part:

President Gompers and Members of the Convention: I had hoped to be able to tell you at this Convention of a plan we have had in mind for years and which we hoped soon to be able to carry out, and that was that we were going to give all of our time to the development of the children in the Near East in our care, and not merely to the work of simply saving their lives, but only yesterday I received a letter from our national executive secretary, Mr. Vickery, who has just returned from a tour of the Near East, and in that letter he speaks not only of the 60,000 children we have in the orphanages, but he speaks also of 95,000 children who are in dire need in Greece. Ten thousand of these children are full orphans and 20,000 are half orphans; the others are children of parents driven from their homes during the past winter by the enforced exile of the Christians and the other minorities from Turkey.

The aim of the Near East Relief is to bring these children to self-support at the earliest possible moment. We are not bringing them to America; we are taking America to them. We are not trying to make them Americans; we are trying to instill into them the ideals that have made this nation great, that they may become the seed corn of a new civilization in the Near East. We believe that children who have been denied by war everything that makes childhood worth while will grow up to be haters of that system, and that some time they may join hands with your children and mine, your children who have become interested in the story of the children of the Near East, so that when they come to occupy the places we hold today, remembering that it was American children and American fathers and mothers who gave them life, who gave them childhood when they had none, they will join hands the world over for peace.

We are training these children toward self-support at the earliest possible moment, training them to be tinsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors and shoemakers; teaching the girls lace work and fancy work, rug making and house work. Down in the city of Nazareth, near Jerusalem, within ten steps of the shop where, according to tradition, the Carpenter of Nazareth was trained, 133 boys are being trained in carpentry. Up in the Russian Caucasus is the largest orphanage in the world, with 20,000 children, and over in Greece there are many,

many thousands of additional orphans to whom we must give aid.

I am glad to testify that, so far as the Oregon State Federation of Labor is concerned, speaking as State Director of the Near East Relief and as a representative of the National Committee, the same co-operation that we have received in this State has been given by the different State Federations and by the National Federation, and in the name of that committee, in the name of the children who will never hear anything of America probably but America, I thank you for the help you have given and for what I am confident you will continue to give in the future.

President Gompers: Ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, according to the special order set for this hour, we will hear from the fraternal delegates their message from the Congress of Labor on the other side of the Atlantic. The British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor, for the past 28 years, inclusive, have mutually exchanged fraternal delegates. We are gratified beyond measure at this uninterrupted intercourse of the international labor movement, particularly of the English-speaking countries of the world.

As the first speaker to address this Convention on behalf of the British Trades Union Congress and by mutual consent of his colleague, I have the pleasure of presenting to you Fraternal Delegate R. B. Walker.

**ADDRESS OF MR. R. B. WALKER
Fraternal Delegate Representing the
British Trades Union Congress**

Mr. President and Fellow Trade Unionists: My colleague and myself are honored in being requested by the trade unionists of Britain to bear to you their friendly greeting and sincere good wishes for a successful conference. This is an easy thing to say; but I, for one, would not have felt free to come all this way carrying such a message had I not known that it is no empty courtesy. It is, on the contrary, the expression of a genuine goodwill toward the American working class. An official greeting may seem cold and dead, but that which British workers would bring themselves, were it possible, would be warm enough to please the most exacting. Such is the greeting which we offer.

Trade Union officials in Britain are kept very busy, and our study of the rise of trade unionism in your great country cannot, therefore, always be as close as we could wish. We do find time, however, to read enough of the story of American Trade Unionism, as it unfolds itself week by week, to realize the odds against which you are fighting, and to appreciate the courage with which you face the struggle. We are glad to see, too, that in several important cases recently you have been able successfully to resist the threatened encroachments on the workers' standards in this country. On the other hand, it has not escaped our notice that it is sometimes

charged against your movement that its progress is slow and painful. To us, viewing that growth from the outside as observers only, it seems healthy and vigorous enough. After all, it is worth while reflecting that in our own earlier Trade Union history the sudden jumps and the enormous declines in membership must have made up a very difficult and disheartening period through which to live and work; but those rises and falls, seen from the point of view of the present day developments, have lost all significance they probably appeared to have when they were taking place.

While, therefore, on both sides of the Atlantic, we record big losses in membership since the war period, we can turn our minds back to conditions in pre-war days, and then make a comparison much more heartening. We are entitled to recall with satisfaction what has been achieved already; and we know that the labor, the sweat, the privation, the suffering, have not been in vain. In no country has the march of Trade Unionism been easy, and sometimes it seems that the American movement has the severest struggle of any, not only to maintain itself intact, but to grow and to enlarge the field of operations as new circumstances justify. Nevertheless, recent Trade Union history in other countries must convince us that no national movement is yet secure from dangers that may lead to disintegration. In fact, it is true that the more the workers are swept into the Trade Union ranks the greater and the more urgent become the problems of organization.

The first function of Trade Unions has been well defined by Mr. Sidney Webb. "Historically and from the standpoint of the economist and sociologist," he says, "the primary function of Trade Unionism is to maintain and raise the standard of life, and thereby to safeguard and enlarge the effective freedom of the individuals." We may agree with Mr. Webb that that comes first, but while we must organize to defend the positions we have won, the social structure is itself undergoing change, and can we not now look forward to the time when Trade Unions will find themselves in a new world, as parts, and highly important parts, of a system in which industry will be not for profit-making but for service?

Perhaps, then, it is inevitable that our visions of the future should color our thoughts when we are considering the problems of the present. The controversy, for instance, between the exponents of craft unionism as opposed to those of industrial unionism assumes its seriousness on this account. It is improbable that in this case the final solution will be a rigid exclusion of the one method or the other. We shall have to aim, apparently, at what I may call "fluid" organization. A man who passes from one industry to another must have his craft and industrial interests adjusted by an agreed scheme between the various unions concerned. I am glad to see in this connection a

statement of the policy of one of our most important industrial unions, the National Union of Railwaymen. "It should be quite possible," declares the statement, "to arrange a scheme whereby a man who has learned his trade outside of the railway service, and who comes into the railway shop, should continue to pay to his original union such a sum as would secure him what may be termed provident benefits. He should, however, or rather his original union could, on his behalf, pay to the National Union of Railwaymen what is necessary to secure for him purely Trade Union benefits, by which is meant the conduct of his purely industrial affairs." Surely, we can agree that with a workable scheme on some such lines as those, this devastating controversy may be brought to a happy end; for more than ever, in all countries, it is necessary that Trade Unionism should be in a position to put forward its utmost effort, and more than ever is it urgent, therefore, that we should all take up this and similar problems boldly, and find a solution for them. Should I be misunderstood if I say that what we want is a Trade Union machine which, set in motion by some central control, will work smoothly, swiftly, relentlessly? We on our side have been working toward that centralization, or co-ordination. To compose the differences and to eliminate such prejudices against changes as are naturally held in many cases is no easy task; but to save our movement and to forge an effective instrument for future work, we have got to tackle it, and we have begun to do so. Indeed, some of the weaknesses to which our present condition exposes us, on our side, made themselves evident during the Trade Union Congress held in September, and it is idle to pretend that the effect was other than to destroy, in some considerable measure, the value of that conference.

It is because our movement at home is old and tried that I am able thus freely to refer to what is weak in it. It would be a pity, however, were I to give the impression that we are depressed in Britain at our prospects. Nothing could be farther from the truth. We have had, of course, to face withdrawals in many directions, but I do not think that they are of a permanent character. Bad trade necessarily affects Trade Union memberships adversely, but it does not impair the work of education among the working masses which is going on all the time and which is one of the greatest tasks to which our movements address themselves. In no small way, the problem of the world's working class is the problem of education. That we in Britain are now seeing some of the fruits of the years of effort put forth in this direction is shown in the magnificent records of the Labor Party in our country. As you well know, with us,

the contact between the Trade Union and Labor movements is of the closest possible character. We have our Joint Council. In and out of Parliament we work hand in hand. We believe that that is all to the good, and not only as Labor men but as Trade Unionists we reflect with pride on Labor's great strength in the House of Commons. We know that Trade Union propaganda and Trade Union votes have put many of our members there. My colleague, Mr. Robinson, may be said to represent more particularly than I do the political side of the British working class movement. He knows better than I, though you may not induce him to speak of it, the splendid quality of the men Labor has put to represent it in the House of Commons. Without foolish boasting we can refer with pleasure to the fact that from the workers has come a body of men whose debating powers and general ability have astonished and delighted their friends, and have been literally a revelation to their opponents in the House. As a result, we notice a distinct change in the press comment on the political situation. The old gibes and insults hurled at us, the derision of the idea that Labor ever could get into power, have given place to lectures alleged to be friendly, designed for "bringing up Labor in the way it should go," when power does at last come to it. What should give us confidence, then, whether it be in Britain or here in America, is the feeling that we have within us the strength and the will to seize every opportunity and every opening presented.

Nevertheless, it would be dangerous to ignore the fact that we have yet trying times before us. In Britain the winter is going to be a hard one. On this side, the immediate prospect appears more cheering. We all rejoice in seeing that trade in America flourishes, and that unemployment here has declined. To economists, unemployment may be merely something to write about, but the workers know too well, and too often from personal experience, the misery of the workless. The question of employment is an urgent one. I gather that some of your economists have grave doubts about the permanence of the industrial boom even in America. Before us all, then, the danger of unemployment looms like a black shadow across our outlook; and the fact that is slowly being borne in upon the consciousness of the workers in all countries is that they cannot stand aside to wait for this problem to find its own solution. It is a workers' question, and the workers must concern themselves with it.

We point to the present industrial system as the cause of unemployment, and to the chaos in Europe and the suspicions between nations as aggravations of it. The troubles of one part of the world are no longer confined to

the quarter where they occur. I notice that at the National Agricultural Conference held here last year a resolution was passed to the effect that as many productions of American farms found their markets in Europe, the interest of America was in the rehabilitation of industry in the disturbed areas in our continent. Perhaps the matter goes even deeper than that. If the workers of the world were fed and clothed as they should be, could not every agricultural product of every agricultural country be absorbed at an exchange value with other commodities which would be fair to the producers? The chaos on the farms, even if it be temporary only, must lead to grave results for your urban workers. According to the figures published by your Department of Agriculture, two million people left the farms for the towns last year. Let us bear in mind, however, that the importance of agriculture in the world of tomorrow must increase, while at the same time difficulties which harass the farming world will, if handled carefully, pass away. But there will still remain the problem in which every worker in every industry must be interested; it is to see that those who produce the world's food shall do so on reasonable terms. Fair wages on the land must be a first condition.

The nations are now turning their attention to their agricultural policies, and these policies, which must profoundly affect the course of international events in coming days, must be founded on a reasonable wage program for the workers. The wages of all workers are affected. Here, as in Britain, farmers have been wanting to know how they will be able to continue paying low wages on the farms if urban wages remain at levels which they are pleased to call "so high." Hence this question is vital to us all. Under our very noses the world, from a business point of view, is growing smaller. Man's inventive genius is bringing the markets—formerly separated, maybe by hundreds of miles—in as close a contact as if they were in the same city, the same street even. The tendency is toward world regulation of food production, more scientific efficiency, and the elimination of all the waste and delay that is consequent upon present methods, particularly in distribution. If we can secure for those who live by the land no less an opportunity than they would get in urban occupations, we could have, on the one hand, the opening up of many areas for agricultural production in the different countries, with a consequent relief in the pressure of unemployment; and, on the other, a firmer foundation on which to build up a general policy for wage advances.

Intimately, with a discussion on employment, the problem of emigration is bound up. On our side we have

not looked upon emigration with favor, because so many men have left the urban industries, and particularly the farms of Britain, where they can get no work, with reluctance and a burning sense of injustice in their hearts. We cannot look on these departures with indifference. It would seem that, according to reports, immigrants into the United States, formerly coming in the main from Italy, the Balkans and Russia, now come from Britain, Germany and Sweden. That is significant; but if people come to settle in another land, they ought to come freely, rather in a spirit of adventure than under economic compulsion. And they ought to be such as can be welcomed as worthy additions to the people of their new home-land. Americans look naturally enough with disfavor on indiscriminate immigration. Immigrants who either immediately or eventually are going to swell the totals of town unemployed are not wanted in the United States, or in Canada, or in Australia, or anywhere else. Is it not, then, the concern of Trade Unionists of the different nations to see that their difficulties of internal organization are not added to by haphazard immigration, manipulated for the most part by people who are concerned only with making profits out of those who come and go? It is satisfactory to be able to record that we have got as far as considering a proposal for an Inter-Dominion Conference of Labor Parties next year. The proposal has been made by the British Labor Party, and I hope it will be taken up with enthusiasm by the parties in the Dominions. But I hope also that we shall not stop there. The whole of the workers' movement wants strengthening on the international side, and though I know the difficulties which prevent swift progress, our endeavors to have frequent consultation on questions on which Labor Parties in the different countries have common views, or views near enough alike to make discussion possible and profitable, ought to be unceasing. This is, of course, the side of our work on which our disappointments will be greatest and our apparent advance least; but we must not despair or think that our efforts, even if not immediately successful, serve no useful purpose.

The tendencies of the times, which are bringing the whole business world into closest touch, are urging upon the workers of all nations the necessity of improving their contacts, and of studying together, in writing or in conference, formal or informal, the problems which confront us. Before us all, who are at work in the Trade Union movement in any country whatever, the same task presents itself. We aim at getting better working conditions for those we represent; but it was your President himself who said on one occasion: "The cost of food and shelter

alone must not be used as the basis of the cost of living for the wealth-producing American workman." That is true. The workers are asking for more; for more freedom and opportunity to fuller lives, in which leisure, recreation and the world's heritage of thought and art are as much for them as for any others. We do not shrink from the word "ideology" when applied to our professions and our aims. We believe that the work we are doing is work to which men can give themselves without stint and to the uttermost.

Let me add one point only, which is that we, on the other side, are not ignorant of the special difficulties which confront you in establishing Trade Unionism in this land. I can speak with special feeling on this subject, for if it be true that some of the British Trade Unions are established so firmly as to seem like rocks in a shifting sea, the workers with whom I am most concerned are in no such case. Frequently it has been said that our agricultural workers never will be organized. We are endeavoring to disprove that, but we still have no easy task before us. Those of you, therefore, who fight in the face of what seem at times odds almost insuperable, can remember that in Britain, too, spade work no less difficult is being done. We are glad in being able to say that those of us who are doing it have at our side our comrades from the established unions to urge us on. We can rejoice that the past achievements of the movement in other industries than ours are a guarantee of the success which must come at last.

In that knowledge we can all go on. The will to achievement brooks no obstruction. Our purposes are high ones; and not the least of them is that in working through out Trade Unions toward a cleaner, juster and happier social order in our respective countries, we can do much to bind the people of America and Great Britain in ties which will prove unbreakable.

President Gompers: It affords me pleasure now to present to you the co-delegate of Brother Walker from the British Trades Union Congress, Mr. W. C. Robinson.

ADDRESS OF MR. W. C. ROBINSON Fraternal Delegate Representing the British Trades Union Congress

Mr. President and Friends: My first duty is to convey the fraternal greetings of the British Trade Union Congress and Labor generally to this great Federation of Labor in America. This federation has great power, and our hope and desire in the old country is that you may become more powerful and useful. Confidence and unity must prevail if this is secured.

You are led by a gentleman who so

far has led you well. Through his wise leadership you have become one of the greatest institutions in the world, and it is up to the great labor and Trade Union movement of America to continue to give to my esteemed friend, Sam Gompers, that mutual help and confidence which he so much needs if he secures for the great movement all the benefits he desires to see gained. It will not be so easy in the future as the past has been.

This convention, representing as it does the great industrial order by which the community was served with the necessities of its life, will agree with me when I say that its sayings and decisions are of momentous interest to all.

I do not know of any institution or conference which bears a heavier responsibility to the nation, and there are very few men who bear a greater power to their fellows than the leaders of this great American Convention of Labor. Very few have more reliance placed upon their actions, or more credence given to their words. Therefore, my friends, representing as I do our British Labor and Trade Union movements, I wish you all the good things one can desire you to have, but as an old Trade Union leader since 1878, 45 years' experience, it is far easier to get what you desire by united efforts, confidence and trust than by jealousies and bickerings; by this method you only put a cog in the wheel of progress. To insure success the rank and file must follow their local leaders, and they must come to this great Federation and give the leader of this great movement their united assistance and help in all he is doing for the benefit and welfare of you all.

To my mind the most significant thing about the present age is that it is all age which believed itself to be pre-eminently an age of progress. Progress is its watchword. It is an age which saw the harnessing of the forces of nature more and more to serve mankind; an age of scientific achievement and of consequent industrial development and economic organization. It therefore behooves us, so we believe in the old country, to capture the machine which makes the laws and governs the people.

I have heard your President and others refer to Reds and Radicals, the "Boishies," the Communists, and so on, as you term them here. I do not correctly understand the terms—we have some more advanced than others; so have all parties. But I am an opponent of mad acts, wild schemes and unconstitutional action. Reason and constitutional methods must prevail. We in the old country believe in parliamentary action; we are so convinced of its worth and usefulness that the three national bodies have formed a Com-

mittee which is named the National Joint Council.

The three organizations which form this Council are the Trades Union Congress, the Parliamentary Labor Party, and the National Labor Party Executive. In my opinion, our country has changed politically with the times, and this Council is of great power and usefulness.

The Council, during the last twelve months, has issued statements on the situation in the Near East, when war was threatened in September, 1922; upon the French occupation of the Ruhr in January, 1923, and on the threatened rupture of Anglo-Russian relations in May last, which have been of great value.

The Committee of Inquiry on National Production has pursued its work during the year and presented an "Interim Report on Hours," which the Council adopted and authorized for publication in pamphlet form. Other publications issued by the Council are pamphlets on "The Fair Wages Clause," "The Blind Persons' Act," and "Unemployment Insurance by Industry."

Manifestoes were also issued in connection with the Municipal Borough Elections in November, 1922, and the Urban District Council elections in March, 1923.

We believe the people who administer the law ought to have among them some of our workers. Consequently, we fight at local elections equally with Parliamentary elections. When we started we had four representatives in the House of Congress, in 1906 we had twenty-nine, in 1910 we had forty-two, in 1918 fifty-seven, and in 1922 we had one hundred and forty-two.

Representations have been made on behalf of the Council to the Ministry of Labor with respect to the renewal of the publication of various official reports concerning labor and industry, which were suspended during the war period.

Consideration has also been given to various schemes of amalgamating Health and Unemployment Insurance, and a circular and memorandum was addressed to the Trade Unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party, indicating the inadvisability of such amalgamation.

In conjunction with the Joint Research Department the Council had co-operated with unions administering the National Unemployment Insurance Acts, in making repeated representations to the Ministry of Labor with respect to the scaling down of the grants made to such unions in respect to administrative expenses. These joint representations were successful in modifying the Ministry's initial proposals, and consideration is now being given to some permanent machinery

whereby the Council may be kept in touch with the unions concerned.

Near-Eastern Crisis

When the British troops were being rushed to the Near East after the defeat of the Greek armies and a Turco-British conflict seemed imminent, the National Joint Council considered the situation and issued the following manifesto on September 29, 1922:

The National Joint Council, representing the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, and the Parliamentary Labor Party, have again considered the grave situation in the Near East.

Five years after the defeat of the Turkish army in the field, the obstinate and persistent mishandling of the Near Eastern problem by the Government brought the British people to the verge of a fresh war with Turkey.

Labor has on many occasions drawn public attention to the faults of the Peace Treaty, and to the incomplete character of the present League of Nations. For the purpose of the particular crisis which now brings us to the verge of war, we declare, however, that the Peace Treaty contains covenants which could be utilized as a substitute for military and naval action.

Under the auspices of this Joint Council there exists a Joint Press and Publicity Department. Arising from its work there has been created a

Labor Press Service

The following newspapers have been produced, based on the Labor Press Service:

Weekly local Labor papers.....	5
Monthly local Labor papers.....	13
Special issues	32
Service in stereo form	6

Free copies of the Labor Press Service as produced by Headquarters are sent to members of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, members of the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party, Labor M. P.'s, agents and organizers, etc., Labor newspapers at home and abroad, the daily and weekly newspapers, special Labor correspondents, etc.

The average weekly circulation of the Labor Press Service, exclusive of Municipal and General Election special editions, has been 14,500 copies. Ordinary newspaper standards of circulation do not apply to the Labor Press Service, as, in addition to the localized editions, its contents are widely reprinted in Labor and Trade Union journals, and in Labor and other features of the capitalist press, daily and weekly.

Municipal Elections

For the November Municipal Elections, special editions of the Labor Press Service were issued in addition to

the weekly one. The combined special editions had a run of 146,000 and formed the basis of twenty localized editions.

General Election

Three General Election issues of the Labor Press Service were produced with a total circulation of more than half a million (530,000).

In order to help constituencies who wished to have a complete paper ready for immediate distribution, the Election News was produced and published in three editions, with a circulation of 125,000.

The Labor Press Service was also taken in stereo, either complete or in part, by twelve different constituencies, and it is certain that they reached a very large number of electors.

The Press and the General Election

During the period of the election the Joint Press and Publicity Department arranged to supply Labor notes daily for press purposes. Thirty newspapers in London and the provinces used these notes, and in many cases set apart space varying from half a column to two columns for the presentation of Labor's point of view. These notes were issued every evening, and in some cases special articles were supplied and particular topics dealt with by request.

In addition interviews were given to press representatives as required, the majority of newspapers making definite arrangements for their representatives to call daily to obtain general or special information.

Leaflets

More than thirteen million leaflets were printed during the election, covering new leaflets specially prepared by the headquarters staff from day to day, and reprints of general election leaflets already in stock. Six new posters were printed and a number of the general election posters already prepared were reprinted. Nearly 10,000,000 copies of the National Manifesto were printed and issued to the constituencies. There was, moreover, a good deal of miscellaneous work dealt with, such as the issue of picture blocks for election addresses, and biographical data and portraits of candidates for the press. Ninety-one pages of notes for speakers were prepared from day to day by the headquarters staff, and issued to candidates, speakers, agents, etc.

Pamphlets

During the year the Press Department, in conjunction with the Joint Research Department, has brought out a revised edition of the Speaker's Handbook.

Nineteen new pamphlets have been produced, and several of those which had already been published have been revised and reprinted. In addition to issuing the series of pamphlets prepared by the Joint Research Department, the following pamphlets also were published

by the Joint Press and Publicity Department:

The Labor Party.
The Woman's Burden.
The Engineering Trades Dispute.
Labor Party and Agriculture.
Labor and the War Debt.
Labor and Foreign Affairs.
How to Get Houses.
Sword Blades or Ploughshares.
Report on Ruhr.
The Rich Man's Budget.
Labor as the Children's Champion.

As the result of all this work, let us see what it has brought.

The Party's Growth and Development.

The past year has been one of the most remarkable in the party's history. The general work of organization and propaganda throughout the country is well maintained and in many directions extended and developed. Prior to and since the general election, there has been a series of by-elections which have absorbed a good deal of the energy and resources of the party. The growth of our local parties was continuous up to the general election, and the success which the party secured has given a further impetus to the establishment of local branches. There are now 2653 divisional and local Labor Parties and Trades Councils throughout the country, showing an increase of 253 during the past year, and many further branches are in process of formation as a result of the work of our district organizers and women organizers. Out of the 603 constituencies in England, Scotland and Wales there are now only six in which some form of Labor party organization does not exist. The individual membership of the party shows a continuous growth, and the increase on the women's side is remarkable. There are now 1031 women's sections in connection with the local parties through the country, with a membership of 120,000.

One of the most significant features of the development of the party has been the remarkable growth of the women's side of the movement. In 1918, after the enfranchisement of women, it was felt that a good deal of apathy existed among the new element in the electorate, and considerable uncertainty was felt as to how the women's vote was cast. There has been increasing evidence during the past year of the awakening interest of the women electors, and the by-elections and the general elections undoubtedly showed that the political consciousness of women was expressing itself largely in support of the Labor Party.

Organization of Youth

During the past year the National Executive has been approached by various local parties and by the Young Labor League with regard to the organization of the youth of the country in Labor principles. The matter has also been before the International Federation of Working Women, and the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's or-

ganizations, which acts as an advisory committee to the National Executive. At the National Conference of Labor Women at York, the following resolution was passed: "That this Conference registers its satisfaction at the recognition, both national and international, of the sentiments embodied in its resolution adopted at Leamington in 1922, and urges the Labor Party to encourage the formation of young people's sections, giving prominence to the pleasures of an outdoor life and to anti-militarist teaching." The Organization Sub-Committee of the National Executive felt that the organization of young people within each Labor Party should be encouraged, and that Junior sections should be an integral part of the local organization. The National Executive was of the opinion that any departure on these lines required serious and careful consideration, and a small sub-committee has been appointed to inquire into what is being done in this connection by local Labor Parties, to consider any suggestion based on this experience, and to report fully to the National Executive upon the whole matter.

General Election, November 15, 1922

The break-up of the Coalition as a result of the historic meeting at the Carlton Club precipitated the long-talked-of general election, which was ultimately fixed for Wednesday, November 15, 1922. The Labor Party immediately took up the challenge, and as a result of the preparatory work of the last four years the party was able to put 414 candidates in the field, as against 361 at the election of 1918. Labor thus fought over two-thirds of the seats in England, Scotland and Wales. The following summary will show:

Unopposed returns	4
Seats retained	52
New seats gained	86
Total number Labor M. P.'s returned	142

The total vote secured by Labor throughout the country was 4,235,457, as compared with 2,244,945 at the general election of 1918.

Since the general election of 1922 Labor has fought eight out of ten by-elections, retaining two Labor seats challenged and gaining two fresh seats, thus bringing the present total of the Parliamentary Labor Party up to 144.

The Co-operative party put forward 11 candidates, these candidates being all included in the approved list of the Labor Party. Our co-operative colleagues are to be congratulated upon their four successes.

The total vote cast at the general election, November, 1922, was as follows:

Conservative	5,383,896
Free Liberal	2,508,480
National Liberal	1,678,088
Labor	4,235,457
Others	375,510

The electoral progress of the party,

which was founded in 1900, can be seen from the following table:

General Election.	Seats Contested.	Members Returned.	Labor Vote.
1900	15	2	62,698
1906	50	29	323,195
1910 (Jan.)	78	40	505,690
1910 (Dec.)	56	42	370,802
1918	361	57	2,244,945
1922	414	142	4,235,457

December, 1910, being the second election in the same year, fewer candidates were run by all parties, whose polls were all reduced.

After the general election the party made an early claim to be regarded as the opposition, carrying with it the exclusive rights of the official opposition.

This was conceded because we had more members than both Asquith and Lloyd George Liberals, which totaled about 110 to Labor 144.

That is the Lloyd George, Liberal, who is coming to this country to tell you who won the war. My friends, I stand here as a member of the Labor Party, thanking you for what you did in that great fight. You just came, it is true, when we needed you, and had you come earlier possibly we could have closed it earlier, but whatever may be said as to the differences between America and England, so far as we are concerned as a Labor Party and as a Trades Union Congress, we love you and we look upon you as brothers and sisters.

I want to say right here that so far as the Labor Party is concerned in Great Britain, we are the recognized official opposition of His Majesty's government. My friend Walker has said that I might deal with some of the men of ability, but I don't want to. I can't discriminate between some of the men we have, but what we are seeking in our own way—it may not commend itself to you, but it does to us—we believe that through these parliamentary means we can strengthen this Trade Union effort, because you and we must live by the laws that are made, and we believe no laws can be made that are more suitable to the toiler than those laws in which he has had a part in the making.

I may say, just in passing, that the Labor Party stands for the League of Nations, and I do hope and trust that some day you will come to that League. It may not be called a League of Nations; I prefer that we have a League of People. But we must have a League which will prevent war, that war which we supposed was to be the last. Would to God that it were the last! I fear when the next war comes it will not be a question of taking up arms against each other; they will fight from the air, from the sea, and with poisonous gases.

Parliamentary Report

We of the Labor Party believe in legislation. In our opinion it is primary, because it is necessary that an economic democracy shall arrive, giving to Labor the rights to which it is

entitled. The workers are the producers of the means of life. They ought to cease to be the toy of capital. They ought to be lifted to an industrial equality. Everywhere, when economic questions are discussed, the voice of Labor should be heard with an equal strength to that of capital. Capital ought no longer to have priority in modern societies. The worker ought to cease to be the serf of the factory and become a free agent in production reorganized on the principles of democracy.

It is with great pleasure and satisfaction that I am able to record the fact that the Labor Party has gone many steps toward reaching the position when its members in the House of Commons will be called upon to take up the reins of Government. Surely we have much to be proud of, when we remember that but so short a time back the party, which was looked upon by some as being quite insignificant, has now come to be recognized as the official opposition of H. M. Government.

The first business the House had to consider was the passing into law a bill which has given to Ireland her freedom after long years of coercion and force. We hope the foundation has been laid for Ireland to ultimately become a happy and prosperous nation.

Ireland

The action of the Home Secretary in causing the arrest and immediate deportation to Ireland of a number of people resident in Britain was raised at the earliest opportunity (March 12), and on a motion for the adjournment of the House, as a protest against the action taken, 152 voted in favor and 260 against.

Again, on March 19, the adjournment was moved on the position of the people interned in Ireland beyond the jurisdiction of the Home Secretary, and in the division 147 supported the motion and 266 opposed. The party also sent a deputation to Dublin to make investigations into the position of the internees.

Later, the Courts having decided that the Home Secretary's action was illegal, taking what had been the party's view of the affair, the Government brought forward an Indemnity Bill.

The party opposed this measure, and as a result of pressure the Government inserted a provision for the payment of compensation to the aggrieved persons. The party successfully resisted an attempt to rush the bill through without adequate consideration.

Restoration of Order in Ireland (Indemnity Bill)

Several Labor Party amendments were rejected, but the Government conceded the following to be added: "The deportee shall be entitled to payment or compensation in respect of such loss or damage, and such payment or compensation shall be assessed on the principles and by the tribunal

hereafter mentioned, and the decision of that tribunal shall be final." This was a great advantage to the deportees. The lengthy discussion on this question and the numerous amendments caused the Government to leave its third reading for a later sitting. This was done, but it was finally carried without a division. One thing which the House of Lords has done which the Government would not do, and that was to provide in the statute that no more persons be deported from this country without a trial. We hope the small tribunal which will have to fix compensation to the deportees will be equally generous with them as the country has been to the Government officials who made the mistakes, but after all the blunders the Government has forced through the Indemnity Bill.

Old Age Pensions

The first motion moved was on Old Age Pensions, and was moved on February 21. It was to the following effect:

"That, in the opinion of this House, the recommendation of the Department Committee on Old Age Pensions in favor of the repeal of the provisions of the Old Age Pensions Acts as to calculations of means should be adopted, and the Old Age Pensions Acts amended accordingly, thereby enabling applications for and recipients of the old age pension to derive the full benefit of their thrift and personal provision for old age, and to receive assistance from friends, employers and organizations without reductions of, or disqualification for, the full pension."

The Invasion of the Ruhr and Unemployment

In my opinion the two have a very close connection, as was declared in the principal amendment to the address moved by the Labor Party. As long as Europe is kept in a condition of disturbance and economic chaos by French military violence, prosperity cannot return, and our foreign trade will remain stagnant. The Government has no policy except inaction. We believe that Great Britain ought to lead the world in a new policy of friendliness, justice and peace. There is very little approval in Parliament of the French action.

The party has been responsible several times for raising the question of the occupation of the Ruhr and the dangers that may accrue, and they have repeatedly suggested that some method should be employed with a view to having the reparations question settled on what could be regarded as a fair basis, so that reconstruction, economically and otherwise, could take effect. The Government has simply taken up a non-interference attitude upon the matter.

Several days have been occupied in direct discussion of unemployment. The insufficient proposals of the Government to provide work have been riddled with criticism. A vigorous fight is being put up to fill the gaps in the unemploy-

ment benefit still existing in the Government schemes. The Government has failed to bring forth any policy which will help to solve this pressing problem.

The position of education resulting from a policy of false economy, failure of the Government to honor the Washington Convention on hours of labor, equality in the franchise, workmen's compensation, rating of land values, re-colonization of Scotland, etc., has been discussed and dealt with. The party supported a Liberal amendment deprecating the occupation of the Ruhr, and declaring that the question of reparations should be referred to the League of Nations, and that the United States should be invited to participate.

The leader of the party took the earliest opportunity of raising such questions as unemployment, housing and rent, foreign affairs and the occupation of the Ruhr, and several other Labor speeches followed. The following was the first official party amendment to the address:

"But, recognizing the present grave and dangerous condition of affairs in Europe and the Near East to be a certain source of future wars and a serious aggravation of unemployment and reduced wages in Great Britain, regret the absence of any indication of policy upon these affairs which will check the progressive economic ruin of Europe, which contemplates an all-round cancellation of international war debts as an essential part of a workable general settlement, which will make the League of Nations representative of all people and employ it both for conciliation and arbitration in pressing and critical matters like the occupation of the Ruhr, and also for reconsideration at the earliest moment of the clauses, especially the economic one, of the peace treaties, which, whilst they operate, will defy the efforts of all Governments for economic reconstruction and peace."

Mothers' Pensions

On March 6 the following was moved: "That, in the opinion of this House, pensions adequate for the proper upbringing and maintenance of children should be paid to all widows with children, or mothers whose family breadwinner has become incapacitated, such pensions to be provided by the State and administered by a committee of the Municipal or County Council wholly unconnected with the Poor Law."

National Minimum Wage

The next motion was moved on March 7, as follows:

"That, in view of the practically universal acceptance of the principle that a living wage for all workers should be the first charge upon industry, and in view of the large measure of agreement with respect to the advisability of fixing legal minimum time rates of wages

reached at the National Industrial Conference, this House urges the Government to proceed without delay with the bill introduced by the Government of the day in 1919, constituting a Commission to inquire into and report upon legal minimum time rates of wages."

Mining Industry

On March 7 representatives of the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation attended a meeting of the party in order to acquaint the members with the situation in the mining industry. Later, the party was asked by the Federation to introduce a bill to amend the Minimum Wage Act. This has been done, and the bill provides for the minimum wage being based upon the cost of living, and also applies the original act as amended to surface workers.

Accidents in Mines

On March 14 the following was moved: "That this House deplores the heavy loss of life and the large number of non-fatal accidents in mines, and is of opinion that legislation to improve and strengthen the provisions of the Coal Mines Act, 1911, should be introduced and carried into law without delay in order to secure the fullest protection possible to those engaged in this dangerous industry."

The Government accepted this motion and stated in reply that further legislation was unnecessary. Whether or not this be the case, it is to be hoped that the discussion will have the effect of securing more stringent administration of the regulations.

Workmen's Compensation

The second reading of the Workmen's Compensation (No. 2) Bill has been brought in and read a second time. It, along with one introduced by the Labor Party, will go upstairs to a committee, and from the two bills I hope they will be able to secure an act which will prevent so much litigation and so many of the hardships which are suffered today.

Ex-Service Men

The party, by motion, expressed regret that, in view of the widespread dissatisfaction which exists among ex-service men and the dependents of those who died as the result of war service regarding the provisions of the Royal Warrant and the War Pensions Acts, the unsympathetic administration of the Pensions Ministry and the curtailment of the responsibilities of local committees, no reference is made to the institution of a thorough inquiry by a select committee to consider what action is necessary to secure the full discharge of the solemn obligations entered into with those who suffered injury or death in the service of the country during the Great War.

Capitalist System

On March 20 the following was moved: "That, in view of the failure of the capitalist system to adequately utilize

and organize natural resources and productive power, or to provide the necessary standard of life for a vast number of the population, and believing that the cause of this failure lies in the private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, this House declares that legislative effort should be directed to the gradual supersession of the capitalist by an industrial and social order based upon the public ownership and democratic control of the instruments of production and distribution."

Agriculture

On several occasions the position of agriculture, especially the plight of the agricultural laborer, and the dispute in Norfolk, were raised. The party's bill to re-establish the Agricultural Wages Board has been introduced, but has made no progress. The Government's promised Agricultural Credits Bill and Agricultural Rating Bill are now before the House, and will receive very careful consideration and scrutiny, and every effort will be made to focus the attention of Parliament upon the position of those engaged in this industry. It is expected that the bill dealing with the Conciliation Boards will be taken up shortly.

It is impossible to deal with every subject, but my concluding words are in the nature of a warning to all Trade Unionists. We may rely upon it that our position is to be challenged. We question whether the Prime Minister will be able to restrain the rank and file of his own party in their aggressive opposition to Trade Unionism. Already a motion has been carried to amend the Trade Union Act re the Political Position; also as recently as the first day of May (this year) a bill was introduced having for its object the repeal of the Trade Union Act, 1906. To be in the House and to hear the applause which is given every time anything is said against Trade Unionism, it is quite easy to discover the spirit of antagonism which prevails, and which has for its object the weakening of our position, and it is hoped that whenever the attack comes we shall be found prepared and sufficiently strong to maintain our present position.

Finally, in bringing to you the fraternal greetings of the British working classes, let us the world over divest ourselves of the bickerings that have divided us, and in my judgment internationalism upon an honest basis is what we should all seek and thereby lift our minds above the clouds of doubt, suspicion and dissension that have blurred our vision and warped our judgment, and in the higher, clearer and purer atmosphere we shall discern the true goal of our aspirations and ambitions, and the industrial Canaan toward which we have wended so long and so laboriously fought for will be reached.

World brotherhood may seem farther away today than ever. In spite of that, I shall still look toward it as the sal-

vation of the world and the only hope of the workers. We, in the old country, stand for internationalism, believing that to be a very necessary institution, and finally, may the deliberations of this great convention hasten the realization of that vision.

We stand for a brotherhood of workers the wide world over and hope the day is not far distant when all workers will realize its necessity and act upon that conviction.

President Gompers: It affords me pleasure to present to you the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, Mr. James A. Sullivan.

**ADDRESS OF JAMES A. SULLIVAN
Fraternal Delegate Representing the
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress**

Mr. President, Delegates, Fraternal Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a pleasure and a privilege to have the honor to convey fraternal greetings from the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress to the American Federation of Labor in its 43d session. I do, Mr. President, convey those greetings, with the sincere wish that your deliberations will be not only beneficial to the workers of the States, but to the workers of Canada and to the workers of the world as well.

Our convention in Canada, just closed, has revealed considerable advancement for the workers in Canada in the past year, and we feel that from the action taken at that convention our success along industrial lines in the future is assured. While our membership is perhaps not as large as when it was at the peak, yet from the viewpoint of determination we are in a more secure position to go forward than ever before. The membership today is around 126,000, and that represents the members who are counted as paid-up to date. To that we might add twenty-five per cent who are still members of our organizations in Canada, but, through industrial depression and other reasons, have not paid their per capita tax. We have about 2,000 local unions spread over the Dominion of Canada.

We consider that our industrial advancement has been wonderful in the past year or two, particularly so because of the disturbance and unrest that has prevailed during that time. We have not only maintained the eight-hour day for our people in many localities, but we have extended the eight-hour day even under the severe conditions which we have been working under.

Wages have also been increased in certain localities, and particularly is this true where the international union has sustained that desire of advancement and the desire to solidify its forces. We have not only maintained the standard of wages that has been set by the various

organizations, but in many localities we have advanced those wages.

In the legislative field we have made considerable progress in so far as the kiddies are concerned. We in Canada are very much interested in the welfare of the kiddies, and along educational lines we feel that Canada stands second to none. We have established a law, through the efforts of our organizations, setting the age of fourteen years as the minimum throughout Canada at which a child can leave school. In many provinces we have raised that minimum to sixteen, and there is a strong determination in many provinces to raise it to eighteen years. I feel that before another year passes that will be accomplished, in some of the provinces at least.

A Minimum Wage Board has been established in many provinces, and during the coming year we expect to have it a universal condition in so far as the Dominion of Canada is concerned. On every Board that has been established we have a direct representative of organized labor, so that we feel that our interests are being well looked after.

We have established a mothers' allowance, which has been a Godsend to many of the women of our country. Thousands—yes, millions—of dollars have been distributed in the last year to provide the proper living conditions, the proper homes, and in order to keep the family together after the father has passed away, so that the children may not be separated, that they may not be in the unhappy position in later years of being strangers to their mothers and their brothers and sisters.

Our compensation law, while it is not yet to the point of advancement and satisfaction that we desire, is one that we are proud of. We have succeeded in raising the minimum of the compensation in various provinces, not to 100 per cent, as we have been asking for, but in some instances to 67½ and 75 per cent. We have also taken in the past year workers who previously did not come under the provisions of that Board, so that today, where those Boards have been established, nearly all, if not all, of the industrial workers come under their provisions.

We have carried on much agitation to instill into the workers a desire to own the public utilities, and to that extent we believe we have made great advancement and progress. I can best put this to you in the words of one of our delegates to our last convention, who pointed out that it had been made possible for a delegate attending that convention in Vancouver to leave the cities in the west in a government-owned street car, ride to a government-owned station, take a government-owned train, dine in a government-controlled dining car, sleep in a government-controlled sleeping car, stop off en route at a government-owned hotel, cross the Great Lakes in a government-owned boat, and arrive over 3,000 miles of track in the city of Vancouver. And the most wonderful part of

it all is that we have as one of the active directors of that railroad the leader—the mouthpiece, as it were—of organized labor in the Dominion of Canada, the President of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, Tom Moore.

The national life and institutions and aspirations of Canada belong to the Canadian people; its future destiny is in their hands, and I think and know that it will be well looked after. Our industrial relations are identical with yours. Our pain and suffering, our joys and sorrows, are the same as yours, and I believe and know that our movement and your movement was founded upon those principles that were taught by the Leader of Leaders when He established that principle of the brotherhood of man. I have one purpose in view in coming to your convention, and if I succeed to a small degree in bringing that purpose to your attention, then I shall feel that my mission here has been a success.

Realizing what our organization is, the work that it is doing, that it is more than an industrial organization, that it is a humane organization, founded on those principles of brotherly love, I make an appeal to you delegates to this congress; I appeal to the inner man, that part of man from whence spring high ideals and aspirations—from your heart I appeal to you, in order that this great work may be carried on more successfully in the future than it has been in the past, that a better understanding may exist between the workers in general for a closer relationship, a closer co-operation. If I succeed in getting that message to you, then I will say my mission is well done.

I want at this time to express our appreciation of the service and co-operation of the officers and members of this Federation and of the various international unions who are doing business in Canada. We appreciate your support and encouragement; we want more of your visits; we want to be better acquainted with you; we want our workers in Canada to be better acquainted. In this connection let me say that nothing has done more to solidify the feeling between the workers of Canada and the workers of the United States than the recent visit of your distinguished President, Sam Gompers. There have never been letters, communications or any other thing that contributed more to our movement than that visit. It brought to us a better understanding, and we hold your President in the highest respect. I am satisfied in saying that there is not a man in the labor movement who has endeared himself more to the Canadian workers and who is held in higher esteem than your President.

There is much that I could say, but I do not desire to take up your time. I feel that the information that has been given to you by the previous speakers has had its effect, I believe that it has sunk deep into your minds, and I hope that the few remarks I have made may

go just as deep. We look for a continuation of that closer relation and understanding between the workers of the two countries. We are up against the same problems that you face; our industrial life is identical with yours. Your bosses in many cases are our bosses. While the movement is weaker numerically, perhaps, today than in previous years, yet the lesson we have learned in the last two years in the industrial struggle in Canada has made us stronger in our determination to carry on that battle. We feel sure that we have come to realize just who our friends are on the outside and on the inside, and we will be in better position to carry on the battle in the future than we have been in the past.

The open shop proposition is with us; it is with you. And it is amusing to think of intelligent men using intimidating methods to try to wean our members away from the labor movement. They cry, "National autonomy for the industrial workers in Canada"; they say, "Why send your money over to the States?"; "Why not form a local union of your own, a national union; you can get along better and your money will stay at home." Men, I want to say to you that you have never strengthened our cause more than you have in the last year or two, when you made your contributions to our Canadian members so willingly and so faithfully. We can put the lie back into the mouths of these men who are out to destroy our movement; we can show them where thousands—yes, millions—of dollars have been sent into Canada to fight the cause of the workers, and we can show them that it would take years and years to return that money to the United States in the shape of dues and assessments. And they don't like that.

In so far as our legislative and economic policies are concerned, they can best be explained by the action taken at our last convention, held in Vancouver, September 10 to 15. The platform and principles of the Trades and Labor Congress clearly sets forth the aims and objects for which the Congress is in existence and deals with various phases of the legislative, economic and industrial matters that vitally affect the wage earners throughout the Dominion, providing as it does the machinery for a closer co-ordination of international craft unions, which has worked so successfully in the past and which has been the means of very materially improving the wages and working conditions of the workers, not only in Canada, but on the American continent as well.

Our constitution was drawn with the specific object of working in co-operation with the international trade unions of the American continent. Autonomy is vested in the said international unions and the American Federation of Labor. Experience has demonstrated that it is only by a continuance of this policy and the maintenance of the present form of the international trade union that we can hope to successfully cope with organized

capital and its ramifications. We reiterate its adhesion to the present form of organization.

That, delegates, is the voice to you of the Canadian workers, and we are determined to carry that principle on through. We know and feel sure that the co-operation I have asked for from this organization and from the various international organizations will be freely given and that we will see more of you. We want to see, we want to hear you, and we want to become more closely related.

I again wish you Godspeed in your deliberations, and while they may be a little strenuous at times I hope that whatever feeling may be displayed in the convention will be left here, and on the outside, that you will go united on the road to establish, not only better working conditions, but in the effort to establish the principle of the brotherhood of man.

President Gompers: The next speaker whom I have the honor and the pleasure to present to you is the fraternal delegate of the National Women's Trade Union League, Miss Mathilde Lindsay.

ADDRESS OF MISS MATHILDE LINDSAY

Fraternal Delegate Representing National Women's Trade Union League.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: As the Fraternal Delegate of the National Women's Trade Union League of America I bring you their greetings to this 43d annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Many of you are familiar with our organization, but in case there are some among you who are not I will tell you something about our origin and purpose. The National Women's Trade Union League was founded in Boston in 1903 during the Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is a federation of trade unions with women members and individual membership of those endorsing its platform, which is: Organization of all workers into trade unions; equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex or race; eight-hour day and forty-four-hour week; an American standard of living; full citizenship for women; the outlawry of war; closer affiliation of women workers of all countries.

For the past twenty years the League has served as a center for all women's trade unions. They have found in it a clearing house for their problems and an instrument of collective action.

We cooperate with the American Federation of Labor, the internationals and the state and central bodies in the organization of women workers. After they are organized, they are placed in the international or national organization of the A. F. of L. to which they belong, and where this is not possible we help them secure a federal charter.

At the present time the League has local branches in most of the larger industrial centers. Realizing the great need of organization among women

workers, the national office has a field representative who goes from city to city, and whose work is to encourage and strengthen our existing leagues and to establish new ones, so that they may help in the organizing of the unorganized and in carrying out our platform.

Workers' education is a subject to which the labor movement today is giving a great deal of thought. We feel as though we are pioneers in that field, because since 1913 we have been maintaining at our headquarters a national training school for women workers. To those who through work in their own trade unions have come to realize the urgent need for organization among their fellow workers and who have shown ability and leadership, the National Women's Trade Union League offers the opportunity of the training which our school has prepared to give. The course is for a period of six months, during which time the students are given industrial history and labor problems, current events, English and composition, effective speaking and the conduct of meetings, the trade union agreement in theory and practice, and under the direction and advice of competent trade union leaders they get the field work, which is very important. Realizing that it is hard sometimes for workers to come for six months, we are prepared to give short courses to groups of students for six or eight weeks. After their training in either of these courses is over, they go back to their organizations and communities with a fuller understanding of the many problems of industry and better equipped to help in the work of the trade union organization. You will be glad to know that we are just now starting a term of our school with five students, among whom are two garment workers, one textile worker, a culinary worker and a postal employee.

Since the beginning of our organization we have worked for the abolition of child labor and shall continue to do so until we feel that something very definite in this field has been accomplished. We are represented in the permanent conference for the abolition of child labor, which was organized by the American Federation of Labor after the second decision of the Supreme Court, and supported the amendment recommended by that conference. We are also actively opposing the blanket legislation, whether state or federal, which is being advocated, because we feel that this method of legislation is dangerous to the labor laws which have already been enacted in the states, and also because we feel inequalities can best be remedied by specific laws. The League has helped work for legislation for the improvement of the working conditions of women wage earners, because we realize we must use every available method to bring up their standards, especially where they are unorganized.

During the past few months, as Field Representative of the National Women's Trade Union League, I have visited many of our industrial cities, and I have been appalled by the great need of more

organization among the women workers. When we consider that there are eight and one-half million women gainfully employed and we realize the percentage of them that are at present in the trade union organizations, it gives us some idea of the job ahead of us. Particularly is there need for work in the South, and we are hoping to do some very extensive work there in the near future.

Since the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court on the minimum wage bill for women in the District of Columbia, it makes it all the more clear to us that trade union organization is the surest way to insure to the women workers of this country good working conditions, a reasonable work day and a wage that permits an American standard of living.

The National Women's Trade Union League stands ready to cooperate with you in this gigantic task, and we ask your continued cooperation, both nationally and locally, to help us reach our goal—the organization of all women workers in the trade unions.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT GOMPERS

President Gompers: Fraternal Delegates from the various organizations to whose addresses we have had the honor to listen, I think I can safely say that your words of encouragement and your message of good will have found a deep lodgment in the hearts and the minds of the delegates to this convention. The information which you have given us is exceedingly interesting; your account of the development of your respective movements has been exceedingly interesting. Several of you who have traversed from your homes to this far Northwestern city of the Pacific Coast must have a realizing sense of at least one of the problems with which the American labor movement has to contend or deal.

Brothers Robinson and Walker, it must have been a compelling understanding when you realized that you are now a greater distance from New York than the distance from your own homes in Scotland and England to New York; that on your travels to Portland since your landing upon the shores of America you have passed through great centers of industry and commerce, of highly developed communities, near several inland seas and over several ranges of mountains; from the Alleghenies to the Rockies.

This vast domain of America is a bit different than that of England. In your country you have a people who, many of them, can count their ancestry for centuries as English, as Scotch, as Welsh, as Cornish. In America, there are few who can count their genealogy more than a generation or two back, and most of us are of the first nativity in our generation or by acquired citizenship.

There is in our country a system of government which it is necessary to thoroughly understand in order that some degree of comparison may be

made. When the British Parliament meets and enacts a law it is a law of the land. There has been one judge who in his time undertook to annul an act of the British Parliament. He lived but a short time after, and after him no judge or court in England undertook to annul an act of Parliament.

Whether there is power vested in the courts of our country, as exercised by our courts, it is not necessary at this moment to discuss; but in any event our courts have exercised functions which the history of the United States discloses were never granted or conceded to them.

In the government of the United States there is recognized in our constitution three co-ordinate branches of government—the legislative, the executive, the judicial—and each is supposed to be a balance-check upon the other. In truth and inherently there is no such co-ordinate power. The legislative branch of our government may, if circumstances warrant, summon to the bar of our Congress either or both of the other branches of the government and make them answer to charges, trial, and subject them to impeachment and removal. There is no such power vested in the executive or the judicial branches.

In the year of grace 1923 the American citizenship will know how to deal with the assumption of powers of our judiciary, not by the process so summarily invoked a few centuries ago in England, but by the intelligence and the constructive processes of American citizenship.

A moment ago I made reference to the different forms of government, as the United States may be compared to that of England. I repeat for emphasis that when your Parliament enacts a law it is an act of all England. The Federal government of the United States has no such power. Our Federal government has and can exercise only such powers as are granted and conceded to it by the several states. Beyond that the Federal legislature and the Federal government cannot go.

The laws which affect industry and the exercise of the police powers for the enforcement of such laws are reserved to and by the states. And when we compare the matter of factory laws, laws in the interest of and for the protection of the wage earners, the young and the innocent, we must look to the laws enacted by the states in the United States.

But there are two other features to which I think attention might be aptly called. One of them is the make-up of our American citizenship, even in our day. There is a homogeneity among the people of England. You are Englishmen, you are Scotchmen, you are Welshmen, but the great sum total of it is that you are in the British Isles. We in the United States were composed of three millions of people at the time of the Declaration of Independence, and when the government of the Republic of the United States was set up. They were Americans from England, from Ire-

land, from Scotland, from Wales, from Holland and a few from other countries. Since then we have grown into a population of approximately 110,000,000, and coming from all climes and countries, speaking as many languages and dialects as those who built the tower of Babel. And the worst of it is they continue to speak those languages and to think in their own languages.

I desire to submit this thought: No one knows very much better than I do the effect of laws passed by Congress or the legislatures of the states; but we are wage earners and we sometimes feel the injustice of the laws passed by these political agencies of state and federal government. I want to ask you men of labor, to turn over in your minds whether it is not a fact that the laws—call them regulations or rules, if you please; I prefer to call them laws—enacted in the offices of our employers do not affect us as wage earners more than any of the laws of the state or of the nation.

To have a dominating influence in determining what the laws emanating from the employer's office shall be is of greater importance to the men and women of toil than any law which can be passed by Congress or the legislatures of the various states. We have not failed in developing the men of labor who can hold their own in any conference, whether it be economic, political or sociological.

In our movement of America we make no distinction between what we believe to be the interchangeable terms of the Trade Union movement and the labor movement; ours is a labor movement, conducted by the Trade Unions of America, and we yield not an inch of activity upon any field for the protection and the promotion of the rights and the interests of the working people and the citizenship of our country to any other body on earth.

It would be a most interesting thing to study the difference which exists between the element to which reference has been made, and known under various colors as pink and red and garnet and blue and others of the fifty-seven varieties. The character of the activities of this species of the human in your country and that of the same species in our America are as wide apart as it is possible for humans to be. Their attempt at academic impression upon the labor movement of England is one thing, and the strike-breaking tendencies and activities of that species human in the United States and Canada are of a different type.

The Seamen and the Railroad Shopmen, in their recent controversies to protect themselves and their fellows, could a tale unfold that would make the hair stand upon your heads like the quills on the fretful porcupine. If these people were paid by the concentrated interests of the employers of America they could not do their job half as well as they are doing it now.

And then another species human—if

human they be—is the character of work that aims for the disintegration and destruction of the American labor movement. We will know, and I believe we do now, how to deal with them, too. This movement in America has done so much for American workers, the American people, that there isn't anything that can eliminate it; not the bitter antagonism of employers and big business and high finance, nor of the serpent which is trying to sting us in the heart. It has brought to the life of America's workers a better day; it has given them hope and courage and ability to fight for the right, whatever might betide. It has instilled the spirit of unity and solidarity into the workers, the organized workers and the unorganized, and though the unorganized are not with us in our movement they are inspired with the idea and purpose of this labor movement of ours.

Reference was made to the movement in England among some of the trade unions to make it easier for men having learned any trade or calling to enter another trade or industry in which the same, or nearly the same, character of work is to be performed, by providing that the membership card of one organization may be accepted in that of another.

The American Federation of Labor has declared for that principle, and several of our trade unions accept the interchangeable card from one organization to another. There are several of our trade unions that accept the cards of members in good standing in the unions of other countries, so that they can become members of our trade unions without even an initiation fee of any kind. I think that is one of the natural tendencies and developments recognizing the solidarity so necessary to the progress and success of the labor movement.

I don't know that what I am going to say upon a particular point is any news. Brother Walker is primarily a representative of the agricultural workers of England, and he referred in his excellent presentation and message to our convention this morning to the fact that two million workers in agriculture and horticulture left the farms and went into other occupations in the cities. It is quite true, but it is also true that, notwithstanding the fact that so many of our workers in agriculture have left the farms, there has been an appreciable increase in the production of agriculture in the United States.

I said a few days ago that the trouble with the farmers and the workers in industry in the United States is that they have practically allowed the gentlemen farmers, the trust farmers, the magazine farmers and the political farmers to lead them, and not the mud farmers organized for their own common protection. These interests have played the part such as is portrayed in one of Dickens' books, when he describes two men, stalwart, strong, looking menacingly at each other, and between them a big, corpulent man, with jowls that

are hanging over his collar, and he said to one, "Don't let him get away with it," and then to the other, "He is trying to lord it over you," and they go to it. And while they are fighting each other this great, big, sauve man rubs his hands, washing them with invisible soap and imperceptible water. And that is the position of the profiteer upon industry and agriculture.

I am sure we have been, all of us, not only interested but greatly gratified at the messages which have come to us from the Parliament of Labor of Great Britain, from the Congress of Labor of Canada, from the efforts made by the good women in this Trade Union League—from all these who are trying to solve the problems of life and labor. It is the mission of the workers of America, as it is the mission of the workers of our several countries that carry on this work. We have all of us in some degree or another borne the scars of battle, and it falls to us as to the trade union movement everywhere, as the legates of all the struggles of the human family to lighten the burdens of toil, to make life better worth living, to secure us in our opportunities for progress, to make for the world's betterment, to see to it as best we can to advance the spirit and purpose of national—aye, of international—solidarity, and to make our contribution as best we can.

But there is one thing we cannot surrender, and that is the right of American organized labor to determine its policy, its methods, consonant with the political, economic and sociological conditions by which we are confronted and surrounded. Consistent with that national autonomy of American labor, we will go the length of anyone, not by mere pronouncement and proclamation, but by the carrying out of the proclamations which we shall issue. Repeating in another way what I said on Monday in part, I prefer, and I believe the American labor movement prefers, to make constructive and reasonable demands, and radical in the determination to carry them through.

Permit me, on behalf of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and I know I bespeak the sentiment of the rank and file of our movement, to say to Brothers Walker, Robinson, Sullivan, and Miss Lindsay, and to Mrs. Robinson, the wife of Fraternal Delegate Robinson, that you are heartily welcome among us, and we trust that not only will you have an enjoyable time, but an interesting time, while you are here. We ask you to watch us as we work, and perhaps you will find that there is some work in which we are engaged helpful to the cause of American labor, and of the American people, and at least contributing a mite to the great work of universal hope of brotherhood among men of all the world.

Delegate Green, chairman of the Committee on Education, announced that as a result of the interest aroused among the delegates by the address of Spencer

Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, a special meeting for the delegates had been arranged in the Labor Temple for Monday evening, October 8. He stated that all delegates were invited, the representatives of State Federations and Central Bodies being particularly invited to discuss their local educational problems, the meeting to be held in conjunction with the Portland Labor College, which begins its fall term this week.

A special performance of the Labor College Players in the auditorium of the Labor Temple on Friday evening, October 5, was also announced, three one-act plays to be presented, and between the acts addresses by Mr. John W. Brown, Secretary of the Educational Section of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and by Mr. Frank Hodges, a former graduate of Ruskin College, England, and now Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

Delegate Schwartztrauber, Federation of Teachers, supplemented the announcement made by Delegate Green and stated that five hundred tickets would be distributed to the delegates later.

The various committee chairmen at this time were given opportunity to make announcements as to time and place of committee meetings.

Delegate Sillinsky, Tailors, asked that Resolution No. 49, now assigned to the Committee on Resolutions, be transferred to the Committee on International Relations. He offered a motion to that effect, which was seconded, but defeated on being put to vote.

Secretary Morrison announced that Typographical Union No. 58, of Portland, would give a smoker in Hall "A" of the Labor Temple on Thursday evening, October 4, at eight o'clock, to which the delegates were invited.

President Gompers called attention to the fact that a motion was adopted at Tuesday's session providing for adjournment at noon today for a given purpose—the Columbia River Highway excursion, under the direction of the local committee. The excursion having been deferred on account of weather conditions, it was suggested that it might be to the advantage of the committees and the convention to leave the afternoon free for committee work, so that

reports in whole or in part could be presented at Thursday's sessions.

The suggestion of the President was

concurred in, and at 12:30 p. m., by motion passed at Tuesday's session, adjournment was taken to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, October 4.

Fourth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Portland, Ore., October 4, 1923.

The Convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees

Gillmore, Boyer, Fitzgerald, Morton, Holschult, Austin, Squibb, Greenstein, Keegan, Bryan, Askew, Madsen, Carroll, Hogan, J. L. Lewis, Farrington, Moore, E. Canavan, Carey, Parker, Hannah, J. P. Burke, P. J. Ryan, Thomas, Walden, Kohn, Jewell, Ely, Altman, Morris, Robinson, Hammer, Finley, Sturm, O'Dell, Keckler, Sims, Framp-ton, Martin, Bower, Horrigan, C. S. Evans, R. T. Wood, Meyer, Alter, Tyden, Jacques, Mezzacapo, Rincker, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Elliott.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Kasten, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

We have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Trades and Labor Assembly, Minneapolis, Minnesota—Dan W. Stevens, 1 vote.

Central-Labor Union, Klamath Falls, Oregon—E. F. Duffy, 1 vote.

Watchmen's Union No. 13130, Cincinnati, Ohio—W. Elliott, 1 vote.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters, United Association of Journeymen—Wm. McLaughlin to be seated in place of James Murphy.

The Oregon State Federation of Labor requests that the name of E. J. Stack be substituted for that of O. R. Hartwig as a representative of the State Federation. Delegate Hartwig having been substituted for Delegate George Hedrick, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, and the committee recommends that the request be complied with.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The following reports of Fraternal delegates were submitted to the Executive Council and are herewith made a matter of record in the proceedings of this convention:

REPORT OF PETER SHAUGHNESSY AND ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK

Fraternal Delegates From the American Federation of Labor to the 55th Congress of the British Trades Union Congress, Held at Plymouth, England, September 3 to 8, 1923, Inclusive

To Members of the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor:

Dear Sirs and Brothers: In accordance with action taken by the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, we, the undersigned, attended the 55th Congress of the British Trades Unions held in the Guildhall, Plymouth, England, September 3 to 8, 1923. Seven hundred and two delegates, representing 4,369,268 workers, together with the following additional fraternal delegates, were present:

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—J. W. Wilkinson, Vancouver, B. C., member of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Co-operative Union—G. A. Ramsay, Manchester.

International Federation of Trade Unions—Ed Fimmen.

President Williams stated that in spite of the slump in membership in the Trade Union movement, a comparison with the year of 1913 shows that there is no reason for pessimism. At Manchester in 1913 there were 560 delegates, representing 207 organizations with a membership of 2,232,446, while at this present convention there were 702 delegates, representing 4,369,268 trade unionists.

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress submitted to the convention a very interesting report, copy of which has been marked "Exhibit A" and is being submitted separately. Among the number of very important propositions dealt with in this report is that listed under caption of "Daily Herald Newspaper" (page 144). This proved of such vital importance that the Congress decided to go into executive session to discuss same, the discussion lasting approximately one and one-half days. No fraternal delegates were permitted to remain in the hall during these discussions, though we were later advised that as the result the Congress by a majority vote decided to keep their official organ alive, if possible, by the raising of a fund of £12,500 within the next ninety days. This, however, in the opinion of the delegates, will prove impossible.

The question of unemployment, which is a very serious one, was thoroughly gone into by the Congress and the following resolution unanimously adopted

with a view to relieving the existing deplorable situation:

Special General Council Resolution on Unemployment

"This Congress, representing the organized workers of Great Britain, expresses its deep dissatisfaction with the Government's plans for dealing with the prolonged and widespread unemployment, and calls upon the Government to formulate adequate and effective measures both to alleviate the grave physical and mental consequences to the unemployed population, and to remedy the serious social distress to which multitudes of men, women and children are being condemned. It calls upon the Government immediately to promote practical schemes of public utility on a national scale, devised to meet the pressing needs of the community, as an alternative to the vast expenditure of public money on unemployed benefit and poor law relief.

"Further, this Congress declares that unemployment must be dealt with as a national problem and responsibility, and that heavily rated districts should be relieved of the financial burdens due to unemployment by the use of State funds for maintenance and schemes for providing work."

Resolution No. 1, dealing with the Old Age Pension; Resolution No. 2, under caption of Pension for Mothers, and Resolution No. 3, covering Pension for Blind Persons, were adopted as introduced. Resolution No. 4, under caption of Housing and Rents, as amended, was adopted.

All other resolutions as printed in this agenda, as amended, were adopted by the Congress. We, however, specifically mention Resolutions Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 because we consider them of such vital importance.

There was considerable conflict at times during the sessions, caused by the many jurisdictional disputes, which became more prominent owing to the seriousness of the existing unemployment situation.

Your delegates were deeply impressed with the fact that a vast number of trade unionists are members of the House of Parliament. The Labor Party has 144 members representing them in the House. It is now the second party in power.

We have endeavored to make this report to you as brief as possible, but feel that we have covered the important work of the Congress, and in conclusion we wish to say that our trip abroad, besides being a most enjoyable one, was very interesting and educational. As delegates representing the American Federation of Labor we were very courteously received by our brothers in Great Britain, and their welcome and hospitality to us surely

displayed the proper spirit of co-operation and true brotherhood.

Fraternally and respectfully submitted,
PETER SHAUGHNESSY,
ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK.

**REPORT OF WALTER N. REDDICK
Fraternal Delegate From the American
Federation of Labor to the 39th Con-
vention of the Trades and Labor Con-
gress of Canada**

As your representative to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, I beg to submit the following report:

The 39th Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada convened in the city of Vancouver, Province of British Columbia, on September 10, 1923, lasting until September 15, 1923. There were present 217 duly accredited delegates and three fraternal delegates—Mr. Frank Hodges, from the British Trade Union Congress; Mr. J. W. Brown, from the International Federation of Trade Unions, with headquarters in Amsterdam, representing an approximate 25 millions of organized workers, and Walter Reddick, representing the American Federation of Labor.

The opening convention proceedings were featured by an address of welcome from R. H. Neelands, M. L. A., President of the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council, and an address by Mayor Tisdall, who, unlike other mayors, forgot to turn over to the delegates the "key" of the city. Another address of welcome was delivered by the Provincial Minister of Labor.

After the appointment of the various Committees and the report of the Credentials Committee accepted, without pausing to take a fresh breath, the delegates plunged into the very heart of the work and kept it up every day, disposing of much business of legislative nature in the interests of the Canadian toilers.

Needless to say, a number of resolutions were "hardy annuals," some of "local color," and a great bulk were of a much wider importance, provoking characteristically vehement debate.

The high spots of the convention were a series of resolutions dealing with the organization of the Canadian labor movement on industrial rather than craft lines, the resolutions "demanding a greater degree of Canadian autonomy." These resolutions were debated at length. It was forcefully pointed out that the Canadian workers would be committing deliberate suicide were they to endorse these resolutions. It was also pointed out where, for every dollar paid as per capita tax by the Canadian workers into the international funds "across the line," these same workers receive from two to five times as much in benefits. It was further pointed out that the local unions have now local autonomy and nothing further would be gained by

the adoption of these resolutions other than to weaken their strength in the economic field and destroy the effectiveness of the organization. The convention, by a vote of three to one, sustained the committee on the report of non-concurrence in these resolutions and voted favorably upon the substituted resolution offered by the Committee, wherein they embodied the adhesion to the present form of international Trade Union organization and affiliation, which has done so much to advance the interests of the workers and the Trade Union movement as a whole.

The Executive Council of the Congress, in the annual report, which was enthusiastically and favorably adopted by the convention, referring to the American Federation of Labor and the affiliated international organizations, observed that:

"Our relations with the American Federation of Labor and the International Unions affiliated thereto, having branches in Canada, have been of the most cordial nature during the past year and your Executive wishes to express their appreciation of the good work carried out in Canada by the organizers and special representatives of these International Unions and of the American Federation of Labor, and of their friendly co-operation with the Congress."

Among other important subjects dealt with and endorsed by the convention were:

That an amendment to the Militia Act be made, by which it would become competent only for Municipal Councils or Provincial Governments to call out the militia in time of strife, instead of, as it is now, being in the hands of Federal and Judiciary powers.

That this Congress reaffirm its endorsement of the League of Nations as an institution for international peace and good-will among the nations of the earth.

That the Dominion Government be asked to assume responsibility for the well-being of harvesters imported from the old country, and prevent their drifting into unemployment in the cities.

The Congress placed itself on record most emphatically for a selective immigration policy to be adopted by the Dominion Government, and that the administration of the Immigration Department be under a separate minister of the Crown, or under the direction of the Minister of Labor, instead of the haphazard way in which it is now conducted. Also that all labor hired outside of Canada should be included among prohibited classes, except when it is secured through the employment service of the Dominion Government.

That Oriental labor be excluded and

the activities of Oriental residents be subjected to Government supervision.

A very interesting part of the Convention proceedings were the addresses of the fraternal delegates. Delegate Hodges, from Great Britain, in an eloquent and forceful manner placed before the Convention the trials and aspirations of the British workers. He stated that Labor's destiny is to rehabilitate the world through constitutional methods. He thrilled the convention when he stated that Bolshevistic Russia and Bolshevik systems have nothing to offer to the rest of the world other than misery. He concluded by stating that Labor will eventually lead the world out of the chaos of war into the realms of peace, bring love where there was hatred, bring harmony where there was discord. He concluded by urging Labor to maintain its international relations and considered its lot a happy one to be so closely allied with the brothers across the line.

Delegate Brown of the International Federation of Trade Unions gave a very interesting address on the advance of the Trade Union movement in England. Delegate Brown stated that some 100 years ago a man could be transported or jailed for joining a union; now they are hobnobbing with the King. Labor, stated the delegate, stands for true patriotism, and true patriotism means taking a practical interest in the welfare of fellow citizens.

As your representative, I conveyed to the delegates in attendance fraternal greetings and well wishes for the continuous friendly relations between the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the American Federation of Labor in the interests of the workers of this continent, pointing out that there is very little difference between the interests of the workers of Canada and of the United States. Our aims and aspirations being based upon the same economic system, it behooved us to fight our battles unitedly to the end that a common advance and a common good may be achieved. The three thousand miles of an imaginary boundary should not deviate us from our common cause, and though our problems differed in some respects, if fundamentals were the same, and it behooved us to maintain the identity of interests which are so characteristic among the workers of this North American Continent.

On the last day of the convention the election of officers was proceeded with. President Thomas Moore was re-elected, and Secretary-Treasurer P. Draper was also re-elected. London, Ontario, was the city selected to hold the next Annual Convention of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress.

In conclusion I wish to extend my thanks to the officers and delegates of the 39th annual convention of the

Congress for their hospitality tendered to me as fraternal delegate.

Fraternally submitted,

WALTER N. REDDICK.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Conboy, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The Business Cycle and Unemployment

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 40, 41, 42, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in the recommendations of the Executive Council on this matter. We believe wage reductions should be opposed and resisted at all times. Such reductions curtail the purchasing power of the wage workers and where put into effect are detrimental to the entire community.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Attacks on Trade Unions

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 58 and 59, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is well aware of the fact that trades unions have been attacked and denounced almost continually. We do not expect that they will be patted on the back now. It is seldom your enemy becomes your friend.

"A man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still," and any and all attacks against trade unions should be resisted and opposed.

We agree with the Executive Council that the President of the American Federation of Labor should continue to make public the true status of any controversy that may arise or fight that may develop between employers and employees.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Observance of Contract and Cessation of Work

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 63, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee gave careful considera-

tion to that part of the Executive Council's report dealing with contracts and agreements broken by employers or employers' organizations.

We consulted with the officials of the international unions mentioned in the report and decided to deal with the case of each international union separately.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

United Mine Workers of America

The report of the Executive Council under the above caption sets forth the complete success which attended the strike of the United Mine Workers during the year 1922. It is especially gratifying to note that the industrial struggle of the United Mine Workers ended in a complete victory. We congratulate the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America upon their success and the manifestation of solidarity, unity and strength of purpose shown during the trying and historic struggle.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Granite Cutters

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under this caption, your committee commends the Granite Cutters on the stand they took and the splendid victory won in face of the opposition of their employers extending over a period of more than two years. The maintaining of the 44-hour week, and in some localities the five-day work week, with a minimum rate of wages of \$8.00 per day, is something indeed to be proud of.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

International Ladies' Garment Workers

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under this caption, your committee congratulates the Ladies' Garment Workers on the reduction of their working hours to forty hours per week. If they should appeal the Montreal injunction case to a higher court, we would suggest that they keep the President of the American Federation of Labor posted on its progress and final result.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

International Typographical Union

Upon that portion of the Executive

Council's report under the above caption, your committee reports as follows:

President Howard of the International Typographical Union supplied your committee with the following information, which we gladly submit to you:

The International Typographical Union has paid the greatest price any trade union has ever been called upon to pay to establish the validity of an agreement. In 1919 it had become apparent the Saturday half holiday in the commercial printing industry was imminent. This step forward being inescapable because of universal demand and the strength of the International Typographical Union, the employers pleaded for time in which to prepare for the change. As a result of extended negotiations it was agreed the 44-hour week should become effective May 1, 1921. Due to the proffered support of open-shoppers and advocates of the so-called American Plan, when the latter date arrived the International Union was confronted with a nation-wide fight in the United States and Canada to secure the enjoyment of that which had been agreed upon.

Of the 40,000 members of the International Typographical Union employed in book and job industry, more than one-fourth were compelled to strike. At the end of two and a half years there still remain upon strike rolls about 2000 members of the organization, in more than 60 cities. The 70,000 members of the Union have assessed themselves nearly \$17,000,000, of which approximately \$15,000,000 has been spent in the contest to compel employers to observe agreements fairly negotiated and freely entered into.

While this organization has undoubtedly established the high-water mark for expenditures in a contest of this kind, and has arrayed against it the combined anti-union element of the nation, it emerges with its financial condition stronger than ever before, its membership rolls complete; its members enjoying better wages, hours and conditions than ever before, and its ability to accomplish in the future only measured by the undaunted spirit of its members.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Textile Industries

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under this caption, your committee reports as follows:

President McMahon says that the shorter work week is a blessing to all workers who are now enjoying it.

There are now many opportunities afforded to these workers to discuss many things pertaining not only to family progress, but also to discuss local, state and national questions. These discussions undoubtedly are having a good influence in the many localities and states where such shorter working hours are in operation.

The best way to protect future generations is by and through organization among the women and children who toil in industry today, to the end that the shorter workday may be secured by and through their economic efforts, to all of which your committee concurs.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Work of Our Organizers

Your committee concurs in that part of the Executive Council's report under the above caption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 3 by striking out in the second "Resolve" the words, "and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada," making the amended resolution read:

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates E. H. Fitzgerald, J. Louie England, A. J. Pickett, Wade Shurtleff, J. H. Sylvester, P. J. Kelly, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, There are two organizations in the Dominion of Canada, namely, the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, an international organization, and the National Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees; and

WHEREAS, These two organizations represent relatively the same class of employees, namely, Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Store-room and Station Employees; and

WHEREAS, This operates to a very serious extent against the best interests of the members of both these organizations and against the cause of labor in Canada as a whole; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, intending at all times to act for the best interests of labor as a

whole, did by action of its 1922 Convention adopt a resolution favoring the consolidation of these two organizations in the following manner: That the Grand President make request to the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees that each organization appoint two representatives, who in turn shall meet and select a fifth representative who is without affiliation in either organization, this Board of Arbitration to be vested by both organizations with full authority to investigate all features of the proposal that the two Brotherhoods consolidate and to render a decision to cover the basis upon which the consolidation shall be consummated, which decision shall be mandatory on both organizations; and

WHEREAS, The Grand President of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees did make such request to the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, the result of which was the appointing of a committee composed of M. M. McLean and H. L. Preston, representing the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees; M. S. Carr, Jr., and H. Carr, representing the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, and F. McKenna was selected as the Chairman and the fifth committeeman; and

WHEREAS, The following:

Section 1 (a)—That there shall be an amalgamation of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees and the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

Section 1 (b)—Following the amalgamation there shall be created a Canadian division of the body, which shall be known by whatever name may be hereafter decided upon.

Section 2—The Canadian Division to have jurisdiction over the organization in Canada, in compliance with the general laws of the Grand Lodge and the terms of this agreement.

Section 3—That until the membership of the Canadian Division shall decide otherwise, the officers of the Canadian Division shall be elected by and from the Canadian membership, who shall determine their numbers and duties.

Section 4—There shall be elected in regular convention, or as otherwise agreed, an International Representative, who shall be a member of the Canadian Division.

Section 5—That a per capita tax shall be paid to the Brotherhood Grand Lodge, the amount of which is to be mutually arranged with due regard to liabilities assumed by the Grand Lodge.

Section 6—That all funds and property acquired by the Canadian membership shall be retained or disposed of by the Division as they may decide.

Section 7—That the Canadian Division shall, if in their judgment it is necessary, issue or cause to be issued

a magazine or other publication in the interests of the Canadian membership as a basis for working out the consolidation as agreed upon; and

WHEREAS, The Committee did meet at intervals from September 25 to November 29, 1922, and no satisfactory agreement as to consolidation of the two organizations was reached, due to not being able to agree on a satisfactory interpretation of the provisions as outlined in the platform hereinbefore quoted; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees is affiliated with and a part of the American Federation of Labor and also of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled urge that the affiliated International and National organizations make request upon their officers and local membership in Canada to assist the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees in organizing this class of railroad and steamship employees into this organization; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor assign a representative to assist in organizing every eligible railway and steamship employee into the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

With this change your committee recommends that the matter be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for favorable consideration and action in bringing about one organization of the craft, provided the funds of the Federation permit.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The committee amended Resolution No. 5 by striking out the word "building" in the first line of the second "Whereas," and adding the words, "under consideration" after the word "matter" in the third line of the Resolve. The amended resolution reads:

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates T. F. McMahon, S. A. Conboy, H. A. Riviere, Gus Geiges, of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, There is a movement today among the large textile manufacturers of the Northern States to have erected in the Southern States mills for the purpose of keeping Northern workers in subjection; and

WHEREAS, This movement has so grown that it now becomes a menace not only to the Textile Workers but to thousands of workers in other trades in the mills; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Coun-

cil of the American Federation of Labor be requested to take this matter under consideration to the end that organizers be sent into Southern fields to organize the workers there, particularly in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee.

With these changes your committee refers the matter to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for compliance therewith, provided the funds of the Federation permit.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers, discussed the subject and said, in part: I fully appreciate the assistance rendered the Textile Workers in the past by the American Federation of Labor. The intent of the resolution as submitted by the delegation representing the United Textile Workers of America is to drive home, if possible, to the many organizations, through the representatives of their craft, trade or calling, that they too, should get busy, as we are among the workers of the Southland. We want to bring home to those who come from the sunny south the fact that we need their assistance badly today. The northern manufacturers today are taking the profits made from the sweat and the blood of northern operatives and are erecting in the south large mills for the purpose, and that purpose alone, of securing labor in the south as cheaply as they possibly can, particularly women and children.

We know the conditions there, we know that in some of the great terminals and in some of the other industrial centers women and children find that there is no place for employment, and the first thing you know our employers of the north build up these institutions in the southland, have our good people there working under miserable conditions, long hours and for low wages.

If we could but impress the delegates with the necessity of assisting us to a greater extent than ever before in organizing these workers in the south in our industry, what a magnificent showing would be seen in these conventions. Last year we had the satisfaction of meeting the foe face to face and fighting him as best we could until we succeeded in driving him back. We are still on that drive, we want to go over the top, and if we can but secure the assistance of the International Unions I don't fear for the results, neither do my friends who are representatives with me at this Convention.

We appreciate the support of some of the International Unions who are at all times ready to lend assistance, but we know of International Unions who will come into our midst when organizations have been developed and there raise the question of jurisdiction. I want to say here and now that if no attempt has been made by those organizations to or-

ganize these workers and they come in here asking for jurisdiction, they will find us here fighting against it and doing everything possible to place those workers on the inside of the fence of the mill within our organization, where they properly belong, if we expend all our energy and all our resources for that particular purpose.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Later in the session, Delegate Bowen, representing the Alabama State Federation of Labor, stated that he was late in arriving at the convention hall and was therefore unfamiliar with the committee's report on Resolution No. 5. On learning of the committee's action, Delegate Bowen requested that the report be amended to include the State of Alabama.

President Gompers stated that in order to meet the request of the delegate, reconsideration of the Convention's action in connection with Resolution No. 5 would be necessary.

Delegate Duffy, chairman of the Committee on Organization, moved a reconsideration of the matter. The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Bowen then moved that the word "Alabama" be added to the "Resolve" of Resolution No. 5. The motion was seconded.

Delegate Græer, Louisiana, moved as an amendment that the words, "and all other Southern States," be added to the "Resolve." This was accepted by Delegate Bowen as a part of his motion, which was adopted on being put to vote.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 10, 11, 14 and 18, all bearing upon the same subject. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646, of Greater New York:

WHEREAS, On page 42 of the 1923 Executive Council report appears a special article devoted to "Women in Industry" and directing attention to a decision by the United States Supreme Court invalidating the minimum wage law for the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, At a conference of representatives of 27 organizations attended by President Gompers, Vice-President Woll and Secretary Morrison, it was urged to give earnest consideration to helping women to organize in furtherance of constructive industrial ideals; and

WHEREAS, It is an indisputable fact

that women are entering the sphere of office workers in large numbers, statistics placing women workers in offices at 268,500 in New York City, equivalent to 46.5 per cent, and who are surely supplanting the men office workers; and

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646 finds in its work of organization a tremendous field of women office workers who are negligent in embracing the protection of the Union in their profession; and

WHEREAS, The women office workers now employed are divided into the following occupational groups, i. e., Agents—1,578; Canvassers—410; Collectors—254; Accountants, Auditors—1,800; Bookkeepers, Cashiers—58,624; Clerks—95,208; Bundle and Cash Girls—448; Messenger and Typists—1,545; Stenographers and Typists—103,721; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Portland, Oregon, Oct. 1, make a special effort to solve this problem and adopt measures and evolve plans looking forward to a successful organization campaign whereby the women office workers can be enrolled into the Union.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646, of Greater New York:

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646 entered into a campaign some months ago, having for its purpose the unionizing of bank clerks; and

WHEREAS, With the publicity given to this effort by the press, the bank clerks individually and collectively appeared at our office and told of their hardship, long hours of exacting work and low salary, others sent letters corroborating these claims, while bank messengers and watchmen all clamored to be organized, and clerks in brokers' and insurance offices all joined in the cry for a Union; and

WHEREAS, It is estimated that 20,000 clerks are employed in the banks in New York, and thousands of the other clerks in brokers' and insurance offices; and

WHEREAS, Clerks and office workers in the Federated Bank of New York and the Amalgamated Bank have joined the B. S. & A. U. 12646, and we have the assurance of the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union that when their bank opens, the clerks and office workers will also join our Union, and an effort is being made to organize the office workers of the Engineers' Bank of New York City; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 43d Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., Portland, Oregon, that a plan be evolved whereby the B. S. & A. U. No. 12646 will be given such assistance as will insure success in their important organizing campaign.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Ernest

Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646, of Greater New York:

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646 was reorganized by the direction of President Samuel Gompers in July, 1922; and

WHEREAS, This action was taken because of the fact that the B. S. & A. U. 12646 was dominated over and controlled by a group whose sole purpose was propaganda for communist theories, and opposed to the basic principles of the American Federation of Labor and the American labor movement it represents; and

WHEREAS, The tactics of this communist group was in effect that they would assemble in a caucus in advance of a meeting of the union, and then enter the meeting in a bloc and crush every opposition; and

WHEREAS, Owing to these tactics, nothing constructive was accomplished to organize and unite the great army of office workers in Greater New York; and

WHEREAS, Since the reorganization of the B. S. & A. U. 12646 real constructive work has been done, Representative Hugh Frayne being at all times in close touch with the officers, ready to advise and aid; and

WHEREAS, The B. S. & A. U. 12646 has gained and is gaining in membership, and has consistently embraced the policies of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Portland, Oregon, October 1, extends to the B. S. & A. U. 12646 its assistance in the work of further organizing the office workers in Greater New York, and urges all affiliated unions employing office workers to render support to the effort and inducing such workers to join the union.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646, of Greater New York:

WHEREAS, The City of New York is the greatest workshop, as well as the greatest market on this continent, it is the money and commercial center of the United States; in the last five years it has become the banking center of the world; and

WHEREAS, New York is the world's greatest industrial center as revealed in the census figures just compiled: it has 32,590 factories, employing 825,056 workers, producing annually goods valued at \$5,260,707,577; in addition are the city's stupendous financial and commercial transactions, its transport business, its bustling municipal government; and

WHEREAS, In these various major occupations, as well as in the countless minor businesses, the army of clerical workers occupy a strategic place, their total strength being approximately 402,414 in the Greater City, divided on a 53-46

basis, the men having slightly the majority; and

WHEREAS, In this army are included secretaries, stenographers, accountants, bookkeepers, auditors, clerks of various degree, typists and office boys and office girls; and

WHEREAS, Without their skilled aid, the executives could not execute, the banker could not operate his bank, the manufacturer could not strike his balance, this city's intricate commercial structure depends to a vital degree upon the efficiency and toll of this army of trained office workers; and

WHEREAS, The importance of the army of clerks in the city's life can be ascertained by a comparison of the occupational groups as shown in the 1920 revenue figures, i. e. manufacturing \$25,056, clerical 402,414, trade 392,000; domestic service 306,000, transportation 241,379, professional 168,000, public service 60,000; and

WHEREAS, Since productive workers in the city of New York are estimated at 2,531,412, the clerks' army is about 16 per cent of the total number of persons gainfully employed, second in importance only to the workers in the manufacturing and the mechanical occupations; and

WHEREAS, These office workers are eligible to membership in Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Portland, Oregon, that a determined effort be made in devising ways and means to assist the B. S. & A. U. 12646 in organizing the workers immediately.

These resolutions deal with organizing the office workers, particularly the women office workers of the city of New York, under the banner of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646 of that city.

Your committee considered the four resolutions at one and the same time and decided to recommend that they be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to give what assistance that body can in organizing those eligible and qualified for admission to said union, provided the funds of the Federation permit.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate John H. Walker of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Only a small percentage of the great working masses are as yet members of trade unions, great numbers

being still unorganized in nearly all the industries; and

WHEREAS, This state of affairs not only militates against the unorganized, who are helpless, but against the organized as well, who find themselves severely handicapped in their struggle for better conditions by the ever-present army of unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The present temporary spurt of prosperity offers a splendid opportunity to bring these unorganized masses into unions and thus enormously strengthen our ranks against the bitter onslaughts that are bound to come from the employers at the first slackening up of industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois Federation of Labor, in its 41st Annual Convention, calls upon the American Federation of Labor to unite all its affiliated organizations for a great organization drive in all localities and industries in order to finally bring within the protecting folds of organized labor the masses who still remain outside.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for further action, provided the funds of the Federation permit.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The 42d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in session at Cincinnati, Ohio, went on record as recommending to all affiliated National and International Unions the adoption of such changes in their laws as would provide for the acceptance of traveling cards, or such other evidences of membership in good standing in any other recognized trade union, based upon the applicant's ability to perform the work covered by such organization in such a manner as to command the going minimum scale, in lieu of any initiation fee; and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of many experienced trade union members that the removal of the necessity for additional entrance fees, under conditions that will properly safeguard the various organizations affected, will more closely cement the labor movement and will eliminate much of the seasonal loss in membership, when once generally adopted; and

WHEREAS, Certain affiliated organizations at the present time accept such evidences of membership in lieu of initiation fees, from certain other organizations, and this practice has not been found destructive or hurtful, but rather of a helpful character; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we reaffirm our position on this question and again recommend its

adoption by the various affiliated national and international unions.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The success of the trades union movement depends in large part on the proper functioning of local and state central bodies; and

WHEREAS, These bodies can only efficiently serve the movement when they have the maximum affiliation and co-operation of all eligible locals, a condition that does not now exist owing to the refusal or neglect of these locals to conform to the spirit of the American Federation of Labor in effecting such affiliation in many instances; and

WHEREAS, Where voluntary affiliation is in effect, the burden of carrying on the active work of local and state central bodies is borne by those unions whose virile membership maintains such membership, or whose organic laws require such affiliation, a burden that could well be borne by all to the greater advancement of the movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43d annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that while we express appreciation for the continued efforts of the American Federation of Labor officers, as well as those of affiliated national and international unions, in urging such voluntary affiliation, that we recommend to all of these affiliated organizations such changes in their organic law as will provide for the compulsory affiliation of all subordinate local unions with all regularly chartered local or state central bodies of the American Federation of Labor.

Eleven resolutions on this same subject were acted upon by the Cincinnati Convention of the American Federation of Labor last year through the Committee on Laws, that body reporting as follows, which was adopted:

In view of the fact that this subject has been before many preceding conventions, and decisions have been rendered on same, your committee believes that, while we are heartily in sympathy with the spirit of the resolution—that is, while we believe it is the duty of all international unions to see to it that all local unions are affiliated with central bodies and state bodies, so that the labor movement, both in the cities and states, can be strengthened—we feel it would be inadvisable for the Federation to go any farther than what has been done at present.

The law requires at present that all international unions see to it that the local unions coming under their jurisdiction shall instruct local unions to affil-

ate with the state and central bodies. To go any farther we would have to make it compulsory and mandatory. We believe that this would not be in the best interests of the movement in general.

Splendid results are now being obtained by the method adopted by the Federation, which is, that whenever complaint is made by a central body or state branch to the president or secretary of the American Federation of Labor, they immediately correspond with the international unions and request that the said international unions immediately ask their local unions to affiliate, as per the complaint. This policy is being so successful each year that to change it at this time would be, in our judgment, inadvisable.

We, therefore, recommend non-concurrence in the resolution.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends non-concurrence in this resolution and reaffirmation of the action of the Cincinnati Convention.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegates Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor; Greer, Louisiana State Federation of Labor; Hartwig, Painters; Von Schrlitz, Portland Central Labor Council; Sullivan, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Hartwig, Meat Cutters; Valentino, Georgia State Federation of Labor, and Nelson, Kansas City Central Labor Union, spoke briefly in opposition to the report of the committee and in favor of some action which would have the effect of bringing about a more general affiliation of the various organizations in the city central and State bodies.

It was pointed out by those who spoke that it was unfair to the affiliated unions paying per capita tax to these bodies that they should bear the entire burden of a movement that is beneficial to all; that in times of strike or other difficulty, the city central and State bodies are frequently called upon by the international unions for assistance and encouragement, and that, therefore, the international unions should lend their influence in the effort to prevail upon their local unions to affiliate.

Delegate Duffy, chairman of the committee, stated that Delegate Fox of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor was the only delegate who had appeared before the committee in support of the resolution, although all delegates interested had been notified that the committee would meet. He further stated that the committee was influenced in its action very largely by the action of the

1922 convention in Cincinnati, when eleven resolutions on the subject were considered.

He stated, further, that during the discussion a delegate had informed him that the representatives of the city central and State bodies would assemble in meeting on Thursday evening, with the end in view of reaching some sort of an understanding with the International officers of the various organizations on the subject.

Upon motion of Delegate Von Schriltz, Portland Central Labor Council, the resolution was referred back to the committee to give opportunity to the city central and State body representatives to go into the matter more fully.

President Gompers: The chair has noticed the entrance into the hall of Delegate George L. Berry, President of the Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' International Union of North America. Brother Berry comes directly from a troublesome field of activity. He has been engaged in a tremendously important contest in the interests of the honor and integrity of the American trade union movement, though it has been confined to his own industry in the locality of New York. With your consent, I suggest that Brother Berry be invited to address this convention for ten or fifteen minutes and give a report to this convention of the situation as it developed and how it now stands.

ADDRESS OF MR. GEORGE L. BERRY
President International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union

Mr. President and Delegates: I appreciate very much this opportunity which you have accorded me in making it possible to say a word with reference to a situation that you are to some extent familiar with, namely, the strike of the newspaper web pressmen of New York City. In the first instance, permit me to say that it is sometimes painful to be compelled to oppose the desires and the wishes of those that you have the honor to represent; but in the situation in New York City there was no alternative, because of the morality involved, than to take a firm position against the action of one of our largest organizations in America and stand squarely and uncompromisingly back of the newspaper publishers of that city, who had indicated their desire and their wish to run union offices, to determine the differences as between them and the press-

men of that city upon the basis of conciliation and arbitration.

For more than two months we had been in the process of negotiations, and had made some substantial progress, and then, without announcement and without intimation, a membership of 300 people out of 2,200 newspaper web pressmen elected by show of hands in a meeting to strike the newspapers of New York City. Of the 300 pressmen, 175 of them were what we call juniors, young men who have come into the newspaper business during the progress of the war, without regard to responsibility, or without responsibility, and without much respect for trade union principles or trade union laws. They called this strike in contravention and contradiction to their local laws, and their international laws, and to an existing contract that had been executed as between them and the publishers of New York City and the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America.

When that occurred, I issued a statement in which I said that the strike was illegal and unwarranted, and directed the men to return to their employment. They declined to do so. I called a meeting of the membership of that organization and told them personally that they would be required to return to their employment or their charter would be revoked. They declined to do so, after which I announced that I would print the newspapers of New York City in accordance with our contract with our publishers if it became necessary to shut down 100 newspapers on the continent of America, and still they refused to comply with the decision.

We proceeded to print the New York newspapers, and we proceeded to execute, in accordance with our negotiations, a new agreement which brought these men a six and one-half hour night, a forty-five hour week and the largest increase in wages that has ever been given in the history of the newspaper business in New York City. And I have the honor of being able to say to you that after ten days a vote was taken by the striking pressmen of that city, and by a vote of twelve to one they returned to their employment under the best contract that has ever been executed in New York City, or in any other city in the United States and Canada.

It was purely a question as to whether the International Union would be stamped against right, fact, and justice, or show the courage that we were compelled to show if we were still to retain the integrity and the standing that every international union is entitled to. I am glad to say to you that our board of directors and 99 per cent of every subordinate union of the International Pressmen's and Assistants' Union stood 100 per cent for integrity of contract, for principle, for conciliation and arbitration.

I made this statement, and I am glad to have the privilege of reiterating it

here now, that so far as the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union is concerned, as it affects the newspapers of this country, when a newspaper publisher is willing to recognize our union and to deal with us collectively, and when he is prepared to conciliate such differences as may arise between him and our organization, and then if by failure he is prepared to arbitrate those differences by fair means, then I say that that newspaper has done all that any trade union could expect.

That is the position of our International Union. We have maintained it, and we have come through this controversy 100 per cent. And at this point I want to express my appreciation for the very strong, emphatic and splendid message conveyed to me by the President of the Federation. It was my judgment—and I am glad to know that he acquiesced in that judgment—that it was a situation that involved the standing of every trade union in America, and had we weakened one iota every trade union in America would have been affected as the result of it. I am glad to say to you that at least the New York newspaper publishers have a higher regard for trade unionism today than they ever had before.

And this should be said, too: That in the conduct of this situation not one non-union man entered the pressrooms of New York City, and not one non-union man is now employed in the pressrooms of New York City. The newspapers will continue to be 100 per cent union, operating in accordance with American traditions and American ideals as laid down by the American Federation of Labor. That is the story, and I thank you.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate E. J. Tracy, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association, 11773, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The American Federation has been repeatedly asked to appoint organizers to work chiefly in the interests of the office workers of this country; and

WHEREAS, There are over two million workers in this branch of industry who are unorganized, and to whom the labor movement stands as their only hope for industrial betterment; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council in its report to this Convention has pressed the necessity of organizing women and children; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the local unions now chartered by the American Federation of Labor be granted an international charter as soon as possible, to the end that the organization of the office workers may soon be achieved; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if possible one or more of the staff of American Federation of Labor organizers be designated to assist in this work of organization.

This resolution deals with two distinct matters:

1. The granting of an international charter.

2. The appointing of one or more organizers to assist in organizing work.

On the first proposition, the granting of an international charter, your Committee finds that this proposition has been acted upon by several Conventions. At the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L., held in 1921, it was decided that when it could be shown that they had 6,000 members or more, the Executive Council should grant them a charter, but as they have only about 2,500 members at the present time, your Committee recommends that the action of the Denver Convention be reaffirmed.

On the second proposition, requesting the services of an organizer, your Committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council for further consideration and action, provided the funds of the Federation permit.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate James F. Brock, of the Laundry Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, A special circular letter, issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, requesting the salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor to pay particular attention to organizing the workers in the laundry industry; and

WHEREAS, This circular letter was productive of very good results; and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' Union is not in a financial condition to be able to carry on active organizing work in the many and various sections of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor, calling their attention to the fact that the laundry industry is to a great extent unorganized at the present time, and requesting them to do their utmost to organize the laundry workers, as many thousands of women employed in the laundry industry at this time are now receiving far less than a living wage.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate E. E.

Schwarztrauber, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is definitely committed to a program of education for adult workers; and

WHEREAS, It is vitally interested in the type of education in the public schools upon which adult education must be built; and

WHEREAS, Such public school education is secured through the instruction of a teaching body largely unacquainted with the problems of the wage earners of America; and

WHEREAS, This results in a type of instruction unsocial in its effects upon the youth, and hostile to the efforts of organized labor in developing a constructive program of reform in industrial conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give its financial support to the American Federation of Teachers in its efforts to effect a thorough organization of the teachers of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in further cooperation with the American Federation of Teachers, initiate through affiliated international and central labor bodies a campaign of organization of teachers in their respective localities, to the end that the teachers of America be brought into intimate and understanding contact with the ideals and aims of the American Federation of Labor, and that democracy in education and education for democracy be made possible thereby.

Your Committee favorably recommends this resolution to the Executive Council, provided the funds of the Federation permit.

Delegate Schwarztrauber, in discussing the recommendation, said in part: You have had a great many requests this morning for organization of various workers of the United States, but I submit there is not a more vital place for you to commence organization, and one which ought to be taken care of by the American Federation of Labor, than that of the organization of the teachers of America.

You have in your past conventions discussed the problems of education, the type of education our boys and girls are getting in the schools today, and still we have only about six-tenths of one per cent of all the teachers organized. The significance of that is evident to everyone. It means, first of all, this: That the teachers of America, as a body, are not acquainted with the problems of

the working men. The average teacher—and I speak now from experience—knows scarcely anything of the labor man's point of view and, consequently, when the boys and girls are in civics classes, and other classes, they are taught that the American Federation of Labor stands for un-American ideals.

Unless the teachers are helped to see the advantages of organization, in order that their wages may be raised and a better type of teachers come into the schools, they will undo a vast amount of the good you are attempting to do in the organizations of America.

There must be cooperation from international officers and central labor bodies. You can do a vast amount of good in your own communities wherever you have the opportunity to encourage the teachers to organize. I believe the time is ripe and the teachers of America are willing to organize, but they have not the proper encouragement or the proper information.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Dennis Lane and C. S. Hartwig of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America:

WHEREAS, Organization of the workers in the meat-packing and stockyards industry of America was virtually destroyed in the winter of 1921-22, after making a noble struggle to preserve the standards that had been established by an organized effort of the workers; and

WHEREAS, Many of these workers were never allowed to return to their places in the industry, eliminating those most active in their organization and forcing them to obtain employment elsewhere; and

WHEREAS, The industry is one of America's basic industries, the standards of labor there employed reflect upon the workers in other trades, we believe the American labor movement should make every effort to assist the packing-house and stockyard workers to rebuild their organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention adopt and promote a plan that will assist the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen in their efforts to reorganize the workers engaged in America's great meat-packing plants and stockyard centers.

Your Committee refers this resolution to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the officials of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of

America to work out a plan to organize the workers in this industry.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers: Fellow Delegates, permit me the privilege of interrupting the proceedings for a few minutes. There happens to be among us as a visitor to our convention this morning one of the conspicuous and outstanding figures in the trade union movement of Great Britain. He has visited Canada as a representative of organized labor, and is now, and has been for nearly three weeks, an observer of affairs, industrial and otherwise, in the United States. He is in our convention and now upon the platform.

I refer to the Secretary of the Coal Miners' Federation of Great Britain and Secretary of the International Federation of Coal Miners of the World, an organization of which our own United Mine Workers is a part, Frank Hodges, whom I now take pleasure in introducing.

ADDRESS OF MR. FRANK HODGES
Secretary Coal Miners' Federation of
Great Britain

Mr. President, and Delegates: The fact that I am not a delegate to your American Federation convention has meant that I have had to have the courtesy extended to me to speak here, not only by the President of this convention, but by my colleagues who are fraternal delegates to this convention from Great Britain. I wish to add that this courtesy came from them with the greatest possible generosity, Mr. Walker and Mr. Robinson expressing their desire to hear what I had to say with equal candor and freedom as indeed was expressed by your own President.

Here in this congress are the representatives of a great union which forms part of our own International Miners' Federation. I refer to the American Mine Workers' association, and the record of that organization during the last three or four years marks it out in the eyes of the British trade unionists as one of the greatest trade union organizations on the American continent. We are proud of that fact, we are proud of its achievements, but we are prouder

still of the achievements of the trade union movement of America as a whole.

I have read the speeches made by my colleagues yesterday, and I don't propose for a single minute to go over any of the ground that they touched, but I would like to give expression to one conclusion I have arrived at since I have been here, and that is that you have taught the world in America how to maintain the purchasing power of the workers, and therefore you have maintained a standard of living in America for the workers of America higher than the standard of living in any civilized country.

Not that the dollar is, in my mind, the "almighty dollar." Since I have been here I have discovered it to be the most elusive dollar. No sooner have you got it in your hand than it is out again. I venture to say a British pound does not go very far in America.

Although you earn a considerable amount of dollars in wages, it is not the amount of dollars that convinces me that your standard is higher than the standard of living in our country. I have seen, I have witnessed, I have definitely adjudged that, apart from the monetary expression of the dollar, your standard of living is higher than any standard of living I have ever come across for the working class movement.

Now that is due, it seems to me, entirely to the fact that you have in the initial stages of your organization, and in the latter stages, concentrated upon keeping wages at the peak all the time. Wages to you must always be at the maximum, and the very fact that you have been able to keep wages at the maximum has made it possible for you within the confines of your own country to eliminate unemployment to a very great extent, because your people have been able, by the fact that they have the spending power in their pockets, to keep industries going at their maximum capacity; while in England and in Europe generally, because wages have fallen and we have permitted them to fall, unemployment has increased, industries have languished, business has come to a standstill, and the latter stage is infinitely worse than the first.

It is so obvious to us when we come

to America, it is so clear in our minds as to how you have succeeded in doing it, that we take our lessons back to the old world to emulate your splendid example. Since the war we have lost wages in Great Britain to the tune of hundreds of millions of pounds per annum, merely because it was the accepted philosophy that the only way to a recovery in trade, the only way to re-establish ourselves in the markets of the world, was to decrease the cost of production down to the minimum point, and particularly through wages.

Although we are a great exporting nation, the maximum, the majority and the highest percentage of our products are consumed at home, and as long as we are consuming a majority of our products at home it is clear that if we have low wages in order to sell a minority of our products abroad the general standard of living of all must fall.

Our wives and families, when they go to the store, go with less money; less bread is bought, less clothing is bought, less boots are bought, less books are bought, less a thousand and one things are bought, because we cannot with our decreased purchasing power get the goods. The result is that cotton factories, woolen factories, our agricultural and vegetable products, decline.

The standard of living in Great Britain today is a thing of which we are heartily ashamed. It is true we are involved in political international complications which may not affect you, but, nevertheless, we shall be resolved, after what we have seen here, that, despite the capitalistic, political and international conditions of Europe, despite the fact that we are weak and ailing in our original pre-war industries and markets, for the industry that is in being at home we are going to be resolved to have the maximum wages possible for our people, and prices must adapt themselves to those wages in order that the standard of living for our people may approximate to your own.

I know you have other difficulties. I read President Gompers' speech yesterday with great interest. A student of American affairs cannot help but feel with you the special difficulty of your problems. You have your problem of distances, you have one town perhaps not knowing or scarcely caring how the other town proceeds; one state perhaps with a marked degree of indifference to the interests of the other states; one nationality showing a marked antagonism to another nationality.

I am convinced of this: That out of the very newness of your movement, out of the great dynamic force that comes from youth you are destined to build up a labor movement, both industrial and political, in America that will be a model and a pattern for the rest of the world.

I know that you have very definite views about participation in politics. So did the British labor movement fifty

years ago hold those views. But it is as inevitable as that the sun will rise tomorrow—it strikes me as much more inevitable in this part of the world than at home; you do get the sun rising periodically here—that when your maximum trade union movement has expanded itself in the direction of maintaining high wages, low hours, a generally higher standard of hygiene and well-being in the factories, the human spirit will be the same in America as in all other parts of the world, it will come out for fuller and fuller expansion; and in years to come it will take the form of demanding control and authority and power over those institutions which have come into being and which impress and influence men's lives right down to their minutest detail. It is for you, with this great possibility, to work out this problem. And you will do it. Youth will make itself felt in this regard, and youthful America in the trade union and political movement will show the old world what can be accomplished.

Mr. President and Delegates, in this great task I wish you well. You are embarking on sound lines when you give the seal of your approbation to educational work. Without education no labor movement can get very far. I have read the speech of Mr. Miller which is recorded in your proceedings. That speech indicates to me that you have given your benediction to sound, well-grounded, democratic education in this country. And when the young people of today become the leaders, in ten, fifteen or twenty years' time, they will be all the finer, all the nobler, all the more capable leaders because the men of this congress and other congresses made it possible for them to have a fuller grasp of the elements which make for human knowledge.

I know the American labor movement has been criticized in many countries because it has treated, apparently, with a certain amount of disdain this desire for democratic education; but the fact that you have put the seal of your authority upon the workers' education association is in itself a complete answer to any of that sort of criticism which now may be floating around the world.

One concluding thought, and it is just this: You here are going through the same battle of ideas as we are in the old country, and, for that matter, as we are in Europe; but as long as there are different mentalities there will always be a clash of ideas. In Europe, as here, the old idea of parliamentary democracy, and democracy generally, is being challenged; it is being challenged by an entirely new theory of government; it is being challenged by the castiron theories developed in Moscow.

Those theories are established with the purpose of showing to the world that democracy as popularly understood is played out; that liberty and fraternity are just figments of the imagination and

that the British labor movement, as indeed they have said to the German labor movement and the French labor movement: "You are on the wrong track. What is required for the emancipation of the working classes is the Soviet system of government."

Now, we don't regard that change as being something of which we take no account. We invite the apostles of this new theory of government to come out into the open and declare from public platforms how it is that this theory of government can be regarded as something infinitely superior to our ideas of democratic government. We invite them out into the open; we say, "Table your arguments; let the world hear what you have to offer." And the more you invite them on the platforms the more obvious it becomes to the ordinary mind that this form of government has nothing to offer or to improve upon our democratic form of government.

I feel sure that the American leader and the American working man is something like the Britisher in this regard: He hates, despises and rejects dictatorship of any character or description. Why, I have often said we are so open-minded in the labor movement that we can scarcely tolerate each other's views, much less tolerate such a view as this. We treat a man's views with courtesy and respect, but we immediately react and rebel against that man if he attempts to impose them upon us. That is as between individuals. When it comes to great and fundamental issues of the evolution of a great community of people whose degree of attainment in culture is marked by the free expression of the human spirit, then all that is best and noblest in us revolts against the idea that our opinions are to be taken, ready-made, from some superior authority.

It is only, it seems to us, both in the trade union movement and in the political movement, when each individual regards himself as a living unit, conscious, full of individual feeling, exercising his own judgment in affairs of both himself and a nation, that he is exercising the prerogatives of a man, not when he is accepting the dictatorship of anyone above or below. There is only one danger, not in the clashing of ideas; we can hold our own and show that our system, which implies the freedom of the human spirit, is the best system; but what is to be guarded against is what is described in Europe as "boring from within," the ruining of a movement from the inside.

You cannot quite lay your hand on the guilty person, but his devastating work you can see in the crumbling of the trade union movement. In your trade union movement, whether it be in the local, in the branch, in the district, or in the national, be on your guard against the individual who gets inside the organization and by stealth, by cunning, by methods which do not lend themselves to the light of day, endeavoring to break

up your organization for the purpose of making you become the intellectual, moral and economic slaves of a system that is hidebound, cast-iron, developed in an Asiatic mind which bears no relation to our Western conceptions of democratic freedom.

Delegate Kovelski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. President, I move that the remarks of Brother Hodges just made to this Convention be made a matter of record and printed in the minutes of today's session. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate McCullough, chairman of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, announced that the committee would be in session during the afternoon at the Multnomah Hotel and requested that all delegates interested in resolutions referred to that committee be in attendance.

Fraternal Delegate R. B. Walker in the chair.

Report of Committee on Organization

The committee continued its report, through Mrs. Sara Conboy, secretary of the committee, as follows:

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Frank Walsh of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The opportunity for organizing women's auxiliaries of the labor unions is particularly auspicious in the State of California; and

WHEREAS, Because of the fact that wives of union men hold the majority of purchasing power in their hands, the need for the education of women in the principles, ideals and purposes of organized labor is apparent to everyone, and the particular work should receive all the support possible; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council be authorized to assign, if possible, a paid woman organizer for the State of California who can devote her entire time and attention to perfecting and centralizing this particular work.

Your Committee favors organizing the women wage workers of our country and calls upon the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to give all the assistance it can to that end.

The organizing of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor Unions, however, comes under the authority of the National

and International Unions. We therefore non-concur in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates Wm. Hannon, M. F. Tighe, Wm. H. Johnston, Chas. H. Moyer, J. A. Franklin, J. P. Noonan, D. P. Haggerty, Edw. J. Evans, J. W. Kline, Andrew Furuseth, A. M. Huddell, Tim Healy, J. W. Morton, and P. J. Morrin:

WHEREAS, At a meeting of the Iron and Steel Institute held in the city of New York a few months ago, a declaration was made by the steel trust officials to the effect that the twelve-hour day in the steel industry would continue indefinitely; and

WHEREAS, Despite the protests of newspaper editors, church societies, influential bodies and citizens, the steel trust officials gave no indication of a change in this policy until the Executive Council of National and International organizations in the steel industry, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, issued a declaration, after their meeting in Chicago, on June 20, 1923, to the effect that a campaign against the twelve-hour workday and for organization of the workers in the steel industry would be inaugurated immediately; and

WHEREAS, Immediately following this declaration the steel trust officials announced that they had decided to change their policy and would put into effect in the steel mills in this country the eight-hour workday in lieu of the twelve-hour day, and the three-shift system in lieu of the two-shift system; and

WHEREAS, Despite this action on the part of the steel trust officials, the campaign for organization was inaugurated and was enthusiastically received by the steel mill workers, which caused the steel trust officials to make further concessions in the form of increased wages; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that in order to successfully organize the steel industry it will be necessary to continue this campaign indefinitely to the end that the steel trust officials may be compelled to place the entire industry on a real eight-hour basis, and to the end that this industry may be thoroughly organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations, pledge its support to this campaign and that International Unions with jurisdiction in this industry are urged to place active organizers in the field, and that the

Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor also be urged to place active organizers in the field and at the disposal of the Executive Council of National and International organizations in the steel industry, to the end that the campaign may be carried on without interruption until such time as the steel industry is one hundred per cent organized.

Your committee is in hearty accord with the spirit and intent of this resolution and therefore favorably recommends it to the Executive Council, provided the funds of the Federation permit.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Gompers: Delegates, the Council of Churches of the city of Portland has asked an opportunity to make a statement to this convention. The delegation consists of Mr. J. D. Neilan, Rev. H. L. Bowman, Rev. T. J. Villers, A. B. Green and Rev. D. E. Nourse. The request has been approved, and on behalf of that Council Rev. Dr. H. L. Bowman will address the convention at this time.

ADDRESS OF DR. H. L. BOWMAN Representing Portland Council of Churches

Mr. President and Delegates: A very few moments will suffice to bring the message that I have. The introduction has been one that I appreciate, and I shall not take too much of your time.

A little over a month ago there was issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor a message relating to the observance of Labor Sunday, and those of us who received that message felt that there was glowing there an idealism that could not but kindle the admiration of anyone who received that message. There was an expression of purpose that would call forth not only the interest, but the appreciative interest of anyone who is open minded to the welfare of man, and today I want to express, not only in behalf of the Council of Churches of Portland here, but in behalf of the churches throughout the country, the answer to that declaration that you issued.

The answer is this: That we do appreciate your movement; we are loyally interested in the ideals you have expressed, and with you we are proponents of that justice which is founded on the brotherhood of all men.

Representing the churches, I cannot come here boldly, because I must confess that the churches have not always given the laboring man a square deal. We must recognize that, and I make no other plea. I feel that there have been many,

many times when we who have taken the name of Jesus of Nazareth have not been true to the spirit and the teachings He has given to us; but I feel that the churches who do assume that name must arise to a new appreciation of the rights of men, there must come a new loyalty to the one who was Himself a working man and who found upon His hands the calluses of toil and found His muscles growing strong through earnest and devoted labor.

Wherever there is exploitation, wherever there is injustice, suffering and need, there is a place, I believe—and an increasing number of us believe—where the church must go with the sensitive sympathy that was in the heart of Jesus Himself, and with helpfulness and friendship. The church is feeling today, as at no time before, the needs of men, the struggles of those who are working for justice; the church is feeling it, and the increasing number of those who are giving the social interpretation of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the contribution that the church has made in the struggle for the eight-hour day in the steel industry, is indicative of the fact that the church, too, is marching on.

The truth is marching on, and that truth means justice, it means brotherhood, it means the abolition of exploitation, it means opportunity, and in line with that onward march your movement is falling, as you increasingly escape from the thralldom of mere self-interest into the freedom that sees in the opportunity for expression your contribution toward a better social order.

And as you are falling in line with that movement, the churches, too, are falling in with a keener social conscience, with a new loyalty to Jesus Christ, who loved men enough to give His life for them. And as we are marching on, comrades, with hands clasped and hearts beating together to the rhythmic tread of our marching, there is the promise of the slow but ultimate victory of that Kingdom of God when men shall brothers be and righteousness and peace reign in the hearts of men.

In behalf of the churches of this great city and country, I express to you my appreciation of your movement and of that for which you stand.

President Gompers: Dr. Bowman, and your associate representatives of the churches of Portland, permit me, on behalf of the delegates to this convention, to express to you, and through you to the rank and file you represent, our deep gratitude for your words of support and sympathy in this great labor movement.

Sometimes we may be crude in our expression. After all, it is an unfolding of the conscience and a better understanding of our mission in life. The proclamation of the Executive Council

of the American Federation of Labor for the observance of Labor Sunday as part of the celebration of America's Labor Day was not a spontaneous expression; it was laboriously reached. We must have the first consideration of the material things of life, for without them we cannot aspire to the higher and the better things. It is most gratifying to us to know that the churches of America are coming nearer to this great humanitarian movement of the workers, and I am free to say to you that it is gratifying to us to know that we are coming nearer to the idealism of the churches.

In the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1893, held in Chicago, there were not less than three millions of America's workers unemployed, and in the city of Chicago, where we were meeting, there were men lying on the stone flooring of the corridor of the city hall, in whose chamber we were holding our sessions, and on the iron steps which we had to descend from the chamber to the level floor there were men lying on each step. There was no other shelter for them, and we had to tread our way carefully lest we would trample upon some part of the human form of an unemployed hungry worker.

I remember that at that convention a delegation of clergymen came to us and delivered an address. It was more of a patronizing, academic expression of sympathy than any offer of helpfulness, and as the presiding officer of that convention I could not help an expression of resentment of that spirit. I called attention to the fact that America's workers resented the idea of being talked down to; we wanted to be spoken to and respected in the spirit of brotherhood.

We wanted them, as we want now, the help of every good man and woman in furthering this great cause in which we are engaged.

I am free to say, and I gladly express the truth that the churches of America and their splendid men have come forward and have performed yeoman work in this great cause in which we are laboring. On behalf of this convention, permit me to say to you, gentlemen, that I thank you for your coming and for the message which you have brought to us.

Delegate Schwarztrauber, of the local

arrangements committee, supplemented the announcement made on Thursday in reference to the playlets to be given on Friday evening at the Labor Temple by the Labor College Players. He also called attention to the literature issued by the college, quantities of which he said were available on the tables, and he urged the delegates to take advantage of it.

Delegate Hartwig, of the local committee, urged all delegates representing central bodies and state federations to attend the meeting in the Labor Temple on Thursday night, at which time the matter of taking steps to bring about the affiliation of unaffiliated unions would be discussed.

Delegate McDonald, Printing Pressmen, called attention to a typographical error in the letter of invitation sent by Mayor Curley, of Boston, to hold the next convention in that city. The letter stated that the city of Boston would contribute \$10,000 to the convention fund, whereas the statement as printed read "\$120,000." President Gompers stated the necessary correction would be made.

Delegate Howard, chairman of the Committee on Shorter Workday, called attention to two vacancies on the committee, Delegates Fitzgerald and Charles F. Scott not being in attendance at the convention. He asked that P. J. Kelly and Joseph B. Reed be substituted for Delegates Fitzgerald and Scott.

The request was concurred in.

Delegate Olsen, Gardeners and Flor-

ists' Union, No. 10615, asked the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution. Consent was granted and the resolution was introduced.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate Arthur J. Olsen, of the Gardeners and Florists' Union, No. 10615:

WHEREAS, There is now a large and important industry in our country, composed of the gardening and floral trades; and

WHEREAS, This important industry today is represented by only five local unions, four of which are located in the city of Chicago alone; and

WHEREAS, We who now carry the burden of this craft in the American Federation of Labor feel that the time is opportune to further organize this branch of the industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take the necessary steps to organize this group, and that one or more organizers be especially instructed to proceed with this work; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a letter be sent all central bodies and local unions in the United States, asking them to cooperate with such organizers by purchasing their floral requirements only from such organized florists wherever this is possible.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

After announcements by committee chairmen concerning time and place of meetings, the convention adjourned at 12:30 o'clock to 2:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Fourth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:40 o'clock p. m., President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Gillmore, Boyer, Fitzgerald, Holtschult, Austin, Squib, Greenstein, Keegan, Bryan, Askew, Hogan, Madsen, J. L. Lewis, Farrington, Carey, Parker, Hannah, J. P. Burke, Thomas, Walden, Kohn, Jewell, Ely, Morris, W. J. Robinson, Hammer, Finley, Van Pat-

ten, Sturm, O'Dell, Keckler, Sims, Framp-ton, Martin, Bower, Horrigan, C. S. Evans, R. T. Wood, Meyer, Alter, Tyden, Jacques, Mezzacapo, Rincker, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Elliott.

Secretary Morrison read to the convention a telegram from Anthony J. Chlopek, President of the International Longshoremen's Association, stating that their Delegate Madsen could not be

in attendance at the convention until Friday, on account of strikes affecting their organization, and requesting that action on any matters affecting the Longshoremen be deferred until the arrival of Delegate Madsen.

Reports of committees were called for, and no committee was advanced suffi-

ciently with its work to present a report at this time. Several of the chairmen indicated that their reports would be in readiness for the Friday morning session.

At 2:50 o'clock, under suspension of the rules, adjournment was taken to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, October 5.

Fifth Day—Friday Morning Session

Portland, Oregon, October 5, 1923.

The Convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees

Mountford, Gillmore, McGuire, Childs, Kasten, Boyer, Campbell, Pickett, Austin, Desepte, Conway, Holtschult, Greenstein, Keegan, Bryan, Askew, Milliman, Carroll, Hogan, Gorman, Hynes, Barrett, Lewis, Murray, Kennedy, Farrington, Moore, Canavan, Carey, Parker, Wilson, Hannah, McLaughlin, Gunther, Burke, Collins, Cone, Short, Walden, Spencer, O'Connell, Jewell, Altman, Morris, Short, Robinson, Hushing, Hammer, Finley, Strum, O'Dell, Keckler, Sims, Frampton, Anderson, Hickey, Bower, Emme, Horrigan, Paulson, Evans, Wood, Meyer, Alter, Tyden, Jacques, Mezzacapo, Rogers, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Fitzgerald.

President Gompers made acknowledgment of a beautiful bouquet of roses, presented by a Portland lady from her garden. The donor was Mrs. E. H. Pickard, wife of a member of the Painters' Union.

Secretary Morrison stated that request had been made that the name of Charles Brown, Railway Mail Association, be substituted for the name of W. M. Collins, of the same organization, as a member of the Committee on Laws, Delegate Collins having been called away. The request was granted and the substitution made.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

Knights of Columbus,
Portland Council No. 678.

Portland, Oregon, October 3, 1923.
To the American Federation of Labor,
in Convention Assembled.

Gentlemen: Portland Council No. 678, Knights of Columbus, hereby cordially invites your membership to visit its club rooms at Park and Taylor Streets, to make themselves at home and enjoy our hospitality during your stay in our city. This without regard to the individual affiliations or beliefs of your members.

Very sincerely,

E. J. ENGDAHL,
Financial Secretary.

Secretary Morrison also read to the Convention a communication from Mr. George H. Himes, Curator and Assistant

Secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, inviting the delegates to visit the rooms of the Society on the second floor of the Municipal Auditorium, where would be found on display the first paper printed west of the Rocky Mountains, the first paper in Portland, and other interesting exhibits touching on the home and industrial life of the people of the State.

Secretary Morrison read to the convention communications from Mr. R. M. Dudley, Mayor of El Paso, Texas; A. Coronado, Municipal President of Juarez, Mexico, and E. D. Ruiz, Consul-General, all urging that the 1924 convention of the Federation be held in El Paso.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Sara Conboy, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate Arthur J. Olsen, of the Gardeners and Florists' Union, No. 10615:

WHEREAS, There is now a large and important industry in our country, composed of the gardening and floral trades; and

WHEREAS, This important industry today is represented by only five local unions, four of which are located in the city of Chicago alone; and

WHEREAS, We who now carry the burden of this craft in the American Federation of Labor feel that the time is opportune to further organize this branch of the industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take the necessary steps to organize this group, and that one or more organizers be especially instructed to proceed with this work; and, be it further,

RESOLVED, That a letter be sent all central bodies and local unions in the United States, asking them to co-operate with such organizers by purchasing their floral requirements only from such organized florists wherever this is possible.

The committee recommends that the matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for action, if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Green in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Delegate John T. Mugavin, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The Minimum Wage Law

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 73-76, the committee reported as follows:

A careful reading and analysis of the Report of the Executive Council on the subject of "The Minimum Wage Law" clearly emphasizes the uncertainties and dangers involved in attempting to correct evils arising out of industrial relations through the political power of the state rather than by the collective economic power of the wage earners. Your committee was likewise deeply impressed with the great difficulties that make almost impossible, if not hopeless, the continued effort to prevent the exploitation of the women wage earners of our land by a maddened industrial and commercial world that only worships Mammon and disregards the appeal of humanity.

Your committee is profoundly concerned with the serious and grievous problems that have developed as a consequence of this decision of the United States Supreme Court. It is in thorough accord with the expressions, suggestions and recommendations of the Executive Council that that which is required is the organizing of all women wage earners in their respective trade unions and by industrial action enforce standards of work and of compensation and rewards for services given that shall be beyond and out of reach of those who would misuse the powers of state for the enrichment of a few and the impoverishment of the many.

Your committee, impressed with the inevitable conclusion that the only safety of the women wage earners is to be found in organization, recommends the Executive Council take under consideration and promote at the earliest possible opportunity an intensive organizing campaign intended to enroll under the banner of trade unionism all women wage earners in their respective

trade unions; that to this end the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the approval and guidance of the Executive Council, be empowered to call a conference of all international and national trade unions in whose trade or calling women wage earners are employed, so that a more perfect plan of organizing the women workers may be devised and that all organized labor be called on to renewed efforts and activities to deal promptly and efficiently with the problems at present confronting the women toilers of America and in the manner herein outlined.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Lincoln Day

The committee, having considered that part of the report of the Executive Council on pages 89-90, under the caption, "Lincoln Day," recommends that this convention reaffirm the declaration of the Cincinnati convention, urging that February 12 be declared a National holiday, to be known as "Lincoln Day," in honor of the Great Emancipator, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every effort to secure the enactment of such a law by the Congress of the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

Legislation in the States

Your committee, having carefully considered the report of the Executive Council, pages 96-99, on the subject of "Legislation in the States," which report is a resume of activities of the various State Federations of Labor in securing the enactment of legislation favorable to the workers and their determined resistance in preventing the enactment of laws inimical to the working men and women, heartily agrees with the statement of the Executive Council that great credit is due to the various State Legislative Committees for their work during the past year.

It is recommended that this convention approve the activities thus manifested and that our Federation of Labor be urged to continue this great work so that only beneficial laws necessary

to the health and well-being of all workers may be enacted and all harmful legislative proposals meet a prompt and deserving death.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Hayes, Typographical Union, spoke briefly in support of the resolution and urged a greater degree of encouragement and co-operation on the part of the International Unions and the organized workers, individually and collectively, in matters affecting the enactment of legislation favorable to labor. He referred in particular to the effort that is being made in the State of Ohio at this time to have enacted an old age pension law, pointing out that if the proposed Ohio measure were enacted into law, it would have a beneficial effect on the entire labor movement in all the States.

Delegate Scharrenberg, Seamen, referring to legislative enactments in California, stated that for a number of years organized labor in California had received some encouragement from the Governors of the State, particularly Governor Johnson and Governor Stephens, but that the present chief executive of the State had vetoed practically all labor measures which had come to him.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Women in Industry

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under this caption, page 55, the committee reports as follows:

The remarkable changes taking place in industry which enable the ever constantly increasing number of women wage earners and the marked tendencies which attract or compel the entry of an ever greater number of women workers into our industrial and commercial life, present indeed a development that cannot be ignored or be considered lightly. To the contrary, these tendencies and developments, as is indicated in the Executive Council's report, must be dealt with promptly and effectively.

The United States Supreme Court has tragically removed the veil of

security by which it was hoped to safeguard and promote the interests, welfare and well-being of the women wage earners.

As a consequence of this decision, many legal theories and proposals have attracted discussion and consideration. But what is most required is the immediate organizing of women wage earners in their respective trade unions.

While great doubt is entertained as to the feasibility of safeguarding and promoting the women wage earners' best interests in industry through legislative channels, and while convinced that the most certain, most definite and permanent method of protecting and advancing the interests of America's women toilers is through thorough organization, your committee nevertheless recommends that the Executive Council continue to pursue its study of this legal problem in co-operation with the several groups interested in securing the welfare and well-being of the women workers in our land.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate R. Askew of the National Federation of Rural Carriers:

WHEREAS, Rural letter carriers are required to furnish and keep in repair the equipment they use in their work of transporting the public's mail; and

WHEREAS, This requirement does not apply to other groups of postal workers whose working equipment is furnished by the Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention instruct the Executive Council to co-operate in securing from Congress the necessary legislation granting equipment allowance to rural carriers.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate R. Askew of the National Federation of Rural Carriers:

WHEREAS, Rural letter carriers' wages are now computed on a two-mile basis up to 24 miles; and

WHEREAS, Many rural carriers travel within a fraction of the even mileage without additional compensation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Executive Council to co-operate in having the present law amended

so that payment shall be made for each mile or major fraction of a mile.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate W. E. Hulsbeck of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The delegates in convention assembled have been presented with proof that the late Mrs. Mary Towles Sasseen Wilson is the author of "Mothers' Day," which is so generally observed throughout the land; and

WHEREAS, The conception as to the authorship of the celebration of this day is credited to Miss Jarvis of Philadelphia, Pa., we urge upon all publications throughout the State of Kentucky to make necessary correction and give credit where it will fully belong; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in view of the proof as to the original founder of "Mothers' Day," we recommend the erection of a memorial chapel in Henderson, Ky., in honor of Mrs. Mary Towles Sasseen Wilson, which shall be thrown open for religious service to all denominations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to defray the cost of such a memorial, we urge a volunteer contribution from the membership affiliated with the Kentucky State Federation of Labor first, and all civic and educational societies of our state, and that upon completion of this memorial same be given into the care of the Henderson Historical Association; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call the attention of the A. F. of L., at their convention which is to be held in Portland, Oregon, that it may review the evidence discovered as to the author and founder of "Mothers' Day," and urge upon it their co-operation in the purpose and object reflected herein.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 42 by changing the first "Resolve" to read:

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled at Portland, Oregon, that we recommend to all citizens in all States a program of State conservation through complete use and development and control of the waters of the State, as submitted by the State to California voters in the Water and Power Act, and for the service of the people at cost, as opposed to corporation develop-

ment and control of water resources for private profit.

The resolution as amended reads:

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates James P. Noonan, F. J. McNulty, G. M. Bugniatet, Miss Julia S. O'Connor, Edw. Barton, Martin T. Joyce, H. H. Kirkland, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and Andrew Furuseth, Paul Scharrenberg, of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, At the 1922 general election in the State of California there was submitted a State Constitutional Amendment designated as the California Water and Power Act, which declared it to be "the policy and purpose of the State to conserve, develop and control the water of the State for the use and benefit of the people," and proposed to accomplish this by placing the credit of the State back of municipalities and local political subdivisions in order that they might at a minimum cost develop and operate their own works for the storage, diversion and distribution of water for irrigation, domestic and industrial uses, and for the generation and transmission of hydro-electric energy; and

WHEREAS, Private power corporations, selfishly interested in maintaining their monopoly of hydro-electric power, raised and expended an enormous campaign fund, namely, more than half a million dollars, as was shown by the testimony taken before a Special Investigating Committee of the California State Senate appointed to investigate such matters, to defeat the California Water and Power Act, and by a campaign of misrepresentation, deception and vilification actually succeeded in defeating it; and

WHEREAS, Under the policy of this California Water and Power Act the people would be relieved of the burden of the extravagance, waste and costly financing of private development and ownership; and

WHEREAS, The adoption of the policy of the California Water and Power Act generally throughout the nation would assure profitable employment, increase the yield of the land, relieve the people from exploitation and promote stability and safety in agriculture and industry; and

WHEREAS, The State of California, and other states, following California's lead, propose to present the question of public ownership and distribution of water and power to the electors of the several states at the general elections in 1924; and

WHEREAS, Co-ordinated development of the nation's vast water and power resources constitutes an economic program that should be undertaken by the people; and

WHEREAS, According to widely distributed articles in the public press, private interests that seek monopolistic

control of the nation's hydro-electric power resources are constructing each privately owned local power generating and transmission system as though it were a component part of one super-power system, so that in due time each and all can be so unified; and

WHEREAS, Said private interests are seeking to mould public opinion and to influence legislatures so as to secure governmental aid and legislation favorable to their program of private development and control of super-power; and

WHEREAS, Those who control this super-power will exercise so great a control over the people that if super-power comes into existence under private ownership and control, the people will ultimately find it necessary to reacquire their power sources at a great advance in cost; and

WHEREAS, Private interests will not and can not solve the related water problems or assure an abundance of water and power at the lowest economic cost; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled at Portland, Oregon, that we recommend to all citizens in all States a program of State conservation through complete use and development and control of the waters of the State, as submitted by the State to California voters in the Water and Power Act, and for the service of the people at cost, as opposed to corporation development and control of water resources for private profit; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this organization is unanimously opposed to the subsidizing or granting of other Government financial aid to any private corporation or corporations for the purpose of establishing a privately owned and operated power system, or to any encouragement whatever to a privately owned and operated super-power system; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we individually and collectively urge upon our respective State legislatures and upon the Federal Government, and cause to be given the utmost publicity, the necessity for a co-ordinated public development and control of said water resources for the service of the people at cost, giving due regard to the four-fold duty of water for domestic supply, for irrigation, power production, and navigation, and to the necessity for flood-water storage and control and to the rights of political subdivisions to the measure of local control in these matters; and that we favor and urge the withdrawal and curtailment of special privileges to private interests controlling this natural resource for incomplete and costly development for private profit.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Scharrenberg, Seamen, spoke

briefly in support of the resolution, saying that he felt the time would come in the future when the coal and oil deposits of the country would be exhausted, and that it was not too early to begin to throw the necessary safeguards around the natural resources of the country, to the end that they might not fall into the hands of corporations for private gain.

President Gompers, in discussing the question, said: Just a word, not necessarily applying to the resolution before the Convention, but a subject correlated to the one under discussion. Two weeks ago it came to my knowledge that in connection with some exposition about to be held in England in 1924 a Congress has been called of representatives of all countries where power has been generated. I learned that an American organization had been formed for the purpose of co-operating with the interests there when the movement begins in England. It is for the co-ordination of all the power and super-power in the world.

It made such a great impression upon my mind that I consulted with several of my associates in the office of the American Federation of Labor and concluded to communicate with the executive secretary of the American section, so that the whole procedure, so far as our country is concerned, should not be left in the hands of private corporations or business interests, and that there should be representation from our Government and representation from the men engaged in the production and use of power.

The executive secretary of that American organization came to my office and we had a most interesting discussion upon the subject. He said he would take it up with his associates and decide as to the representation of the men of labor in the various trades, occupations and professions.

In addition I might say that then, not knowing that there had been a change in the secretaryship of the British Trades Union Congress General Council, I addressed a letter to Mr. Charles Bowerman, the secretary for many years, informing him of this situation and calling upon him to in turn bring the subject matter before the General Council of the

British Trades Union Congress, so that there might be not only co-operation between us, but representation of the men of labor, who know about as much, if not more, than all other agencies as to power and super-power. It seemed to me that I should communicate this information to the delegates to this Convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Chas. H. Moyer of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers:

WHEREAS, Safety laws covering the operation of deep mines in the State of California have been inferior to the general standard set by other Western mining States; and

WHEREAS, The Argonaut mine disaster, with a loss of over forty lives, forcibly called attention to the urgent need for strengthening the safety laws in the mining industry; and

WHEREAS, The recent session of the California Legislature passed two bills especially designed to prevent a recurrence of the horrors incident to the Argonaut mine disaster; and

WHEREAS, Both of the safety measures referred to were vetoed by the present Governor of California without any reason or explanation whatsoever; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in 43d Annual Convention assembled, that we urge the labor movement and the citizenship of California generally, notwithstanding the veto of the Governor, to continue their efforts for better safety laws and greater protection for the workers employed in underground workings.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Ryan: This completes the report of the Committee on State Organizations with the exception of one resolution, upon which the committee will report later.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BOYCOTTS

Delegate J. W. Buckley, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates A. A. Myrup, Peter Beisel, Jacob Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company, operating bakeries in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, N. Y.; Providence, R. I.; Boston, Mass.; Newark, N. J.; Baltimore, Md.; Pittsburg, Penn.;

Youngstown, Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio; South Bend, Ind., and Chicago, Ill., has declared for the non-union shop in all of its manufacturing departments; and

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company by such declaration cancelled its agreement with the Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union of America in behalf of its subordinate local unions, locking out all of its union employees; and

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company by its declaration is assuming the leadership and dictatorship of the reactionary anti-union employers of the baking industry in America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled declare for its undivided support to the Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union of America in its contest against the anti-union attitude of the Ward Baking Company; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, through the officers of the American Federation of Labor, convey this declaration to all State Federations, City Central bodies, and directly affiliated Federal Labor Unions located in the manufacturing and business jurisdictions of the Ward Baking Company, urging them to render whole-hearted and undivided support to the Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union in this terrific contest.

Your Committee on Boycotts recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegates Goldstone, Beisel and Myrup, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, spoke on the resolution. Each of them expressed their appreciation of the support that had been rendered their organization by the various trade unions in the past in their fight against the Ward Baking Company. It was pointed out that the Bakery and Confectionery Workers were gradually gaining ground in a fight that at first seemed hopeless, due to the fact that the corporation is a large one, having factories in thirteen cities and doing business in more than 5,000 cities and towns in thirty States. In 95 per cent of the cases where the employers had tried to put wage reductions into effect, the members of the organization were successful in resisting the attempt, and in some cases, as a result of the resistance of the membership, better conditions are now in effect than those which prevailed prior to May 1.

Delegate Mahon, chairman of the com-

mittee, corroborating the statements of the Bakery Workers' delegates, also called attention to the importance of their struggle. He urged the delegates to recommend to their various organizations that they give all the support and encouragement possible to the Bakery Workers in their fight.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Ryan in the chair.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates W. W. Britton and H. C. Diehl of the Metal Polishers' International Union:

The Metal Polishers' International Union, in their 15th International Convention, from September 10 to 15, 1923, inclusive, directed their representatives to submit the following resolution to the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The H. P. Snyder Manufacturing Company of Little Falls, New York, makers of bicycles, whose entire output is distributed by the D. P. Harris Company of 26 Murray Street, New York City, forced 66 members of the Metal Polishers' International Union out on January 20, 1922, to resist a second reduction in wages within a period of six months, all efforts to prevent the strike and effect a settlement since it occurred having been refused by this Company, and the strike is still on; and

WHEREAS, The Winchester Repeating Arms Company of New Haven, Conn., forced 49 members of the Metal Polishers' International Union on strike September 4, 1919, by refusing to grant an increase in wages to conform to the union scale (this company also makes the Barney & Berry skate), all efforts to adjust this strike having met with an obstinate refusal on the part of this firm, which continues to operate a non-union shop; and

WHEREAS, The Whitehead & Hoag Company of Newark, N. J., manufacturers of badges, lapel buttons, novelties, etc., attempted to reduce wages of the members of the Metal Polishers' International Union along with a dozen or more crafts of other National and International Unions, the refusal to accede to this cut in wages forced a strike there on May 1, 1922, and the strike is still on; and

WHEREAS, These strikes are still being prosecuted with relentless vigor on the part of the union men on strike, and in view of the fact that every effort was made to adjust the difficulties before the strikes occurred, and that every possible pressure has been brought to bear since these strikes started to effect an honorable adjustment of the same, which in each and every case was met with a point-blank refusal on the part of these firms; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to issue a circular, setting forth these grievances, to all Central Labor

Unions, Building Trades Councils, State Federations of Labor, and International Unions, with the further request that the International Unions in turn give the matter as much publicity as possible, either by circularizing their local unions or through the columns of their official publications.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter of Resolution No. 76 be referred to the Executive Council, which shall make an effort to bring about a settlement between the International Union of Metal Polishers and the companies affected, and in case of failure to secure a settlement, that the Resolve in the resolution be put into effect as requested.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Buckley: This completes the report of the Committee on Boycotts, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

W. D. MAHON, Chairman,
J. W. BUCKLEY, Secretary,
W. W. BRITTON,
W. L. FUNDER BURK,
JAMES B. CONNERS,
M. J. MAGUIRE,
W. T. ALLEN,
LEONARD HOLTSCHULT,
WADE SHURTLEFF,
G. M. BUGNIAZET,
JOHN J. DALL,
JAS. F. BROCK,
STEPHEN J. ANGLETON,
T. C. GANNON,

Committee on Boycotts.

The report of the Committee on Boycotts was adopted as a whole.

Delegate Tobin, chairman of the Committee on Law, requested that Resolution No. 69, previously assigned to the Committee on Laws, be transferred to the Committee on Resolutions, in view of the fact that the latter committee had referred to it several resolutions of a similar nature. The request was granted and the resolution transferred.

President Gompers: It is a pleasure and an honor to present to you this morning another fraternal delegate, Miss Anna Fitzgerald, representing the Women's Union Label League.

**ADDRESS OF MISS ANNA
FITZGERALD
Women's International Union Label
League**

Mr. President and Delegates: I am not

introduced as a stranger. I have been in these conventions for many years, and each time I have come I have given a message of what our organization is doing. I come this morning with possibly more enthusiasm than at any time since we began the work of the Women's Label League. I listened attentively to the different reports that were made here this morning, and it seemed to me that in every one I could see a greater necessity for our organization than at any other time. When I heard the Bakers' report of their struggle I thought, who could be more helpful to them in their struggle than the women in the homes?

Our organization has been in existence for many years. We feel that we have accomplished something worth while, but we realize that we have yet a great deal to do. I thought, as I heard the Bakers speak of the Ward Brothers Baking Company, how unfortunate it was that we haven't as many Women's Label Leagues in the Eastern States as we have in the Middle West. It seems to me there is a vast amount of work to be done in this line.

Our organization is composed of the wives, mothers and sisters of union men. We have not confined our efforts to demanding the union label, shop card and button, but we have assisted organized labor wherever possible in their organizing work. I think in the last year we have possibly had an opportunity to do more to show the general labor movement what really can be done through an organization of this kind than ever before.

I was astonished when I heard the reports of the last convention we held in August, at which convention the American Federation of Labor had a representative, and he can bear out what I say. Our members had been active in the Shopmen's strike, and from all sides and directions the women reported of their work. They did not stop at anything in that great strike—they did everything from picketing down the line to feeding the children who were in need. We have extended our efforts in so many directions in the last few years and have been so successful that I can see a great future for the Women's Label League.

I do not come before you to dwell upon the value of the union label; you all know its value. When I heard President Gompers speak before the Label Trades Department last week I wished I could make a speech like that. We all know the value of the union label, but we do not all take the trouble to put that knowledge into effect. Sometimes we lack the time.

The paramount issue with us is to see that no dollar that is spent for the necessities of the home shall be spent for non-union made goods. Our women are doing a great deal of good in many directions. We can be especially helpful to the clerks' organization and to many other organizations, and we want to ask you to co-operate with us to encourage and educate the women in your communi-

ties. Let us see if we cannot build up an organization so that we will not have a repetition of the great fight on organized labor such as the Bakers, the Boot and Shoe Workers and other organizations are going through and have gone through recently. If you realized the worth of our organization and would help and encourage the movement as we feel it should be encouraged we could be of even greater help to you than we are at the present time.

The efforts of the Women's Union Label League have been always strictly along the line of the American Federation of Labor. Our work has been constructive at all times. We have representatives here from central and state bodies, and I do not hesitate to say that I think we can ask a more hearty co-operation from you than we have received in the past. We appreciate the fact that organizations come to the front, from time to time, and they are temporary, they are passing fancies and do not last, but our organization is as permanent and lasting as the organized labor movement itself.

We have tried to direct purchasing power. Organized labor for years has seen a real value in the union label, and we have been glad to take up that weapon and do the best we could with it. We are glad to bring you the greetings of our organization again, and we hope that we can be of still more service to the great labor movement than we have been in the past.

I thank you for your attention and hope that when we appear before you next year—and we are coming, we are going to be with you right along—we will be able to say we have organized a greater number of local Leagues than we have at the present time. We now have 150 locals in our organization. In Youngstown we have 500 women organized. If the Ward Baking Company has a branch there, each one of those women will be an agent for the Bakers' label. When women come into our organization they have but one purpose, and that is to do something along label lines.

I want to again extend our thanks to the different organizations for the assistance we received, and we hope we have proved worthy of your support.

Vice-President Green: There seems to be no committee ready to report, and a number of the committee chairmen have announced meetings for this afternoon. I think we can expedite the work of the Convention by suspending the rules and adjourning until tomorrow morning. I move that we suspend the rules and adjourn until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 12 o'clock noon the Convention was adjourned until 9:30 a. m., Saturday, October 6, 1923.

Sixth Day—Saturday Morning Session

Portland, Ore., October 6, 1923.

The Convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees

Gillmore, Boyer, Fitzgerald, Holtschult, Austin, Squibb, Greenstein, Keegan, Bryan, Cantwell, Askew, Milliman, Carroll, Hogan, Gorman, Canavan, Carey, Parker, Hannah, Burke, Sutor, Collins, Cone, Percy, Walden, Jewell, Briggs, Hulsbeck, Ely, Altman, Morris, Short, Pratt, Hammer, Finley, Van Patten, Sturm, O'Dell, Keckler, Sims, Frampton, Bower, Emme, Blair, Horrigan, Howat, Evans, Wood, Meyer, Tyden, Jacques, Mezzacapo, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Elliott.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Belair, chairman of the committee, presented the following report:

We have received the credential of the Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly for Samuel Pasco and recommend that he be seated with one vote.

We recommend the seating of John H. Walker as delegate of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in place of George W. Briggs, who acted as alternate in the absence of Mr. Walker.

We have also a communication from Mr. James J. Freel, of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, stating that he is obliged to leave Portland and that he desires to substitute in his place Mr. John H. Yearsley, of Portland, Oregon. We recommend that the request be complied with.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers stated that he had received a similar notification from Delegate Freel, with the added request that Brother Yearsley be named as his substitute on the Committee on Legislation. No objection was offered, and the substitution was made as requested.

President Gompers announced that a telegram had been received from Mr. John P. Frey, of the International Union

of Molders, stating that on account of their national convention having held over in Cleveland for a period of sixteen days, it would be impossible for the delegates to the Portland convention of the Federation to be in attendance.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram, which was identified as Resolution No. 97 and referred, by consent of the Convention, to the Committee on Resolutions.

RESOLUTION NO. 97

Philadelphia, Pa., October 5, 1923.
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Portland, Oregon.

The Veterans' Bureau at Washington has a committee in District 3, comprising Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware, and is rendering a great injustice to disabled soldiers by discontinuing trainees before completion of their prescribed courses. As a friend of the disabled ex-service man, a great many of whom were members in good standing in the different labor organizations before their disability inflicted in the service of their country, we would like you, since we know you have the interests of the disabled ex-service man at heart, to bring this matter before your convention for whatever action you gentlemen may see fit to take to remedy the aforesaid injustice and invite an investigation with the trainees in District 3, Philadelphia, in regard to the true facts of this matter.

EDGAR J. ADAMS,
President of Committee,
1250 West Harold St., Philadelphia, Pa.
NORMAN TAYLOR,
Secretary, Ambler, Pa.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions. Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, announced that the committee had practically completed its work and that it would be prepared to submit a complete report to the Convention any time after Monday morning, October 8, that the opportunity would be presented.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Delegate Weaver, secretary of the committee, presented the following report: To the Officers and Delegates of the 43d

Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee has given consideration to Resolution No. 79 and recommends that it be amended; first, in paragraph 2 by striking out the words, "the best way," and substituting therefor the words, "one of the best ways"; second, by adding to the "Resolve" the words, "and the Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department is hereby requested to furnish the material for this publicity." The amended resolution would read:

.Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Jeremiah F. Driscoll, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There exists great need of a more active agitation for all union labels, shop cards and buttons; and

WHEREAS, One of the best ways to reach all workers with union label propaganda is through the official journals of the various international unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all international unions be requested to provide for a space in each issue of their journals in which the consistent patronage of all union labels, shop cards and buttons shall be advocated, and the Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department is hereby requested to furnish the material for this publicity.

As thus amended the committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Your committee has discussed, at considerable length, the great value of consistent label propaganda and agitation to the general labor movement; and we believe that if a plan can be enacted whereby the international unions can render additional aid in this field of work much good can be accomplished.

Your committee believes that our movement can be materially advanced and permanent progress insured if the workers are fully informed that their power of purchase is a dominating factor in the economic and social life of the nation.

When it is realized that more than six billion dollars come to the workers as a result of their labor annually, the significance of this fact in regulating and improving industrial conditions must be held before their view at all times in

order that they may use this power, not so much in punishing hostile employers and associations of employers as in aiding fair employers to develop their various lines of business to the point where merited elimination will be the lot of those hostile to us.

When five millions of our citizenship were forced into idleness by the campaign for the so-called "open shop" under the guise of what was termed an "American plan" we witnessed a demonstration of the power of money without a parallel in any civilized country in the world. Many unions were weakened; many families were disrupted because of unemployment; hunger and sickness were prevalent and our industrial system was placed in a condition of chaos from which it has not yet fully emerged.

This brief review of conditions during the past two or three years in our industrial and social life is made solely with the thought of bringing more forcibly to the minds of our fellows what can be done in a constructive way through the use of this same power of money.

There can be no doubt that if the vast sum of money heretofore mentioned was used only to employ members of trade unions in the exclusive purchasing of union label goods, in the making of repairs in and about residences and halls owned or leased by trade unionists; if all our energies were directed to aiding our fellows by co-operating with them through the power of purchase, we would then be making a sure and unerring approach to that industrial democracy so much to be desired and for which the trade union movement has so long and so earnestly striven.

Reference has been made in this report to a so-called "American plan." There is but one "American plan" whereby all of our people, whether members of trade unions or not, can be assured that the goods they purchase are made in America, and that is when a union label is attached thereto. Ours is the only movement in the world which uses this system to identify the product of its members; and the only way the same can be popularized and made effective is through untiring advocacy by a united member-

ship. As a means to the carrying out of the ideas herein expressed, your committee would recommend that all national and international unions which utilize a union label, shop card or working button have the same printed on all letterheads, envelopes and other stationery, and that national or international unions which do not have such label insignia adopt some suggestive line, trite saying or epigram concerning the union label and have the same printed on their stationery and general printed matter as an educational feature in aiding this important work.

In the past committees on union label have had their attention called to conditions existing in the convention city relative to restaurants, hotels, barber shops, etc., with the charge made of patronage being accorded by delegates to places which were not unionized. Your committee recommends, therefore, that within a sufficient period preceding future conventions the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor request the proper officials of the entertaining central labor union to have printed for distribution among the delegates a list of fair houses, as well as unfair, in the classes above outlined, and that included in the list shall be the names of mercantile establishments where wearing apparel and furnishing goods, bearing the union label, can be obtained.

An agency in the union label propaganda field which is doing excellent work and which is worthy of the co-operation of all trade unionists is the Women's Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary, whose membership is recruited from among the wives and daughters of our members. Volunteer in character though it may be, the activities of these splendid women are not confined to mere verbal union label agitation, but they at all times may be found doing their utmost to aid by practical means the furtherance of the cause we represent. Their work is constructive, not merely theoretical, and is worthy of the widest approbation. Standing as they do for all the ideals and principles for which the trade unionist movement is contending, let us give to these women an undivided support

and the rich fruitage of such united effort will be apparent in the coming years.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN J. MANNING, Chairman,
THOMAS SWEENEY,
MAX HAYES,
W. R. BOYER,
H. C. DIEHL,
W. J. KELLY,
JACOB GOLDSTONE,
R. H. BAKER,
PATRICK E. GORMAN,
MRS. AUGUSTA J. FRINKE,
MISS MAY NOONAN,
HUGH C. SHALVOY,
A. GREENSTEIN,
R. S. SEXTON,
P. J. RYAN,
C. A. WEAVER, Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee as a whole.

Delegate Hill, Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, expressed her gratification with that part of the report touching upon the work of the Women's Union Label League. She pointed out that a very large part of labor's earnings is expended by the women and that therefore they were in a stronger position than anyone else to promote the demand for the union label.

Delegate Hayes, Typographical Union, spoke at some length and related the details of the work of the Promotional League which is operating in Cleveland, Ohio, and other eastern cities, and which has for its purpose the awakening of a greater interest in and a more general use of products bearing the union label. He said that twelve years ago, when in the erection of his home he caused the label of the carpenters' organization to be placed on the door, the idea was ridiculed, but that through the consistent agitation that has been carried on in Cleveland for the past few years, the practice of using that label on homes is now a common one.

He brought this point to the attention of the delegates, he said, to show that the fight for recognition of the label or shop card was not one that belonged particularly to those trades which have a label or shop card, but that it belonged as well to the building trades and other crafts.

Referring again to the publicity cam-

paign in Cleveland, Delegate Hayes stated that the motion picture theaters had proven a valuable agency in getting union label propaganda before the public, and that in localities where they were able to have the labels shown in the picture houses, a marked improvement in the demand for products bearing the label had been shown.

Delegate Greenstein, Jewelry Workers, spoke in support of the report of the committee and dealt in particular with his own trade, that of the jewelry workers, calling the special attention of the men in the railroad trades to the fact that certain watch-making concerns had resorted to the practice of employing a few union men, with the idea of throwing out the impression that they were operating union shops, when as a matter of fact they were employing women and girls at low wages and for long hours on the very delicate and exacting detail that is necessary in the manufacture of watches. He urged the delegates, in purchasing watches in the future, to make sure of the conditions under which they are manufactured.

Delegate Sexton, Cigarmakers, spoke at length and recounted the difficulties that had been experienced by his organization in the recent past. He deplored the negligence or indifference of many of the men of labor in demanding union-made products, and said that it was useless for delegates to assemble in convention and pass resolutions if, when they returned to their homes, they did not personally carry the intent of those resolutions into effect and use their influence upon others to do so.

Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers, stated that he had no complaint to offer against the men and women of labor in so far as the product of the members of his craft was concerned, that his organization had received splendid support in the past, and that he attributed their success in those struggles in which they had been engaged to the fact that they had a

union stamp, that they advertised it consistently, and that laboring people as a general rule demanded it in the purchase of shoes.

He read to the delegates an extract from the Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Virginia, of an advertisement by one of the largest tobacco concerns in the country, calling for the services of fifty girls fourteen to sixteen years of age, and said that he referred to this in order to show how the delegates could be helpful, through demanding the label, in the cause of the prevention of child labor and in almost every phase of the labor movement.

He also reminded the delegates that all of the work of promoting the label should not be left to the Union Label Trades Department, that the Department could function in its own way and devise ways and means to increase the spread of label propaganda, but that the individual support and encouragement of the men and women of the labor movement in this respect was just as essential today as it ever was in the history of the movement.

Delegate Goldstone, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, in a brief statement, referred to the practice of some merchants in pushing non-union products in preference to those made under union conditions, and said that too often the purchaser was satisfied to accept the excuse of a salesman and not insist upon having the labeled product. He said that while the progress of the demand for the label had been slow in some localities, his organization could notice marked improvement in some instances, and that with more determined and consistent thought on the part of those who exercise their purchasing power, products bearing the label were bound to come into more general use in the future.

Upon motion, debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Gompers: Fellow delegates,

we have with us this morning and have had for the past few days a man who has traveled a great distance. He has visited the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress convention held at Vancouver a few weeks ago, and is making an investigation into the labor movement and its educational features, not only in Canada but in the United States as well. He is in charge of the Educational Department of the International Federation of Trades Unions office at Amsterdam, Holland, and I have pleasure to present to you Mr. John W. Brown, who will now address you.

ADDRESS OF MR. JOHN W. BROWN
Educational Department, International
Federation of Trades Unions

Mr. President and Fellow Workers: I desire to thank you for the privilege accorded me of addressing a few remarks to this gathering. As your chairman remarked, I am not here as a fraternal delegate, but I came as a fraternal delegate from the International Federation of Trades Unions to the Canadian Trade Union convention, passing through the United States and on to Mexico for the Central American Congress.

I have watched your deliberations during the past week with great interest, and I do appreciate the fellowship that has been shown and the hospitality granted to all those guests and delegates from the other countries. It would be almost invidious to make any distinction at all, because apart from the official hospitality provided there have been several semi-official or private hospitality committees that have really assisted in making our stay here in Portland memorable, and I think my colleagues, Mr. Walker and Mr. Robinson, will agree that we owe a debt of gratitude, and especially to Mr. Walter Reddick, the President of the Bookbinders, who has been indefatigable in his attention to our welfare here.

I think all the eulogies that have been made about your organization, about Portland and the States render it unnecessary for me to be very laudatory in that way, but I should like to say this: That I realize you have a very wonderful country, a very wonderful organization, a very wonderful administration, and a very wonderful President.

You have your own special problems—different, perhaps, in some ways to the problems that the labor movement is faced with in other parts of the world—but fundamentally those problems are the same, and your organization has been called into being to protect the interests of the workers just

as the trade union movement has been established for that purpose in the other countries.

I think there is one besetting sin, or one danger, that the Anglo-Saxon race runs of falling into, and that is that smug self-complacency. The contributions of the Anglo-Saxon race have been great, but there is no reason why they should stand aside and in a pharasaical manner ask, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Although the movement of the Anglo-Saxon countries is great, yet their interests are bound up with the interests of the trade union or labor movement in the other countries of the world. Although our chief object is that of the protection of the workers' interests, still there are various methods than can be and are adopted to further those interests.

There is the revolutionary point of view that seeks to achieve its object by the use of force. There is the constitutional method, where members seek to achieve their objects by constitutional means through and by ordered progress. Apart from the Communists, the trade union movement of the world has nailed its banner to democracy, has pinned its faith to it, and is endeavoring by constitutional means to achieve its aims and objects. But we see inside that perhaps three distinct theories. Sometimes they are interwoven—as I know they are here in your own country of the United States—the industrial weapon, the political weapon and the weapon of consumers' co-operation. In all our countries the fundamental weapon that we use is the economic one, and our organizations are built up primarily and have secured the achievement of their aims and objects by the use of our industrial power.

But it has been found necessary in the great majority of countries to use political power—or political methods, I should say—to achieve those objects, and there appears to be an ever-increasing reliance in some countries on the use of that weapon. For example, in England the very existence of the trade union movement is conditioned by an Act of Parliament, and there you find the opponents of the labor movement endeavoring to repeal that Act of Parliament that gives life to the trade union movement.

In fact, every aspect of our life from the cradle to the grave is influenced and conditioned by acts of the legislature. In addition, then, to the political weapon, we see also an increasing reliance upon the method of co-operation, when the workers themselves will own and run their own factories, mainly because they realize that in those factories trade union conditions will be established and that they will secure the whole benefit of their labors for the whole of the workers' movement.

In these three sections of the con-

stitutional movement we have distinct internationals established, and it is for that reason that I have briefly outlined those three activities, because I find here in the United States, as well as in other parts of the world, there exists a good deal of confusion; in fact, a misconception about the aims and objects of the International Federation of Trades Unions, the organization of which I am one of the joint secretaries. There seems to be a plethora of world internationals at the present time, and they are getting almost as numerous as your own international unions here on this continent.

In the first place, we have the Third Internationale, the Red Internationale, or the Communist International as it may be called; then we have the Co-operative International, representative of the co-operative movement in the various countries; then we have the Second or the Second-and-a-half International, which is the Labor Political International, with Tom Shaw as the secretary; then there is the Trade Union International, the body which I represent, embracing, according to our last official returns, over 23,000,000 workers in various parts of the world.

We in the trade union movement are very jealous of our autonomy as trade unionists, and although we have that joint committee with the Co-operative International in order to ascertain if there are any problems of mutual interest where joint action can be taken, we are quite autonomous and quite distinct, as we are also from the Political International, although our relations with that party are very cordial indeed.

Many questions have been asked me since I have been on this side of the water about our relations with the Red Internationale and I desire to state just the official point of view as embodied in the official publication of the Trade Union International. Firstly, the attack is made by the Communist Internationale upon our organization mainly because we support the International labor office in Geneva, which is endeavoring, in conjunction with representatives of the employers, in conjunction with the representatives of the government, to establish by conciliation legislative measures that will protect the workers in the various countries. For that action we have been attacked, and I should like to say, Mr. President, that whatever internecine warfare you have experienced here in America, it is nothing to the difficulties or warfare we have experienced in Europe, where in many countries it has split our movement from top to bottom.

Apart from that the objection is this: The refusal of the unreasonable demands that the leadership of national and international trade unionism should be placed under the tutelage of the Communist Internationale; secondly, repudiation of the dictatorship of the

proletariat on Russian lines; and, thirdly, repudiation of the idea of world revolution, realized by revolt and political action. The campaign against the International Federation of Trades Unions as the alleged champion of bourgeois democracy has been at times the cardinal point of Communist aggression.

That is our position, but in addition to the International Federation of Trades Unions, linked up and in conjunction with us are the various trade, craft or professional internationals, such as the International Miners' Federation, which my colleague, Frank Hodges, represents; the International of Agricultural Workers, represented by Mr. Walker, and the International of Textile Workers, represented by Mr. Robinson. All these are linked up and grouped together.

To clarify our position and to make it quite clear I want to read here a resolution passed in May, 1921, when the International Federation of Trades Unions took steps to uphold the unity of trade union action by deciding that any organization affiliated with the Moscow Internationale would automatically exclude itself from the International Federation of Trades Unions. I think with these few words I have dispelled the fog that has gathered around our various internationals and made it quite clear that we in this international trade union movement are trade unionists first and foremost, and that we are very jealous of our autonomy as wage earners in the various parts of the world.

Now, whatever the problems you have to face here, I am going to make so bold as to say that fundamentally many of our gravest problems are international problems, they are fundamentally international problems, and it is very necessary that if we find finance becoming international, if commerce and industry is on international lines, we in the wage-earning movement must secure some measure of international co-operation if we are going to pit our forces successfully against those of the employing class.

That is the reason why the international trade union movement came into being—to assist the trade union movement in the various countries, where necessary, by boycotting goods; by preventing blacklegs from going from one country to the other, where there are strikes or lockouts; by getting information, by publishing reports, by raising funds to assist colleagues or comrades in one country where hard pressed, and perhaps what is more important than that, fostering the trade union movement in those countries where it is weak.

We cannot take up a spirit or a position of splendid isolation now. You here will find that the Oriental question will press more strongly in the future. You will find that the employers, if

they find that the cost of production in their cotton mills is high, will go to India and Egypt and establish their mills there, where the cost of production is one-twentieth of what it is in the higher-paid countries.

Then there is the question of the eight-hour day, of unemployment. What do you find you are facing in some countries? They tell you they cannot grant the eight-hour day because they are competing with industries in other countries where they have the ten and the twelve-hour day. We do desire to see that fair conditions are established, not only in our own country, but throughout the world. Otherwise the danger is this: That those countries with the highest standards will be compelled to come down to the standard of these lesser-developed countries. We desire to see that the whole standard shall be raised up to that of the higher, and not that we should be dragged down to the lowest.

Then with regard to the basic causes. We have just come through a great world war, devastating in its effects, and we have been compelled to realize that war means a disturbance of industry, a dislocation of the economic life in many, many countries; and I am convinced and believe that we have got to deal with some of these basic causes that have the after-effect and that aftermath of lowering our wages, worsening conditions and rendering insecure all our conditions. It is through war, in those devastated regions, that you find a good breeding ground for all these anarchistic doctrines and revolutionary ideas. Therefore, we must not concentrate alone on our present wage conditions, but we must deal with the basic causes.

Apart from the economic motive there is that of brotherhood. I have heard a good deal of brotherhood since I have been here, and I am pleased to see that this great American movement has been built upon a basis that the workers' movement knows no difference of color or of creed or of race, and we have got to recognize that brotherhood extends to all races and to all climes.

And on the human side, when one sees the destruction of life—I was a prisoner in Austria during the war, and during the shortage of food there I saw aged people seventy years of age go to the garbage heap and pick up cabbage leaves soiled with manure and ravenously eat that kind of food. In Vienna, at the end of the war, I saw people lined up with their milk cards waiting to get milk for their babies; I have seen others not allowed milk; I have seen the doors close suddenly and the announcement that no more milk would be supplied. And one day I saw a woman there, with a small baby in her arms, when those doors were closed, in desperation dash the brains of her child out against the walls

of the house, saying she would rather see it die than suffer the pangs of slow starvation.

When one realizes that was simply one of the many instances, one is brought face to face with the horrors of war, both on its human side and on the economic side. War destroys all our standards and threatens to engulf civilization itself. And I think that we in the labor movement, the only movement that can insure democracy and prevent war, have got to get together to see if we can secure co-operation in solving those great basic problems of our movement, for these people have the same hopes, aspirations and objects as ours, and although they have that additional hindrance of language, I am certain that we can go on.

I am just reminded of a story about one of our members who was faced with this handicap of language. He went to Spain without any knowledge of the language. A colleague said to him, so it is reported, "But what will you do when you want something to eat?" "Oh," he said, "I can make a sketch of the article desired."

All went very well for two or three days, but one day he fancied he would like some steak and mushrooms. He tried to explain to the waiter, but without success. He made a sketch of a cow and some mushrooms on the paper. "Ah," said the waiter, "I've got you," and he returned in a few moments with an umbrella and a ticket for a bullfight.

Although we have these difficulties as exemplified in that story, yet there is that bond of interest that we, as wage earners, as workers, have; we are one in our desire to work out the emancipation of the workers. We can only lose in one way, and that is if we are divided.

I regret the internecine warfare that is going on. Personally, I would rather concentrate on the campaign we have in hand against the powers that be in our opponents, but so long as the opposing classes can keep us divided we are not going to win. It has been a very long, uphill struggle. In the earlier days you had your local unions, you had the interests, say of the bakers, as opposed to the jewelers, and so on. Gradually we have built up this great movement. Parochialism and provincialism have had a setback. We have our great international movement. Before coming here I was asked to convey, if at all possible, the fraternal greetings of the International Federation of Trades Unions from Mertens, the head of the Belgian movement; from Cabellero, the head of the Spanish movement; from Leipart, the head of the German movement; from Jouhaux, the head of the French movement, and from Thomas, the head of the British movement, and so on. I trust that if there be any barrier or misunderstanding in

the way of co-operation between the various countries, we shall see them removed and we shall all be able to work in harmony together for this great cause of democracy in the labor movement.

Delegate Healy, Stationary Firemen: I move that the address of Brother Brown be printed in full in the proceedings of this convention. (Seconded and carried.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Delegate Haggerty, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Community Service

Your committee reports on that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 123-124, and on Resolution No. 90, dealing with the same subject, as follows:

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Peter J. Brady, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Community Service work maintained by the Playground and Recreation Association of America received the tentative endorsement of the American Federation of Labor at the Cincinnati Convention in 1922; and

WHEREAS, After investigation the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its February meeting, 1923, cordially approved co-operative relationship between the two organizations and pledged its moral support to the leisure time recreational and educational work of the Community Service, which has as its fine purpose the helping of cities and towns to provide adequate physical education in the schools, greater park and playground facilities and athletic fields, more community centers with opportunities for educational, musical, dramatic and art expression, and for neighborhood social gatherings; and

WHEREAS, It is aimed through all these means to offset the strain and rush of modern life, promote national health and sound citizenship, overcome some of the evil effects of present-day machine industry and provide a happier, richer community life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at this 1923 convention, assembled in Portland, Oregon, hereby recognizes the fundamental importance of this movement in the life of America, cordially approves the same and urges upon all international unions, central labor bodies and local unions to take the initiative or co-operate with other civic bodies in the furthering of community recreation programs, co-operate with the workers of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, and with public recreation officials invite speak-

ers from that Association to their annual and other meetings, and open their official publications to articles on subjects pertaining to this general field of activity.

It is understood that the Playground and Recreation Association of America stands ready to help in all of this effort by means of its literature, through counsel based upon its 17 years of experience, through its field staff and in other feasible ways.

We recommend approval in the action of the Executive Council and concurrence in the sentiment expressed in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 56—By E. J. Tracy, of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association 11773, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The organization of the office workers throughout the country is a thing to be greatly desired, due to the intolerable conditions under which they toil; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has throughout the United States and Canada more than nine hundred central bodies which can be utilized in this move; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to direct letters to the officers of the central bodies requesting the assistance of their organization committee in an effort to organize a local of office workers, if none now exists in their city; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all national and international officers, organizers and delegates are requested to have such work as may need to be done for them performed where possible by a member of an office workers' union.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Haggerty: This completes our report, which is signed by the committee:

JACOB FISCHER, Chairman.
D. P. HAGGERTY, Secretary.
JOS. OBERGFELL,
W. V. PRICE,
TIMOTHY HEALY,
C. D. DUFFY,
R. M. WARE,
MAX AMBUR,
R. H. STICKEL,
WM. TRACY,
JOS. MARSHALL,
FRED MOONEY,
JOHN T. WOOD,
E. W. O'DELL.

Secretary Haggerty: I move that the

report of the committee as a whole be approved of. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers: During the past two years we have experienced tremendous conflicts among the working people of the United States and Canada as against the aggression of the employers. It has been a great pleasure to me to quote the various struggles which America's workers have made, first in defense of their standards of life and work, and then moving forward to a higher and a better plane.

I know of no experience through which an organization has gone of more far-reaching character than that of the United Mine Workers of America. I know of no one who can express that point of view of that experience better than its respected and honored president, John L. Lewis, and I am going to ask him to address this Convention. President Lewis.

ADDRESS OF MR. JOHN L. LEWIS
President United Mine Workers of America

Mr. President and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor Convention and Visiting Friends: It should ever be a pleasure to a representative of organized labor to be privileged to attend and address a convention of the American Federation of Labor. We come here to advise and counsel with each other concerning the important problems of our respective organizations, the problems that affect those whose lot it is to toil for a living. And in that capacity I esteem it a distinct honor and privilege, with my colleagues of the United Mine Workers, to be privileged to be an officer of an organization which, Mr. Chairman and delegates, for many years past has been on the firing line of organized labor in America.

The United Mine Workers is a great institution, and as a great organization of men struggling for their merited ideals it finds itself from time to time confronted with great opposition to its policies and its program; and yet, as the years have gone by, bringing their particular questions of moment for consideration, the United Mine Workers has the proud record of never flinching in the fight for progress and of contributing, in so far as its members were able, to the success and welfare of the organized labor movement of the land.

We are burdened and opposed by many foes. Aside from the opposition, and the expected opposition, of the organized employers of the country, we find ourselves being made the victims and the trial ground, and perhaps the breeding place, for a great many false philosophies, for a great many ideas for emancipation, of

a great many policies which, designed like some patented nostrum, are presumed to be able to lead the workers into those days of prosperity and success which will come only with the millennium. Many of those policies run counter to the policies of the organized labor movement and to the laws and policies of the United Mine Workers.

I wonder whether even the average delegate who attends our Convention is aware of the great degree to which the United Mine Workers has to combat false philosophies of many kinds in various parts of its jurisdiction, in many sections of its great frontiers in Canada and the United States.

Our union has long stood for the validity of contracts and respect for contractual obligations, and has insisted on its members punctiliously carrying out such obligations when properly assumed. And yet from time to time these teachers of false philosophies are able to imbue a certain number of our people with a desire to depart from the established conditions and policies of the organization and follow after these false gods.

In 1919, in the Northwest Provinces of Canada, where the United Mine Workers had 9,000 members working in the mines of those provinces, the officers of the district organization and many of the members of our union took up the idea of the One Big Union and proclaimed allegiance to that so-called organization as being first and paramount, without respect to the United Mine Workers. It was necessary at that time for the International Union to dissolve the charter of District No. 18 within that jurisdiction, remove from office all of the individuals in that district who were charged with official responsibility and completely reorganize that great district, involving the welfare of so many thousands of men and their families.

The United Mine Workers waged that fight in the wilds of Northwest Canada with the exponents of that false philosophy, with the result that their false teachings were made plain to our people when their forces were completely routed by the advocates of the trade unions—routed horse, foot and dragoons. The miners of Northwest Canada since that time have enjoyed the benefits of a stable organization, have enjoyed the several wage increases which have come from time to time, and today have a 100 per cent organization functioning under the banner of the United Mine Workers of America.

In 1921 it again became necessary for the United Mine Workers to intercede in the mine workers' organization in the State of Kansas. This was necessary because of the obligation of the organization to carry on its contracts, legally and properly made, and the charter of that district organization was dissolved, the district was reorganized and the Kansas organization rehabilitated upon a basis where the membership hold allegiance to the trade union principles of the United Mine Workers of America.

Again, while our representatives were

engaged in the recent conferences with the anthracite operators in the East, seeking to make a contract for a time period covering the wages and conditions of the men in the anthracite coal industry, we were faced, in the Maritime Provinces of Canada, in our District No. 26, with what practically amounted, in so far as the men who were engineering the proposition were concerned, to a revolt against trade unionism as we believe in it and to a revolt against the established institutions of the Canadian government. Directed straight from Moscow by individual officers of the Red Internationale, if you please. Agents in Nova Scotia brought about the disruption of coal production in that area through an illegal and unwarranted strike of our members and caused defiance, not only to the officers of the Provincial and Dominion governments of Canada, but to the principles and the contract obligations and the laws of the United Mine Workers. And in the Eastern Provinces of Canada, as elsewhere, the International Union stepped in, revoked the charter, rehabilitated the district, put the mines back to work, and is disciplining the men who are responsible for that situation today.

The United Mine Workers of America, if it owes its success to any one factor, owes that success to its long record of respect for contracts and the carrying out of its obligations. The distinguished trade unionists who preceded me in the office of the presidency of the United Mine Workers had ever carried out that policy, and so long as I am president of the United Mine Workers this organization will continue on that policy.

There needs must be a complete recognition upon the part of labor of its honorable obligations properly assumed if labor expects to be the recipient of fair treatment from others whom we hold to be under obligations to accord that fair treatment. And I believe that the great success of the American labor movement, the great growth and expansion of this wonderful trade union movement of ours, whose achievements I need not relate in a convention of this character, to be largely due to the wisdom and statesmanship shown by the leaders and officers of these organizations and the American Federation of Labor, which has impelled the respect of the fair-thinking citizens of our land.

The United Mine Workers is tremendously burdened with a great amount of litigation—which I will not discuss in detail at this time—litigation in many States, in the state and federal courts, which would stagger an organization of less resources in membership and financial support. The great Coronado case, originating in Arkansas, which seeks to make the United Mine Workers liable for damages accruing from a strike, has been in the courts of the land, resisted by our attorneys, over a period of nine years.

And as I address you at this hour, in the federal court of Arkansas, it is again

being retried, remanded back by the Supreme Court of the United States, and it may be that our organization will be compelled for another nine-year period to resist the encroachments of the employers in this legal manner in the Coronado litigation. And if such is our lot, so be it; we intend to fight in every honorable, proper and legal way so long as hope exists.

The United Mine Workers has made distinct progress for its people, not only during the industrial expansion in the war period, but in the post-war period that has ensued since the close of hostilities. In 1920 our members received a 27 per cent wage increase after the close of the war. And in 1922 the mine workers' organization of this land fought in the trenches of labor for five long, weary months in the bituminous fields, and for five and one-half months in the anthracite territory, resisting wage reductions; and it is a matter of public record that the mine workers in 1922, in the face of such a gallant fight, were able to renew their contracts without a lowering of their standards of living.

I think the average citizen of our land today, whether he be a working man, a professional man, an economist or a financier, is agreed that the fight of the United Mine Workers in 1922 stopped the retrograde movement in wages in industry in America. The bottom was reached when the mine workers said to the captains of industry, "You shall not further pass," and since that time our country has enjoyed a period of prosperity which at least is better than is enjoyed in many of our neighboring civilized countries.

And with it all, in the year 1923, we were able to negotiate a continuing wage scale in the bituminous industry affecting some 400,000 men, and upon the same basis as we had settled in 1922, for another year period; and in our anthracite fields we have recently been able to negotiate a contract for an additional two-year period, carrying with it the universal eight-hour day—which was not enjoyed by all of our people—many desirable changes in working conditions and a 10 per cent increase in wages. Our people, in consideration of their former condition, which was far from ideal, are of the opinion that this accomplishment represents what to them appells substantial progress, improved living conditions and a higher plane of citizenship and well-being.

And it has been made possible, and only possible, through a great organization of men who have collectively followed certain logical, stable principles, who have been loyal to the laws and policies of their organization, who have joined and pooled their interests, and who have been willing to fight for their ideal and for that degree of consideration which is due them.

I am indeed proud to be a member of the United Mine Workers of America. I am not yet an old man as years may be counted, but my memory can take me back to the conditions that existed in the

coal fields of this country prior to the organization of the United Mine Workers and before the period of the accomplishment of that organization. And when I compare the conditions of today with the conditions of yesterday I rejoice that the United Mine Workers has existed, I rejoice that I am a member and a worker in its ranks, and I rejoice that the United Mine Workers of America has been able to justify its existence and its ideals before the bar of public opinion in America.

I feel that the great trade union organizations, organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, are following a policy that will and does appeal to the fair-thinking and right-thinking citizens of our land. And I feel that to continue following those policies success will accrue to the men and women of labor in the future as in the past.

And in that great task, Mr. Chairman, which lies before all the workers of our country, I will say that the men of the mines represented by the United Mine Workers of America will be pleased to march in this army of labor, contributing what may be possible of their strength and their energy and their talent for the future success of the men and women of labor.

I thank you.

Delegate Mooney, Mine Workers: I move that the address of President Lewis of the International Union of Mine Workers be printed in the records of today's proceedings. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Murphy, Rubber Workers, stated that no resolution and no report so far submitted to the Convention contained any mention of the need for organization in the rubber industry, and obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution dealing with the subject:

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate Ben Murphy, Rubber Workers' Union No. 17656:

WHEREAS, The rubber industry is a basic industry of this country in which there is no labor organization of any extent; and

WHEREAS, The local organizations in the principal rubber center, Akron, Ohio, are practically powerless, due to the industrial domination of the rubber interests; and

WHEREAS, Almost every international union would find organization work within their jurisdiction in the rubber industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 43d Convention of the A. F. of L. refer this matter to the Executive Council, to the end that they direct the attention of the various international unions to the conditions

of the labor movement in Akron, Ohio, and the rubber industry in general; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council take necessary steps to further organization in the rubber industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Vice-President Green: A few minutes ago Delegate Berry advised me that he was called away to attend to some very important matter, and asked me if I would request the Convention, on his behalf, for the privilege of introducing a resolution on a non-controversial subject.

The request of Vice-President Green was granted and the following resolution was introduced:

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union:

WHEREAS, The American Red Cross as an organization of unselfish service is helping to interpret the constructive spirit of our Republic, which holds sacred human life and the ideals it seeks; and

WHEREAS, In its mission to relieve physical pain and minister to the distressed in body and mind the American Red Cross has found a place deep in the hearts of our people; and

WHEREAS, Heroic as it was in war-time, the American Red Cross, when grave emergencies arise, is equally heroic in peace time; and

WHEREAS, Working people throughout the country are the beneficiaries of the American Red Cross through its active work in giving and teaching first aid to the injured and lifesaving, and that our people look upon the organization as the great agency of relief when misfortune comes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, acknowledging the effective work accomplished by the American Red Cross in all its various services, commends the unselfish activities of this national organization as deserving of unselfish support, and bespeaks for it full and hearty co-operation in its purpose to extend to the remotest community its healing ministrations to humanity.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, asked the Chairman if it would be in order to move that the resolution be considered at once by the convention.

The Chairman stated that would be an unwise procedure, and the resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Brady, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Child Labor

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

The Committee on Education observes with feelings of pleasure and deep satisfaction the report of the Executive Council upon the work performed and progress made in an effort to secure an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which has for its purpose the prohibition of child labor.

It is but natural that the American Federation of Labor should lead in this great humanitarian movement for the protection of child life and child labor. The economic and social status of American working men and women enables them to understand most clearly how important and vital to the Nation and organized labor is the conservation and protection of child life. This purpose can not be attained if employers are permitted to profit by the exploitation of little children in the mills, mines and factories of our country.

The first Congress of Labor held in the United States after the decision of the Supreme Court which declared the Child Labor Law unconstitutional made the following declaration in favor of an amendment to the constitution of the United States:

"An amendment prohibiting the labor of children under the age of 16 years in any mine, mill, factory, workshop or other industrial or mercantile establishment, and conferring upon Congress the power to raise the minimum age below which children shall not be permitted to work, and to enforce the provisions of the proposed amendment by appropriate legislation."

Since the adoption of this declaration by the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in June, 1922, the report of the Executive Council shows that diligent, unceasing efforts have been put forth by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for carrying out the intention and purpose of this expression of organized labor. As a re-

sult of these activities the Senate Judiciary Committee of the Congress of the United States has recommended that "the Congress shall have power concurrent with that of the several states to limit or prohibit the labor of persons under the age of eighteen years."

It is remarkable that within the limited space of one year such splendid work has been done in arousing public interest that this constitutional amendment was proposed and received the approval of the Committees of both Houses of the Congress of the United States.

This Committee commends the Executive Council for the prompt, effective and expeditious way in which it has carried forward the work assigned to the Council. It approves the constitutional amendment accepted and endorsed by the Executive Council, upon the subject of child labor.

The Committee concurs in the recommendation that National and International Unions, State and City Central Bodies and Local Unions throughout the United States shall work unceasingly in an effort to arouse public support for this constitutional amendment and the passage of child labor legislation.

We recommend that all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor call upon their representatives in the House and Senate of the United States demanding their support of the proposed constitutional amendment.

This Committee further recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to continue its efforts to secure the adoption of this proposed child labor amendment to the constitution of the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Patent Laws and Practices

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

The report of the Executive Council upon this subject shows that it has complied in full measure with the re-

quirements of Resolution No. 102 adopted by the Cincinnati convention. The question of Patent Laws and Practices is intricate, technical and decidedly interesting. The information upon the subject of Patent Laws and Practices, submitted by the Executive Council in its report, is of very great importance. The report conveys the information that Patent Laws and Practices are deeply involved in our treaty obligations with other Nations.

In view of the far-reaching consequences involved in an investigation of this entire subject, your Committee fully concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council "that further inquiry be made into the subject, so that, if it be found that the desired relief set forth in the resolution is at all feasible or possible, action be taken accordingly or such other action as a further consideration of the subject may warrant or justify."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Report of Committee on Education

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee most heartily commends the permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council on successfully concluding the negotiations with the Workers' Education Bureau of America. It is a matter of great moment to the future of the working people of our country to have an established and recognized educational agency or bureau through which to secure guidance and counsel in the direction of their efforts at self-education. By the articles of agreement the American Federation of Labor forms an integral and organic part of this bureau.

It is the deliberate opinion of your Committee that one of the most important matters before this 43d Annual Convention and before the American labor movement today is adult workers' education. It conditions in a most vital way the future character and direction of the labor movement. For the adult worker it is an indispensable

aspect of democratic citizenship and should, therefore, be universal. It should enlist the united support of organized labor throughout our country.

The Workers' Education Bureau has developed certain well-defined educational services which it is prepared to place at the disposal of the working people of this country at a nominal service charge. It can and will assist local groups in the organization of study classes, in the preparation of courses of study, in the designation of proper and well-trained teachers, and in the selection of adequate text books and syllabi. A field secretary has been added to the staff to assist local groups in the organization of colleges and study classes. In addition, it is prepared to conduct correspondence courses for adult workers and place at their disposal a library loan service. An editorial committee has in active preparation a modern series of books written for adult workers in the social sciences, literature and the natural sciences.

Your Committee wishes to call especial attention to the fact that the principles of local autonomy and group responsibility and the voluntary nature of adult education are the principles upon which the American Labor movement rests, and commend this adult workers' education movement particularly to the American worker. In view of the outstanding importance of this movement to the working people of our country, your Committee recommends to this convention the following specific proposals:

1. That we recommend to the workers of this country, through the channels provided for then by the American Federation of Labor, the establishment of study classes for the free and impartial study of such problems as are of interest to them, and that they avail themselves of the educational advice of the Workers' Education Bureau in the organization and conduct of such classes.

2. That we recommend that each State Federation of Labor establish a permanent educational department and provide an educational director to cooperate actively with the Workers' Education Bureau in providing adequately for the educational needs of the organized workers in every state in the United States.

3. That we recommend that the

National and International Unions, City Central Bodies and other affiliated organizations appoint permanent educational committees to co-operate fully in the development of this movement; and we further recommend that these organizations undertake active affiliation with the Workers' Education Bureau.

And we further recommend that a copy of these recommendations, with a copy of the address of the spokesman of the Workers' Education Bureau, before the 43d Annual Convention, be transmitted by the President of the American Federation of Labor, in co-operation with the permanent Committee on Education, to all the National and International Unions and State Federations of Labor.

Permanent Education Committee

In discussing the Report of the Committee on Education as contained in the Executive Council's Report, we have referred to the constructive character of the work rendered by the Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor. Upon the basis of their past service and in anticipation of a growing field for their usefulness, your committee recommends that the convention extend to this Permanent Committee its appreciation for its past work and continuation of the life and activity of this Permanent Committee on Education.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists: The importance of education is much more apparent today than ever before for the average working man and woman. We have long realized that the greatest foe to the working people is ignorance, and anything that has for its purpose the enlightenment of the working people of our time ought to receive, not simply the passive endorsement, but the active support of every labor organization and of every right-thinking man in or out of the labor movement. Your committee has presented a comprehensive program of action, that, if actively pursued, will result in lasting benefit to the workers of this continent.

The organization I have the honor to represent has endorsed and affiliated with the Workers' Education Bureau. I

am glad to say that the Bureau has selected one of our members as a field secretary. Brother Bronson has been a member of the Machinists for more than twenty years and is well acquainted with the fundamentals of labor organizations. He has been a student and is well qualified to assist and counsel with local unions, central bodies and state branches that may take up this most essential work.

It is not my purpose to take the time of the convention other than to say that if we are to equip ourselves so that we may efficiently represent the workers in the industrial field and in the halls of Congress, rather than depend upon our so-called friends as we have heretofore, we must give greater attention to this great question. I believe we must work out our own industrial salvation and not depend upon anyone else to do it.

Education is the greatest thing in order that we may present the claims of labor to the world at large and gain for ourselves that sympathetic consideration of the great army of people yet without organization, and the so-called "middle classes," who may not, because of their avocations, be entitled to membership therein. I therefore heartily endorse and commend the committee for its painstaking efforts and the consideration given this important subject.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

The hour for adjournment having arrived the further report of the committee was postponed until the next session

President Gompers in the chair.

Vice-President Duncan: The hour for adjournment has arrived. The rules provide that we do not work on Saturday afternoon. I move that the report of the Committee on Resolutions be made a special subject immediately after the Committee on Education has made its report in full and the convention has acted thereon. (Seconded and carried.)

At 12:30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock a. m., Monday, October 8, 1923.

Seventh Day—Monday Morning Session

Portland, Ore., October 8, 1923.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees

Gillmore, McGuire, Price, Childs, Boyer, Fitzgerald, England, Desepte, Conway, Holtschult, Austin, Joseph Marshall, Squibb, Davies, Hubert S. Marshall, Greenstein, Keegan, Bryan, Askew, Milliman, Carroll, Hogan, Gorman, Weber, Canavan, Carey, Parker, Hannah, Coefield, Burke, McLaughlin, Burke, Collins, Cone, Soderberg, Walden, Valentino, Briggs, W. J. Robinson, Kearney, Pratt, Leonard, Van Patten, Sturm, O'Dell, Keckler, Frampton, Martin, Bower, Horrigan, Paulson, Carl S. Evans, Alter, Saylor, Tyden, Jacques, Mezzacapo, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Elliott.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Belair, chairman of the committee, presented the following report:

Credential has been received for Chas. Grace, Harrisburg, Ill., Trades Council.

We recommend that the delegate be seated.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication and telegram:

Ancient Order of Hibernians.
Division No. 1.

Portland, Oregon, Oct. 4, 1923.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Municipal Auditorium, Portland, Oregon.

Dear Sir: As State Secretary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of Oregon it is my pleasure and privilege to advise you that the following resolution was unanimously adopted at the State Convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of Oregon, which concluded Wednesday:

"In accordance with a recommendation of the National Convention we pledge our support to organized labor in every movement fostered by it in the interest of humanity and urge that

all work performed by our Order in the state be given as far as practicable to Union Labor affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and recommend that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the headquarters of their annual convention now meeting in Portland, and also to the Central Labor Council of Portland."

With best wishes for the success of the Convention, and the continued growth and influence of the Union Labor movement, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

A. B. CAIN.

State Secretary A. O. H. of Oregon,
364 Taylor Street.

TELEGRAM

Washington, D. C., October 6, 1923.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Portland, Ore.

Organized labor in America is entitled to sincere congratulations on the progress which is marked by this annual convention of the Federation. Under wise and sane leadership the trade union movement is going steadily forward, fostering the welfare of the man who toils and bettering the conditions under which he works. The world is alive with new theories, new political and economic nostrums which may mislead the unwary with their glitter. In Europe nations have come close to ruin through these theories. In one great European nation a mere handful of men control the destinies of one of the greatest populations numerically in the world. Two other countries are under absolute dictatorships and a third is fast approaching the same condition. In these nations economic conditions are in a chaos, millions of men are walking the streets seeking employment and those who are able to find work are recompensed by a mere subsistence wage. It is to the eternal credit of the American trade union movement that the false notions of the old world have been unable to obtain a foothold in this country. Here the working man is in demand, jobs are plentiful and wages are at the peak. Here, too, labor has its full share in government. In America labor is well represented in public office, federal, state, county, city and town. Let us hope that the American trade union movement will go forward on the same safe and sane road which it has fol-

lowed in the past, seeking always the ultimate best for the man who toils. This road leads to the maintenance of the pay envelope of the American workman as the largest and most profitable in the world and to the maintenance of production in American industry at its highest. Great tasks lie before American labor. The devastating evil of child labor must be eliminated from American industry. The million children who toil must be freed from the grasp of the taskmasters. American labor must no longer compete with American childhood. More and more we are coming to a realization of the mutuality of interests between the men who manage industry and the men whose labor makes industry possible. We must do all we can to foster the principle of mediation and conciliation in industrial disputes, substituting the settlement by the council table for the settlement by force. Above all we must devote ourselves to the intellectual development of the man who works in order that he may be able intelligently to perform his task and to produce the machinery which will ultimately shoulder the mere drudgery of production. Under his direction American labor can look back upon a great past. It faces a great future.

JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

Delegate Hartwig, Chairman of the Local Committee: One part of the program at the opening of this convention was delayed, owing to our not receiving certain things that went along with it. I want to present to President Gompers at this time a gavel made out of wood that grows nowhere but in Oregon. It is known as Oregon myrtle and was discovered by wood turners who were shipwrecked on the shores of this State, and who, having had experience with woods, discovered the peculiar nature of this wood. It is Oriental in its texture and it grows here in one place in abundance. The trade union movement of this State wishes to present this gavel to President Gompers on this, the opening of the second week of the convention. We have had it made especially large, President Gompers, owing to the fact that you will possibly have heavy work this week, and it may be necessary, in the course of your duties, to make use of the gavel. It has an inscription which reads as follows: "Presented to Samuel Gompers at the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor by the Oregon State Federation of Labor and the Central Labor Council of Portland, Oregon."

Along with this, President Gompers, I present the block that goes with it, and I call special attention to the fact that it bears the carpenters' union label, being made by one of the old-time trade unionists of this city and under abso-

lute union conditions. Everything done in connection with the gift was done by union men. I ask you, on behalf of the local men, to accept this little gift as a token of our appreciation of your service and your position.

In addition to that I want to present this nut and fruit bowl, made of the same wood. If Oregon is noted for one thing more than another, it is noted for the fact that we have in mind always the great mothers, wives and sisters of the men of the trade union movement, and so on behalf of the trade union movement of this State I present this bowl to you for Mrs. Gompers. It is made by the same individual and under the same conditions, and in it you will find a history of the Oregon myrtle wood.

President Gompers: Brother Hartwig, I am sure this has taken me entirely unawares. You have indicated that these instruments might be used by me at a large gathering during this week, and then you indicated that the bowl presented to Mrs. Gompers is to contain fruits and nuts. I wonder if there is not some relativity between the bowl and this gavel.

On behalf of Mrs. Gompers and myself, I want to assure you of my deep appreciation of your consideration of us and that which is implied by the gifts. I can't take up any more time, because I know I shall not make any better speech in accepting these gifts if I take up another hour. I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

At this time President Gompers presented to the fraternal delegates from Great Britain, Brothers Robinson and Walker, beautiful gold and platinum watches, with suitable inscriptions thereon; to Brother Sullivan, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, a ring with a diamond setting; and to Mrs. Robinson, wife of Fraternal Delegate Robinson, a lavalliere with a diamond setting. In presenting the gifts, President Gompers said, in part:

I desire to say to Brother Robinson, to Brother Walker and to Brother Sullivan that, in accordance with past custom, without ostentation and without publicity, not even to arouse the suspicion of yourselves or anyone else, two or three of the delegates to this convention were previously selected to go among the other delegates and have them give a small contribution for the purpose of giving some remembrance to the fraternal delegates. I assume and believe that you were entirely unaware that any such thing was under consideration; however, it has been done. I now take pleasure in presenting to you these gifts, which were made by first-class union workmen in an es-

tablishment thoroughly unionized, and they each bear an inscription which shows by whom and to whom the gift is presented.

Of course, the chivalry of American men is not a lost art. It is one which the men of America may at all times point to with great satisfaction and pride, so in the same process the delegates have not forgotten the good lady, Mrs. Robinson, wife of Fraternal Delegate Robinson. I have the pleasure to present to you, Mrs. Robinson, a gold and platinum lavalliere with a very pretty little diamond in it.

Each of the recipients made a brief acknowledgment of the gift, expressing their pleasure at the cordial hospitality which had been extended them during their stay in America.

Vice-President Woll in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Brady, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Free Text Books

Your committee recommends to this Convention that it sustain the policy of the American Federation of Labor in urging upon the several States of the Union the use of free text books in the public schools where no such provision now exists.

In addition, your committee desires to again recommend to this Convention that representatives of labor in the various communities regard it as part of their public duty to serve on the local Boards of Education, or on the Boards of Trustees of Municipal and State Universities supported by public funds. These institutions were created to serve all the people, and membership on such boards would insure the fulfillment of this original intention. Furthermore, such action is in entire and complete accord with the long and continuous interest of American labor in the cause of free public education.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Social Studies in the Public Schools

To this 43d Annual Convention there is presented for the first time the searching report of the permanent Committee on Education on the subject of Social Studies in the Public Schools. In this 40-page pamphlet which has been prepared for the delegates will be found the

results of a painstaking inquiry into the social studies, the methods and textbooks used, and the extent to which such courses have been introduced into our system of public instruction. The report is not a criticism but establishes certain constructive standards of judgment for school boards, teachers, parents, publishers, authors and the general citizenship.

The report is divided into three sections covering the general character of public education, the importance of the social studies, and the nature of the existing texts. There is evidence on every page of scholarly research and significant tendencies arising out of this survey. As a conclusion to this report the permanent Committee on Education finds no insurmountable obstacles which interfere with bringing about "continuous improvements in the treatment of labor by the textbooks devoted to the social sciences."

Your committee recommends to this Convention that the permanent Committee on Education be commended upon the importance of this inquiry, not only to the labor movement, but to free education in our country, and that copies of this printed pamphlet be sent to the National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

American Legion

Under caption of "American Legion" the Executive Council in its report sets forth the developments having taken place during the past year and which have not only maintained but strengthened the bonds of cordiality and helpfulness between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion.

Your committee notes with full approval the relationship which has thus developed between our respective organizations and commends the Executive Council for the good judgment displayed and fair attitude assumed. It is the committee's recommendation that the invitation extended to the National Commander of the American Legion to address the Convention of the American Federation of Labor be approved, and

that in the spirit of reciprocity, cordiality and as evidence of our sincere desire for mutual helpfulness that the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to accept the kind invitation extended to him and to convey these fraternal greetings and expressions of helpful consideration in person to the coming convention of the American Legion.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Report of American Federation of Labor Bureau of Co-operative Societies

Your committee has given the report of the Bureau of Co-operative Societies, pages 110-111 of the Executive Council Report, its undivided attention, and finds itself in full accord with the statements and sentiments expressed therein.

We commend it to the attention of all students who are seeking a way out of the blighting effects of profiteering and criminal wastefulness, especially in our prevailing system of distribution which results in bleeding the masses and in further enriching the ever-growing army of the non-producers.

We, moreover, concur in the recommendation of the Bureau of Co-operative Societies:

"That the President of the American Federation of Labor employ the services of at least one member of the Legislative Committee during the time that Congress is not in session for the purpose of explaining and promoting the co-operative movement and furnishing standard literature at cost on the different phases of the Rochdale movement. Your committee, moreover, recommends that the American Federation of Labor urge all affiliated central labor unions to establish co-operative bureaus for the purpose of study, to obtain information and to carry forward the preliminary work of education in reference to the bona fide Rochdale co-operative movement."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Intelligence Tests

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under this caption your committee commends the officials of the American Federation of Labor on their vigilance in inaugurating an inquiry into the matter of intelligence tests. We prefer to suspend judgment on the ultimate value of these tests in indus-

trial plants which are still in the experimental stage. However, we share the view that labor should give careful study to the various uses of these intelligence tests and insist on the importance of labor participation in the application of such tests in any industrial establishment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Harvard University

Your committee views with satisfaction the action of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University, to which reference has been made in the Executive Council's Report, in maintaining its traditional policy in the administration of the rules of admission to Harvard College of "freedom from discrimination on grounds of race and religion."

Our institutions of higher learning are an organic part of our national educational effort. They are of the very foundations of our American democratic experiment. As has been said at this Convention, "the genius of America consists in our correlation of government by the people with education by the people." In the case of the state universities supported by public funds, this correlation of government by the people with education by the people is the insistent fact. Even our privately endowed institutions are ceasing to be regarded as private institutions save in the source of their income. For the obligation which rests upon the colleges and universities of this country to serve the people and uphold the ideals of the American Commonwealth makes them all public institutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

Information and Publicity

Reporting on that section of the Executive Council's Report beginning on page 125 and concluding on page 129, we desire to express our appreciation of the detailed character of the work reported upon and our approval of the remarkable progress made during the year. We are in entire agreement with the Executive Council in its expression of the desire to proceed as rapidly as possible with the

development of this work and its inability to content itself with the accomplishments recorded. We believe that the work of intelligently informing the public concerning the work and the aims and policies of the trade union movement is of the highest importance and that every facility for this work should be made available.

We find particular satisfaction in the work that has been done in charting the form and scope of the American Federation of Labor operations and it is pleasing to find a great portion of these charts on display in the form of an exhibit in connection with this Convention. In this connection we believe it would be informing if this exhibit could be displayed at the various Conventions of our international unions and at other large gatherings, and we recommend that in so far as possible this be done. We believe information contained in these charts is so important to the trade union movement that it should have as wide a circulation as can be afforded. We recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to produce the charts and the accompanying descriptive material in book form for distribution throughout the United States and, in so far as possible, also in foreign countries. It is well that this information about our trade union movement be disseminated as widely as possible and we believe that it will do much to create a better understanding and a more thorough comprehension of our scope, our policy, our philosophy and our activities.

That portion dealing with the issuance of "Labor Information" impressed your Committee as being an excellent indication of development along proper and constructive lines. We have examined the publication which is being issued under that title and we are gratified to know that it is designed to reach, and does reach, a large group of men and women not connected with the trade union movement, but whose opinions in the shaping of public opinion are of great importance. We recommend that this be made one of the established publications of the A. F. of L., to be issued either regularly or when it seems opportune, as the President may see fit.

It is essential that accurate information concerning the activities, the policy and the viewpoint of the trade union movement be as widely disseminated as possible, and we approve most cordially the medium which has been developed for conveying this information directly to men and women in all walks of life throughout the country.

There are, in our opinion, important possibilities in the development of the News Budget, which may be described as a small clip sheet for the use of daily and weekly newspapers in the smaller cities. This also is a medium of conveying information to channels, which have hitherto found it somewhat difficult to secure information from direct and authentic sources.

We are gratified at the service being rendered to the trade union publications of the country through the assistance given to the International Labor News Service by the A. F. of L. Information and Publicity Service. As the Executive Council's Report explains, the International News Service is owned by the International Labor Press of America, which is an organization of bona fide trade union publications. We heartily approve this method of assisting the labor publications of the country, and we recommend its continuance.

We are unable to add anything to that portion of the report dealing with mats and cartoons, but we realize the importance of the matter and we express the hope that some way will be found to render the service which the Labor Press of the country appears so earnestly to desire in this connection. We are of the opinion that it may be possible for assistance to be rendered in this direction as it has been rendered in connection with news and articles in the co-operative arrangement with the International Labor News Service. We believe that the requirements of the situation will be adequately met if the subject is left to be handled by the President of the American Federation of Labor as his judgment dictates.

The publication of the Guide to Sources of Information for the benefit of international organizations affiliated through the A. F. of L. has satisfied a want that was distinctly felt. Our inter-

national officers are now in a position to avail themselves of practically all of the principal authentic sources of information now in existence. We believe that this volume should be kept constantly up to date and we recommend that this be done.

The work of continuously informing the daily press and of supplying information to periodical publications and writers for such publications is of paramount importance. We are glad to know that the Executive Council disdains any effort of a propaganda nature in this connection, because we are of the firm opinion that the labor movement has no need to and cannot afford to go beyond the dissemination of actual and truthful information. In this connection we are moved to say that those efforts which are customarily and properly designated as propaganda constitute one of the grave menaces of our time, and ought to be condemned and discouraged wherever encountered. We believe that the A. F. of L. in its publicity work thus far has set a high standard in conformity with the best ethics of the trade union movement, and of the world of journalism as well, and we most cordially commend this policy and recommend its unmodified continuance.

We note with interest the fact that the Executive Council has had under consideration the establishment of a Lecture Bureau. It is our belief that if the finances of the Federation will permit, such a bureau should be established within the coming year. We are of the opinion that it may be possible to begin the establishment of a Lecture Bureau on a basis of moderate expenditure, and we earnestly hope that some progress in this direction may be possible. We do not believe it wise that a definite recommendation should be made, because we are confident that with the authority of this Convention the work will be undertaken at the earliest opportune moment.

That portion of the section of the report now under consideration, which is entitled "Information Gathering," introduces the question of research, and this we regard as a most important function of our Information and Publicity Service. The Council has well said that any

consideration of publicity as contemplated in the establishment of this service "must take into account the complete operation, which consists of getting information, systematizing it, and passing it on through one channel or another." We look forward with impatience to the furtherance of research work, and to its development along sound and scientific lines. We are moved to say in this connection, as a result of the experiences of many of our affiliated organizations, that the trade union movement must develop research work under its own control, for its own benefit, or see the field usurped by private effort, at least some of which may either lack the necessary understanding of the trade union movement, or may be definitely hostile or mercenary. We have no desire at this time to reflect unfavorably upon any particular effort of this character and we recognize that there are, and doubtless will continue to be, privately conducted operations of the utmost integrity, sincerity and faithfulness. The point which we wish to emphasize is that the protection of our affiliated bodies and the assurance of singleness of purpose and integrity of operation can best be had under the direct control and direction of the Trade Union movement itself.

We call attention to the wide range of subjects dealt with during the course of the past year, and we point to this as a complete justification for the work that has been done and as a justification also for the expansion of this work. We note that the subjects dealt with cover almost the whole range of domestic and international problems. It is an indication of the sweeping scope and influence of the trade union movement, ramifying in every direction and touching almost every phase of human existence.

We are in complete accord with the outline of possible future activities, and we are hopeful that the desire of the Executive Council to develop these activities in the near future may be found feasible. Our report on this subject would be incomplete if we failed to call attention to the fact that this work has largely been made possible by voluntary contributions from our affiliated national and international unions. We

believe that this important work should not be left to depend upon voluntary contributions, which may increase or diminish, or which may even be discontinued. We believe that as soon as possible this work should be placed upon the same basis as all other efforts of the American Federation of Labor, and that it should be operated upon a definite budget of expense in order that there may be assurance that plans may be carried into effect. Until that time arrives, however, we believe it of the utmost importance that our affiliated national and international unions should continue voluntary contributions, and we earnestly express the hope that they will see the wisdom of so doing. We are confident that the Convention will join enthusiastically in expressing the gratitude of our movement to those organizations which by their generous contributions have made possible the development so well described in the Executive Council's report. They have assumed a burden which properly belongs upon the movement as a whole and in doing so have made possible a measure of helpfulness and progress of value, not only to our movement, but to all who have an interest in the cause of constructive and progressive development toward a higher and better order of things.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

American Federationist

Concerning that section of the Executive Council's report under this caption, on page 129, we join with the Council in urging that the widest use be made of the American Federationist as a source of authentic information regarding the various phases of labor's struggles.

We urge upon all trade unionists the advisability of reading regularly the official publication of the A. F. of L., and we call the attention of those who are outside of our movement to this source of information and inspiration. We commend the conduct of the publication during the past year, and we an-

ticipate continued valued service during the coming year.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. of L. Weekly News Service

Reporting upon the section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, on page 129, we recognize the Weekly News Service as a valuable asset, not only to labor publications, but to the trade union movement as a whole. It is our hope that during the coming year there may be improvement in the service rendered by this agency of news dissemination.

We note with satisfaction that it is proposed to carry into effect the resolution adopted by the Cincinnati Convention, looking toward a more complete co-ordination of the Weekly News Service with other activities of the Federation. We believe this should be done at the earliest possible time.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Press

We are gratified by that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, on pages 129 and 130. We have observed during the period since our last Convention a steady improvement and strengthening of the Labor Press of the country, and we have observed with pleasure the splendid spirit of co-operation between labor publications, whether privately owned or otherwise, and the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations. We commend the Labor Press of the country for its vigilance in defense of the trade union movement and for its refusal to be led into the fields of destructive propaganda and false doctrine.

We desire to emphasize the necessity for the support of bona fide trade union publications everywhere, and to impress upon trade unionists the advisability and necessity of supporting local labor publications, as well as the official organs and labor journals of national scope. An able, fearless and clean Labor Press is one of the most valuable assets the labor movement can have, and there should be continuous and united effort toward that end.

It is important to distinguish, as the

council does in its report, between bona fide trade union publications and private ventures presuming to speak in the name of a movement with which they do not sympathize and which they do not understand. We feel impelled to caution the general public against such presumption and imposition.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book

In the section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, on page 130, we find that the second volume of the A. F. of L. History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book is ready for early publication. It is satisfying to know that this much-needed volume will soon be available. We feel that there is a sufficient demand for a book of this character among the membership of the trade union movement, and outside of the trade union movement, to warrant the regular annual publication of such a Reference Book or Year Book. We recommend that hereafter an additional volume be published each year immediately after the conclusion of the annual convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

American Federationist Index

We join the Executive Council in regretting that this analytical index is not available at this time, but we express the hope that every necessary facility will be afforded in order that the index may be completed in the immediate future.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORT ON FEDERATED PRESS

We commend the report of the special committee on this subject, presented to us by the Executive Council on pages 130 to 134.

We feel that it is important that our trade unions and the labor publications of the country should be fully informed as to the character and pretensions of any organization which seeks to serve news to the Labor Press and which in

so doing seeks to pose as the supporter of organized labor.

We believe we should say in this connection that the labor movement does not demand of a labor news service or of any other news service that there be bias or misrepresentation in behalf of trade unionism, and we are glad to note that the special committee does not base its conclusions upon any failure of the Federated Press to show such a bias. But if we do not demand a bias in favor of the trade union movement we cannot condone a bias against the trade union movement on the part of any organization that seeks labor's favor and support. We hold that no news service pretending to convey news about the trade union movement can serve the trade union movement and at the same time serve the propaganda of communism. We note that the policy of the Federated Press is represented by its spokesman to be, in the language of the committee, "to report the news of all pretending-to-be factions or wings of the labor movement and to admit to membership in the Federated Press publications representing all factions and wings of the labor movement." The committee represents that it was "given to understand that within the meaning of that term the Federated Press includes all protesting minorities and that the question of whether these minorities are revolutionary or not has nothing to do with the case." The revolutionary character of a portion of the Executive Board of the Federated Press is obviously and admittedly communist and revolutionary and a large portion of its newspaper clientele is obviously and admittedly of the same character.

The trade union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor has so emphatically declared itself upon the whole question of communist and revolutionary dogma and activity that there can be but one course to pursue, either in respect to a news service in which communist propagandists exercise an influence or a determining voice or in respect to any other effort of communist propa-

gandists to invade the trade union movement.

The propagandists of communism have but one object in seeking the company of trade unionism and in seeking entree to our movement through its newspaper channels and otherwise. That object is to subvert and destroy the trade unions and to capture the wage earners for revolutionary communism. We are impelled to declare with all of the emphasis at our command that any compromise of whatever nature with either the propagandists or the propaganda of communism is to yield by just that much to the efforts of the propaganda and those propagandists. If there are those that care to compromise, let us make it clear that they do not speak by authority of the trade union movement, which is uncompromising and unswerving in its hostility to every manifestation of communism and every other revolutionary doctrine, dogma and practice.

If the Federated Press chooses to include communist organizations in the category of organizations of labor, our only reply can be that the classification is inaccurate, repugnant and inadmissible. Agencies in whatsoever field they may operate cannot serve communism and at the same time serve American trade unionism.

We commend the Executive Council for its efforts in causing this investigation to be made and we commend the Committee for the obvious restraint manifested in its report and for the fullness with which it has set forth their findings. Upon the basis of these findings we feel impelled to recommend that this convention adopt the findings as its own and issue warning to the trade union movement in general and to the Labor Press in particular to be on guard against the insidious encroachment of subversive propaganda either through the Federated Press or any other channel. The Federated Press upon its own record cannot hope to have and should not have the support of trade union publi-

cations or of trade union organizations.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: It was at the Cincinnati convention that instructions were given for an investigation into the affairs of the Federated Press. At that time one or two delegates, if not more, offered the suggestion that the present speaker be excluded from that committee in conducting that investigation, evidently believing that he might be prejudiced or biased in carrying on that work. The President of the American Federation of Labor, with the approval of the Executive Council, nevertheless chose the speaker as the chairman of the committee to investigate the Federated Press. In order that this convention may know that the investigation was conducted fairly and honestly and that we endeavored to present the facts as we found them, without color, I want to read to the convention, with your permission, a letter received from the managing editor of the Federated Press, commenting on the report that was submitted to the Executive Council and in turn submitted to this convention. It is dated September 27 and is addressed to the members of the committee, Woll, Wright and Perkins, and reads:

"The Federated Press incloses its summary of your report on the Federated Press to the Executive Council to be submitted to the Portland convention, together with a comment by the Federated Press through its managing editor on this report.

"You will see that each article is properly safeguarded through release cautions.

"We wish to reiterate the appreciation of the Federated Press of your efforts to present a fair report, and while there are many individual statements to which we take exception, as well as to your conclusion, we thank you for inserting my statement regarding the function of the Federated Press and for your declaration that this function is thus accurately described.

"We wish the A. F. of L. a successful convention and trust that you will find the news reports of Art Shields,

our special correspondent, satisfactory from every legitimate news standing.
(Signed) "CARL HAESSLER,
"Managing Editor."

I felt impelled to make that statement because of the allegation made at the last convention. The committee's report, I believe, is fully justified by the facts that were found in the investigation conducted by your committee in Chicago, lasting at least two days, at which time we had available to ourselves the records of the Federated Press. We refrained from commenting upon that which came to our attention, setting forth only the facts, leaving this convention to draw its own conclusions and recommendations.

I feel that the committee's report is justified in every sense of the word, that its News Service is not serving labor as it pretends to serve labor. It is not a service that promotes trade unionism as it alleges it intends to promote it; it is not a service that, in making its appeals for financial support to the trade union movement of America, expresses its gratitude to that movement, upon whose support its continued welfare is dependent.

I shall not say anything more about the report excepting this: You will find the report itself condemnatory of any labor publication that seeks to undermine and misrepresent and malign the trade union movement. I believe it is time that this convention should take a definite stand on this question, but its attitude and its expressions should not embrace alone the labor press, it should include every trade unionist, and particularly one who seeks or attempts to represent a group of wage earners affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

I have in mind particularly a publication which rightfully comes under the terms of condemnation contained in your committee's report; to be specific, I refer to the Butte Bulletin, edited by one of the delegates to this convention. If this report of the committee is to mean anything at all it should also be the specific declaration of this convention that not alone the labor press that does not follow the viewpoint of the trade union movement as expressed

by the American Federation of Labor should not receive its support, but that anyone coming into this convention seeking to represent a State or central body who edits such a paper and who has direct connection with the Communist Party and is playing for the Soviet and Moscow government has no right in this convention as a trade unionist.

I sincerely hope that the convention will endorse and approve unanimously the committee's report, and that it will not be satisfied merely with the utterance of fine and beautiful phrases carrying valuable sentiments and convictions, but that those sentiments, expressions and convictions will be followed by action that will make this a respectable convention by the unseating of Delegate William F. Dunne.

Following the statement by Delegate Woll, the subject matter was discussed until the hour of adjournment, more than two hours.

Delegate Green, United Mine Workers, reviewed at some length the activities of William F. Dunne, editor of the Butte Bulletin, in the Pennsylvania coal fields during the 1922 strike. He pointed out that Dunne's wages, railroad fare and other expenses were, according to a letter sent by the president of the Workers' Party to the local representative in Pittsburgh, to be paid during his stay in Pennsylvania by the Workers' Party, and that the Workers' Party is affiliated with the Third Internationale at Moscow.

After going into some detail concerning Delegate Dunne's actions while in Pennsylvania, Delegate Green read to the convention headlines and extracts from the editorial and news columns of the Butte Bulletin, in its issue of September 14, 1923. These, in general, constituted an attack upon the officials of the organized labor movement, and the officials of the United Mine Workers of America in particular.

He also quoted passages from a public address made by Dunne and reported in the Portland papers of Monday, October 8, showing that in that address he had attacked the officials of the American Federation of Labor and proven himself

to be entirely out of harmony with the policies of the federation. An outspoken advocate of Communism, Delegate Green felt, properly had no place in the Federation convention.

Delegate Murray, United Mine Workers, offered the following motion: That this convention revoke the credentials of William F. Dunne and unseat him as a delegate. (Motion seconded.)

In support of his motion, Delegate Murray corroborated the statements made by Delegate Green concerning Dunne's activities in the Pennsylvania coal fields. Stories were circulated by Dunne, he said, through the Butte Bulletin, to the effect that the officers of the United Mine Workers had betrayed the miners of the coke region of Pennsylvania in the 1922 strike, and in refuting that assertion Delegate Murray pointed out that through the assistance and support given by the United Mine Workers the wages of the miners in the coke region had been raised from \$4.50 to \$7.50 per day, with a reduction in their working hours from ten to eight per day. He said his experience had shown that the advocates of the Communist cause were never found in the unorganized coal fields until after the United Mine Workers' representative had been working in those fields, and that then they would circulate among the miners and spread their false stories and their unfair propaganda.

Delegate Dunne, Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, spoke at some length. At no time in his remarks did he deny his affiliation with the Communist Party; on the contrary, he openly admitted more than once in his statement that he was a Communist. He denied that he hampered the officials of the United Mine Workers in the strike of 1922, and said that he had made only two speeches in mining camps, and that he covered the strike for "The Worker," the official organ of the Workers' Party.

He said that, as a Communist, he was loyal to the trade union movement,

and that he believed what the labor movement should strive for was political and economic power.

A goodly portion of his statement was made up of a more or less general attack upon the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the international unions affiliated with it.

At the close of Delegate Dunne's statement, after several questions and answers had passed between him and Delegate Green, Delegate Ramsay, Telegraphers, arose to a point of order, stating that in his opinion the motion to expel Delegate Dunne from the convention was out of order, that it was not germane to the motion before the convention, which was to adopt the committee's report upon that portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with the Federated Press. He stated that he had not raised the point prior to this time because he wanted to see the atmosphere cleared.

President Gompers: The motion offered by Delegate Murray is not germane to the subject now under consideration. It may be offered, if desired, after the conclusion of the motion now pending. The point of order is well taken.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report headed, "Report on Federated Press," was carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Murray, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman, I desire at this time to renew my motion, and I would like to have the secretary of the convention read it.

Secretary Morrison read the motion, as follows: That this convention revoke the credentials of William F. Dunne and unseat him as a delegate.

The motion was seconded.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, further discussion was postponed until the afternoon session.

At 12:30 p. m. the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Seventh Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, Monday, October 8, by President Gompers.

Absentees

Gillmore, R. H. Baker, McGuire, W. V. Price, Childs, W. R. Boyer, Fitzgerald, Desepte, Conway, Holschult, Austin, Squibb, Greenstein, Keegan, Bryan, Askew, Millman, T. C. Carroll, S. C. Hogan, Gorman, Edw. Canavan, J. T. Carey, M. H. Parker, E. I. Hannah, T. E. Burke, Wm. McLaughlin, John P. Burke, W. M. Collins, D. C. Cone, Walden, B. M. Jewell, Valentino, Briggs, Altman, F. E. Morris, Pratt, Leonard, Phil Finley, Van Patten, Sturm, O'Dell, Keckler, Sims, Mrs. W. F. Martin, David Hickey, Bower, Horrigan, Paulson, Carl S. Evans, R. T. Wood, William Meyer, Thad Stevens, S. H. Alter, Saylor, Tyden, Jacques, Mezzacapo, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, M. Elliott.

Supplemental report of the Committee on Credentials, Delegate Kasten, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Credential has been presented by Henry Ohl as delegate from the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and we recommend that he be seated.

Upon the request of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union we recommend the seating of Oscar W. Horne in place of Walter V. Price, who is requested to leave the city.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Discussion was resumed on the motion of Delegate Murray, Mine Workers, to revoke the credentials of William F. Dunne, of the Butte, Montana, Central body, and to unseat him in the convention.

Delegate Mooney, Mine Workers, discussed the question at some length, and in doing so recounted many of the activities of members of the communist party during strikes of the Mine Workers. He also cited their activity during the trials of members of his organization in West Virginia, and pointed out that they did not go into the unorganized and partly organized counties in that state, where it was dangerous to

go at times, nor did they go into any field to work until organizers of the regular movement had established local unions. Delegate Mooney urged the adoption of the pending motion.

Delegate Tracy, Brick and Clay Workers, spoke in favor of the motion. He described at some length the manner in which the recent convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor had dealt with resolutions on the subject of amalgamation, a Workers' Party and recognition of Soviet Russia, which were supported by men who are connected with various radical movements. He announced that all these resolutions were defeated by an overwhelming vote of the delegates in that convention, who were, with very few exceptions, members of the rank and file of the organizations.

Delegate Greenstein, Jewelry Workers, spoke in favor of the motion of Delegate Murray. He requested Mr. Dunne to answer to the charge that he was a member of the Ku Klux Klan, and if a card of membership in that organization and a receipt for money paid had not been taken from him when he was arrested in Berrien, Mich., at a convention of the Communist Party. No answer was made to the inquiry.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters, moved the previous question. The convention voted to close debate on the pending motion.

Delegate Hutcheson requested a roll call on the motion. More than the required number supported the request, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll, with the following result:

Roll call on motion of Delegate Murray, Mine Workers, to unseat William F. Dunne:

Yes—Myrup, Beisel, Goldstone, Shanessy, Fischer, Worthall, Mehl, Baker, Jilson, Kline, Powlesland, J. A. Franklin, Reed, McGuire, Dohney, Reddick, Belair, Frincke, Lovely, Baine, J. A. Brennan, Carlin, M. Noonan, Obergfell, Kugler, J. Sullivan, Preece, Corcoran, Doyle, Skinner, Childs, Horne, Kasten, W. Tracy, Morrin, E. Ryan, J. O'Brien, Quesse, Rankin, M. F. Ryan, Buckley, Hyland, Ware, Hutcheson, F. Duffy, Michaels, W. T. Allen, J. H. Weaver,

Kelso, Wm. J. Kelly, Wm. C. White, Perkins, Gompers, Campbell, Sexton, Flaherty, Hohmann, Reeffern, Steckle, Sylvester, Shurtieff, England, Pickett, P. J. Kelly, Desepte, H. J. Conway, Funte, M. J. Browne, J. P. Noonan, McNulty, Bugniazet, J. S. O'Connor, Barton, Joyce, Kirkland, Feeney, J. J. McAndrews, Huddell, Evans, Peterson, McConville, Woll, P. J. Brady, L. C. Steward, Grady, McManus, Talbott, Baer, L. N. Riley, Healy, Beattie, Morton, Kaufman, Rickert, Larger, F. Doyle, Adamski, Houck, Sigman, Langer, Amdur, Greenberg, Pinkofsky, Voll, Dall, Wm. P. Clarke, Shipman, Easton, Squibb, James Duncan, J. Reid, Lawlor, Hollander, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Moreschi, J. Marshall, Etchison, A. Davies, H. S. Marshall, Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Tighe, Brewster, Wheale, Greenstein, McSorley, Case, Duty, Brock, Keegan, Gainor, Cantwell, C. D. Duffy, Mugavin, Swartz, Bock, J. A. Madsen, Johnston, Good, Haggerty, G. Marshall, Larkin, J. F. Murray, Fljoldal, Milliman, T. C. Carroll, E. E. Clark, Gassman, Hogan, Gorman, Lane, C. S. Hartwig, J. J. Hynes, Barrett, James J. Ryan, Crawford, Moyer, McMullen, J. L. Lewis, Wm. Green, F. Murray, T. Kennedy, F. Mooney, Farrington, J. Moore, L. Hall, Weber, D. A. Carey, C. A. Weaver, E. Canavan, Stickel, Lammert, Angleton, J. J. Doyle, C. M. Madsen, N. F. Smith, O. R. Hartwig, J. Wilson, Bergstrom, Ed J. McGivern, Donlin, P. G. Cook, Wm. A. Brennan, Coefield, T. E. Burke, W. McLaughlin, C. Anderson, Gunther, Britton, Diehl, J. T. Wood, Bailey, Cartledge, McQuade, Berry, McDonald, Youngs, M. L. Peters, Krause, Sultor, Mahon, Quinlan, Schultz, Rodgers, Conn, Wm. M. Collins, Chas. Brown, Thompson, Sutton, O'Brien, Furuseth, Scharrenberg, Helt, Cage, Cone Wm. F. Canavan, P. J. Ryan, Suarez, Malloy, Freel, Funder Burk, Cashen, Connors, Sweeney, Schwartztrauber, Tobin, Thos. L. Hughes, Gillespie, Neer, Casey, Rox, Manion, Ramsay, Perham, Smart, Williams, McMahon, Conboy, Geiges, Riviere, Pacelli, Howard, Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Couch, Young, McCullough, Jas. O'Connell, Manning, Smith, J. H. Walker, T. N. Taylor, M. M. Walsh, Hulsbeck, Greer, Hall, Ely Adams, Holland, Bill, Stack, Riley, Iglesias, Geo. W. Fisher, W. M. Short, H. L. Franklin, Fox, Winberg, Karston, Rooney, Bowen, Freshney, McVey, Hammer, Watson, Finley, Hill, Wm. J. Moran, Jas. F. Burke, Andler, McSpadden, Nelson, Sumner, E. F. Duffy, Coulter, Horn, Dempsey, Anderson, McDonagh, Alex Manning, Hickey, Von Schrlitz, Kreyling, Emme, Ganiard, Theodore Johnson, Blair, Howat, Covert, Giles, Bohm, Olsen, M. J. Flynn, Rincker, E. J. Tracy, representing 27,337 votes.

No—Launer, Sillinsky, Soderberg, Wm. F. Dunne, Ohl, D. W. Stevens, James A. Duncan, T. F. Burns, Ben Murphy, representing 108 votes.

Not Voting—Mountford, Gillmore, Mullaney, W. R. Boyer, Holtschult, Aus-

tin, Antonini, Bryan, Askew, J. T. Carey, Parker, Hannah, J. P. Burke, J. A. Short, P. Thomas, Walden, Kohn, W. J. Spencer, Jewell, Mikel, Valentino, Driscoll, Altman, F. E. Morris, W. J. Robinson, Hushing, J. J. Kearney, Pratt, H. P. Leonard, Van Patten, Sturm, O'Dell, Keckler, J. L. Sims, Frampton, M. F. Martin, Bower, Horrigan, Paulson, C. S. Evans, R. T. Wood, Meyer, Pettipiece, T. Stevens, Alter, Saylor, Tyden, Jacques, Mezzacapo, Marin, Rogers, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Elliott, R. B. Walker, W. C. Robinson, J. A. Sullivan, representing 643 votes.

President Gompers: By the vote of the Convention the credential of William F. Dunne is revoked and he is unseated as a delegate to this Convention. Mr. Dunne will please retire from the body of the hall. This is the second episode where a delegate has been expelled from the Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

The report was continued by Secretary Brady, as follows:

Labor Day, Labor Sunday, Labor's Memorial Day

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

The committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor continue the practice of observing the fourth Sunday in May as Labor's Memorial Day; also, that all labor organizations observe Labor Day, the first Monday in September, and Labor Sunday, the day preceding Labor Day, in an appropriate and impressive manner.

We commend the Executive Council for the proclamation referring to Labor Day, Labor Sunday and Labor's Memorial Day, and recommend that it be read by all delegates attending the Convention and that it be given as wide publicity as possible.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislation—Wages of School Teachers

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

The American Federation of Labor is

deeply interested in the work of securing adequate compensation for school teachers. We have long recognized the fact that this class of wage earners is underpaid, consequently we have traditionally supported their movement which had for its purpose higher wages and a higher standard of life for the school teachers of our country.

We note with feelings of disappointment the report of the Executive Council setting forth the fact that a bill which had for its purpose better wages for school teachers in the District of Columbia failed of passage during the last session of Congress.

We recommend that the Executive Council support legislation introduced in the Congress of the United States providing for higher wages and improved conditions of employment for the school teachers in the District of Columbia.

Furthermore, we recommend that those engaged in the teaching profession organize for the purpose of advancing their economic and social interests. This can be done through affiliation with the American Federation of Teachers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Address by Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary Workers' Education Bureau of America

The committee has recommended that the address of Spencer Miller, Jr., which was delivered on Tuesday morning, be sent to National and International organizations, and to city and central bodies. The committee feels that this masterly speech should be given the widest publicity possible. It is, in the opinion of the committee, a distinct contribution to the educational movement inaugurated by the American Federation of Labor and will be of great value to those who read and analyze it.

We are of the further opinion that the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the membership of the organized labor movement of our country, appreciates greatly the splendid address delivered by Spencer Miller, Jr., and the service he has rendered in connection with the work of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 2—By delegates Ed J.

McGivern, Peter G. Cook, Wm. A. Brennan, John Donlin, of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association:

WHEREAS, As the Federal Board for Vocational Education has been consolidated by an act of Congress and is now known as the United States Veterans' Bureau; and

WHEREAS, Our last convention, assembled in Boston, adopted a resolution, placing our International Association on record as granting special privileges to disabled ex-service men, on the recommendation of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, which is now known as the United States Veterans' Bureau; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada pledges the fullest co-operation to the disabled veterans of the World War and the United States Veterans' Bureau, when given vocational training in shops or jobs; that the disabled ex-service men training under the direction of the Veterans' Bureau shall be given special privileges, that apprenticeship and age regulations shall not operate to prevent their entrance in any branch of our industry or courses of special instructions and that all local unions be urged to use every endeavor to assist and further the work of rehabilitation as outlined by the United States Government; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the representatives of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association to the American Federation of Labor Convention, which is going to be held at Portland, Oregon, be instructed to present this resolution so it may become operative in every trade or craft of the labor movement, thereby giving our disabled war veterans an opportunity to overcome their war disabilities, make them independent by being able to earn a livelihood and restore them back to society; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to General Hines, Director United States Veterans' Bureau, Washington, D. C.; Major Lent, District Manager U. S. Veterans' Bureau, New York City; Thos. F. McAvoy, Sub-District Manager U. S. Veterans' Bureau, Newark, N. J., and S. A. Benway, Employment Representative, State of Connecticut, U. S. Veterans' Bureau, Bridgeport, Conn.

Your committee heartily favors full and complete co-operation on the part of the American Federation of Labor with the United States Veterans' Bureau in assisting disabled ex-service men.

We recommend reaffirmation of the declaration made by the Cincinnati Convention of the American Federation of

Labor, under the sub-title, "Vocational Rehabilitation," as appearing on page 368 and page 369 of the printed proceedings of that convention. This declaration of the American Federation of Labor upon the subject of co-operation with the United States Veterans' Bureau states clearly the position of the American Federation of Labor and, in the judgment of your committee, can not be improved upon in any manner whatsoever.

We cannot concur, however, in the first resolve of this resolution wherein it states "that the disabled ex-service men training under the direction of the Veterans' Bureau shall be given special privileges, that apprenticeship and age regulations shall not operate to prevent their entrance in any branch of our industry or courses of special instructions." * * *

Apprenticeship rules and age regulations come wholly under the jurisdiction and authority of each national and international union. These affiliated bodies are clothed with exclusive authority to fix trade standards and establish apprenticeship and trade regulations.

The American Federation of Labor, therefore, can not take action as proposed in this resolution, which would infringe upon the authority and power vested exclusively in affiliated national and international unions. It is for this reason your committee non-concurs in the first resolve of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate W. W. Short, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The proposed "Child Labor" amendment to the Federal Constitution hereinafter set forth has been prepared by the Veteran-Labor Child Protective League of Seattle, and has been endorsed by the Washington and Oregon State Encampments of the United Spanish War Veterans, the Washington State Convention of the American Legion and several National Veteran Encampments; and

WHEREAS, The same has been endorsed by the Convention of the Washington State Federation of Labor, which has requested that the American Federation of Labor concur therein; and

WHEREAS, It is right and just that we should do so; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43d Annual Con-

vention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we favor the proposal by Congress of a "Child Labor" amendment to the Federal Constitution in the following form:

"The Congress shall have concurrent power, with the several States, to regulate and prohibit the employment at labor of children under sixteen (16) years of age, the several States retaining their existing powers with respect to such regulation and prohibition, subject to the limitation that no employment of any such child made unlawful by law of the Congress shall be permitted in any State."

And the submission of the same to the Legislatures of the several States for ratification in the manner provided by law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary be and he is hereby authorized and directed forthwith to transmit copies hereof to the President of the United States, to the President Pro Tem. of the United States Senate, and to the Speaker of the National House of Representatives; and that the National Legislative Committee be and it is hereby authorized and directed to put forth every effort and to use every lawful means with a view to effectuating the purposes of this resolution.

PASSED, And signed by me in authentication of its passage, this — day of October, 1923.

President of American Federation of Labor.

Attest:

Secretary.

Inasmuch as action has been taken by the committee upon the subject of a Child Labor amendment to the Federal Constitution, when dealing with the report of the Executive Council upon this subject, no action upon this resolution seems necessary.

We, therefore, recommend that it be referred to the Executive Council for its consideration and action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates M. F. Tighe W. E. Brewster, F. W. Wheale, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America:

WHEREAS, Every member of organized labor needs to have a thorough knowledge of the ethics of trade unionism, economics and history; and

WHEREAS, The means of obtaining this desirable knowledge is at present very limited; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the 48th Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of

North America, that we call upon all labor organizations to come together and establish a labor college for the sole purpose of teaching these desirable branches of knowledge; and, be it further

RESOLVED That this resolution be presented to the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor by our representatives.

Your committee has read with deep interest the resolution presented by Delegates Tighe, Brewster and Wheale, and adopted by the 48th Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, on the need of workers' education and the desirability of establishing a national labor college. We have given full consideration to this proposal in connection with this whole matter, as covered in the Executive Council's Report, and, as a result, we feel that we can best carry out the spirit of this resolution if all the affiliated labor unions in the American Federation of Labor will actively cooperate on the program as outlined by your committee in connection with the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

We recommend, therefore, concurrence with the spirit of the resolution, though non-concurrence with the specific plan proposed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate J. J. Riley of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The class-conscious working class in all civilized countries celebrates the first of May; and

WHEREAS, Here in America, Labor Day is also observed, being, however, in September, thereby being at a different time than the general International Labor Day; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor Convention go on record to change the Labor Day to the first day of May, that we may celebrate on the same day as organized workers in other countries.

Referred to delegate to A. F. of L. Convention.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 30—The author of the resolution requested that it be with-

drawn. The committee recommends that the request be granted.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates Jas. P. Noonan, Frank J. McNulty, Julia S. O'Connor, Martin Joyce, Edward Barton, H. H. Kirkland, G. M. Bugniatet:

WHEREAS, For many years the people of the United States have been of the opinion that the employment of children under the age of 16 years was not permissible by an action of Congress, but recently the Supreme Court of the United States has ruled this legislation unconstitutional; and

WHEREAS, The taking of children of this tender age into industries is sapping the very foundation of our future citizenship; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Congress shall have concurrent power, with the several States, to regulate and prohibit the employment at labor of children under 16 years of age, the several States retaining their existing powers with respect to such regulation and prohibition, subject to the limitation that no employment of any such child made unlawful by law of the Congress shall be permitted in any State; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse this resolution and mail a copy to each member of Congress.

Inasmuch as the subject matter in this resolution was covered by the report of the committee under the subtitle of Child Labor, we recommend that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Conclusion

On the part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

The Committee reviews with pleasurable pride the progress of the American Federation of Labor during the past year as set forth in the Report of the Executive Council. The report is filled with interesting information, and statistics and data, all of which we commend to the careful attention and understanding of all members of organized labor.

We recommend that the Report of Executive Council be read by every delegate in attendance at the convention

and that the delegates, in turn, in reporting the proceedings of this convention to their constituents particularly emphasize the necessity of a careful study of the report of the Executive Council submitted to this convention.

WM. GREEN,

Chairman.

PETER J. BRADY,

Secretary.

JOHN WALKER,

FRANK GILMORE,

WM. M. MICHAELS,

MORRIS SIGMAN,

WM. LARKIN,

JOHN SUAREZ,

THOS. R. PREECE,

SAM SQUIBB,

FRED SCHULTZ,

FREDERICK M. YOUNGS,

WILLIAM YOUNG,

WM. A. NEER,

PERCY THOMAS,

THOMAS M'QUADE.

Committee on Education, American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers: I move that the report of the Committee on Report of Executive Council be made a special order of business immediately following the report of the Committee on Resolutions. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Doyle, Painters, asked for unanimous consent to introduce a resolution. Objection was offered to the introduction of the resolution.

Delegate Iglesias, Porto Rico, asked for unanimous consent to introduce a resolution. Objection was offered.

President Gompers: The Chair has been informed that Mr. Frank Hodges, who has honored us by his visit here, is about to leave Portland. I wonder, since his name has been used in this convention since he spoke to us, whether it might meet with the wishes of the convention to hear him for five minutes.

Mr. Frank Hodges, responding to the invitation to speak, said in part: Mr. Chairman and delegates, as I shall not have an opportunity of wishing you good-bye individually, I am grateful for this wider opportunity to wish you good-bye collectively. Tomorrow morning I leave for home, but I want to con-

vey with me a still further impression of the great kindness which you have displayed toward me since I have been here, and to make a passing reference to what was said in respect to myself this morning, so you will understand how what was said impressed me.

Not only have I discovered that members of the Communist Party can make mistakes in Great Britain, but I have discovered that that ailment is common throughout most of the countries. I have been in Butte, Montana, and I was not favorably impressed with it. I know what an excellent field it is for good, sound labor organization and what a scope for a man of enthusiasm in the labor movement. I thought there was something to be done in Butte to occupy the zeal and attention of a lover of the labor movement for his lifetime.

I had no previous discussion with President Gompers before I spoke, as has been, I think, most improperly stated both in the press of Butte, Montana, and in a speech that was made this morning. Brother Green brought me to this platform and introduced me to President Gompers, and before I had been on the platform two minutes President Gompers asked me if I would like to speak. Nothing I said was inspired from any other source than my own judgment.

And my judgment is not born out of a passing study of communism or of sovietism; my conclusions have been arrived at after a long period of years of direct contact with this influence, and my attacks upon the theory of sovietism and bolshevism are known in my country. My own party at home has put me up on more than one occasion to reply on behalf of the party, both industrially and politically, when attacks have been made on our democratic system by the exponents of this new political philosophy; therefore what I have said here was inspired in no way by any conversation with anyone with whom I have come in contact since I have been here. It is only a coincidence that that judgment coincides with your own.

Mrs. Hodges and I have met with the greatest possible kindness and courtesy from you all. There has never been a moment of dullness or a second of being bored since we have been in this coun-

try, and we shall entertain the liveliest recollections of our meeting with you.

I am going back to my country with an entirely different view than I had when I started out, because when I started out I felt there might be a coldness, an aloofness it might be hard to break down; but as I have met your president and your delegates of this great congress I have found their hearts beating in unison with our hearts in Great Britain, their hearts full of sympathy and kindness, their hearts not charged with the old hatreds and suspicions, even of old Europe, but charged with the desire that whatever the peculiar form of our development may be to wish us well in our work.

That is my message to my countrymen when I go back, and in bidding you my adieu, let me say to you, in addition to what the fraternal delegates have said, that is the hope and the wish of the workers of Great Britain. We are confronted with the most involved political chaos that ever a nation was confronted with, and we cannot get out of that chaos without the sympathy of the American labor movement, and I am convinced that sympathy will be forthcoming.

President Gompers, permit me to thank you for your own personal courtesy and for the thousand and one little kindnesses you have proffered us. May you and your great organization prosper and develop in the way I have learned to conclude it is destined to develop.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Industry's Manifest Duty

In recommending the endorsement of the declaration by the Executive Council of "Industry's Manifest Duty," pages 31 to 34, your committee finds that the declaration made is not only indisputable in its accuracy of the presentation of trade union philosophy, but that the philosophy contained therein must be the basis of the trade union platform and program in the evolution of our industrial life.

The declaration constitutes the one sound foundation of the case for the

present order and for a democratic future in our industrial life.

The wage earners and the masses of our people are offered a guide by which they may perceive the method and the road by which industrial autocracy may be overcome where it has become rooted and avoided where it has not grown; and they are also offered a guide by which they may know how to avoid the blight of political bureaucracy and unsound "isms."

We feel that we are justified in pointing out and that it may serve some purpose to point out that we find in this magnificent expression of Labor's philosophy a new and timely explanation of American Labor's fundamental reason for the avoidance of entanglement and illusion in the realm of partisan politics.

The declaration now under consideration is the product of a trade union movement bent upon intelligent singleness of purpose to function in the world of industry, where the organic life of modern society has its roots and where it finds its sustenance.

We have an abiding faith in the ability of industry to develop and erect the methods and machinery for the solution of its own problems. We have faith in its ability to promote and secure justice. We have faith in its ability to develop and give effect to a restraint and a discipline suited to its needs and the needs of humanity and to bring into operation the methods by which it may function most efficiently in the service of mankind.

This message is not only the message of trade unionism to the wage earners of our land; it is also the message of trade unionism to every group and every branch of activity in the industrial life of our republic. The wage earners form the preponderant majority of all those engaged usefully in industry, and their need for organization along sound and practical trade union lines is the first requisite. The development of industrial democracy, however, requires that there should be organization throughout every ramification of industry, among all men and women in industry. Democracy in industry requires expression. Agglomerations are bereft of expression

because they are unable to develop the channels of expression. We counsel organization everywhere, in order that through organized effort we may develop to its fullest possibilities our magnificent industrial enterprise.

Our standards are unquestionably and admittedly the highest in the world. We, as citizens of the United States and participants in industry, have a stake in the future of our industry and we have a right and a duty to speak in behalf of the best possible future for ourselves and posterity.

We cannot too highly commend the Executive Council for its brilliant and concise expression of trade union philosophy and we urge that every opportunity and practical method be utilized to disseminate that expression and give it effect in the industrial organization and life of our republic. Humanity must learn to govern itself in industry as it has learned to govern itself in political affairs and to give effect to the same stability and the same guarantees of human freedom and human rights.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Supreme Court

Under the caption of "Supreme Court," pages 35-36, the Executive Council sets forth in an eloquent and most convincing manner the necessity for making the Supreme Court of the United States more responsive to the will of the people as expressed by them through their legislative representatives at Washington, D. C.

A careful review of the development of the Federal Judiciary and the powers gradually but constantly assumed by the United States Supreme Court can lead to no other conclusion than that our legislative branch of government, because it is the most popular and responsive branch of government to the will of the people, is fast being undermined by those who distrust popular government and who find solace and relief in the ever-growing power of the judiciary, which is almost beyond the reach of the populace.

It is because of this that we find so frequently corporation lawyers, and lawyers of rich and wealthy clients, through

bar associations and the like, endeavoring to undertake what they choose to call the educating of the masses in the sacredness of the constitution and the divinity of the Supreme Court as at present selected and not elected.

This very response to labor's demand that the assumed powers of the United States Supreme Court shall be limited and restrained, and that Congress, as the expression of the people's will, shall be moved to assert its original powers, is perhaps the best demonstrated proof of the validity of labor's proposal.

Your committee not only urges that the Executive Council shall do all within the power and influence of the American Federation of Labor to promote and to secure the enactment of the constitutional amendment which will give Congress final authority to express the people's will, but that efforts be made likewise to have all judges of our federal government, including the Justices of the United States Supreme Court, elected by the people for fixed periods of time, rather than having them selected without the will of the people and for their lifetime.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported on the part of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Evolution in the Trade Union Movement," and upon the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate J. J. Riley of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The employers throughout the Nation have solidly united, being bound together by a solidarity of interest and organization which leaves no room for divided action or desertions, and, moreover, they are supported by the government, the courts and the press, in any union-smashing undertaking in which they may engage; and

WHEREAS, They are carrying on a vicious attack upon the labor movement, singling out various unions and forcing them to engage in a bitter struggle for self-preservation; and

WHEREAS, These unions, because they are divided against themselves along trade lines and are thus unable to make a united resistance to the employers, and are constantly suffering defeat after defeat with heavy losses in membership and serious lowering of the workers' standards of living and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The only solution for the situation is the development of a united

front by the workers through the amalgamation of various trade unions so that there will remain only one union for each industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, call upon the American Federation of Labor to take the necessary action toward bringing about the required solidarity within the ranks of organized labor, and that, as a first step in this direction, the various International Unions be called into conference for the purpose of arranging to amalgamate all the unions in their respective industries into single organizations, each of which shall cover an industry.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate William F. Dunne, of the Trades and Labor Council of Butte, Mont.:

WHEREAS, Centralization of industry has been going on at a rapid pace since the early nineties until today the labor movement is confronted with a solid front of the employers in practically every basic industry; and

WHEREAS, The latest development of this process has brought the government of the United States into the labor struggle as the servant of the industrial monopolies as in the coal and railway strikes; and

WHEREAS, No group or section of the organized labor movement can go on strike to protect their hardly won wage scales and working conditions without being confronted with a solid front of the organized employers, backed in most cases by the various government agencies; and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement is still divided into 103 national and international unions which have little connection with and oftentimes little knowledge of each other's difficulties; and

WHEREAS, Where any tendency toward closer unity exists it is slight in comparison with the rapid centralization of the power of the employers, because of the jealousies and rivalries of the officialdom of the various national and international unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is instructed to urge upon all international and national unions the advisability of conducting an intensive educational campaign among their memberships, designed to familiarize them with the necessity of amalgamating under one head all unions in the same industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the principle of industrial unionism as against craft unionism and instruct the Executive Council to work out a plan of amalgamating the scattered units of the American Federation of Labor into industrial unions and to submit such plan for the consideration of the next annual convention of the A. F. of L.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate G. A.

Von Schrititz, of the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, No doubt should longer remain in the minds of the people of the complete organization of the employers of the United States for the purpose of reducing wages, lengthening hours, and destroying, if possible, the organizations of labor; and

WHEREAS, The employers' organizations have the support of the present administration, the courts and the daily newspapers in their attempt to subject the wage earners to conditions bordering on slavery, which statement is amply confirmed in the strike of the railroad shop crafts, and the miners and the textile workers, as well as in other labor disputes of lesser magnitude; and

WHEREAS, The unions under the present form of craft organizations are unable to render the assistance to other organizations in the same industry that is so essential to their well-being; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in the 43d Annual Convention assembled, endorses the amalgamation of craft unions, thereby providing for only one international head for each industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to every national and international union, departments, state branches, state central bodies, local trade and federal labor unions, with the request that it prosecute as vigorously as possible in conformance with the laws of its particular international the idea expressed above.

Evolution in the Trade Union Movement

Under this caption, pages 37-39, the Executive Council sets out clearly and convincingly the historic developments and processes of organization that have been taking place in the organized labor world of America and the policy pursued by the American Federation of Labor thereto. Because resolutions Nos. 32, 44 and 54 all deal with this subject of form and method of organization, your committee has considered as one all these proposals relating to a so-called "amalgamation of craft unions" into arbitrarily alleged industrial unions. Though they may slightly vary in verbiage, the intent and purpose, if not the motives underlying, are quite the same.

All these resolutions carry with them the imputation that the American Federation of Labor is confined to "craft" unions and that it uncompromisingly resents recognition of any organization that resembles or approximates an industrial form. An examination of the roster of the affiliated organizations of

the American Federation of Labor disproves that false imputation and stigmatizes those who would advance such untruths either as being ignorant or deliberate frauds.

Again, these so-called "amalgamation" proposals carry with them the implication that affiliated "crafts" unions cannot co-operate, federate or amalgamate because of some fancied power of resistance alleged to be exercised by the American Federation of Labor. Again, an examination of the records of the American Federation of Labor brands such an implication as false and untrue. In view of this assertion your committee commends a careful reading of the Executive Council's report on this subject.

It is not, however, so much the false implications and imputations involved in these so-called "amalgamation" resolutions that should move us to renewed vigor and drastic action as it is the motives of the prime movers who are continually urging these proposals upon the councils of labor. Demonstrative proof is overwhelming that those who are constantly at work dividing the organized workers on abstract discussions of forms of organization and spreading the poison of suspicion against the officers of trade unions have never been loyal trade unionists and have always antagonized the trade union movement. In addition, the self-acclaimed "amalgamationists" are not bent on amalgamation, but upon the disruption and destruction of the organized labor movement of America. In this they serve well the employers who would again assume complete mastery over the destinies of the wage earners.

The purpose and aim of these destructionists, as well as their standing within our communities, is no less savory than that of private detectives who would sell the soul of their fellow man for the jingle of gold. In the religious world such men are excommunicated. In the political world such men are ostracized from society, if not treated more severely through the operation of laws relating to treason. In the industrial world, we have tolerated them altogether too freely.

These sinister agents, propagandists

and destructionists of a foreign foe to our American institutions, should be singled out wherever found and the light of day be thrown upon their nefarious work. Likewise, employers, frenzied in their blindness for wealth and gold, and who, for the moment, find encouragement and hope and give passive if not active support to this and similar movements which seek to distract attention and divide labor's forces, may well hesitate. They should realize that to destroy the evolutionary processes of progress, advancement and application of the ideals of democracy and of the golden rule in all relations of mankind is but to hasten revolutionary tendencies with all that these great social revulsions impress so tragically upon humankind.

Having addressed ourselves more directly to the resolutions proposed and less to the policies that have governed the American Federation of Labor for more than the past twenty-three years, and as exemplified in the Executive Council's report, it is only fitting that reference should again be made to the declarations approved at the Scranton convention of the American Federation of Labor, supplemented since that time by the development of the several departments within the American Federation of Labor and again reaffirmed at several subsequent conventions held in 1914.

That policy has stood the test of time and of experience and may well be reaffirmed at this time.

Your committee, therefore, recommends approval of the Executive Council's report on this subject and disapproves Resolutions Nos. 32, 44 and 54. In lieu thereof your committee recommends the reaffirmation of the following declaration:

"Greeting: The undersigned, your special committee appointed to consider the question of the autonomy of the trade unions, beg leave to say that it is our judgment the future success, permanency and safety of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the trade unions themselves, depends upon the recognition and application of the principle of autonomy, consistent with the varying phases and transitions in industry.

"We realize that it is impossible to define the exact line of demarcation

where one trade or form of labor ends and another begins, and that no hard and fast rule can be devised by which all our trade unions can be governed or can govern themselves.

"We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines; but if history and experience in the labor movement count for aught we urge upon our fellow-workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial of our movement; for, without the recognition and application of these qualities, any decision we may formulate will be futile. We, therefore, recommend as follows:

"1. As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought to be the result of organization on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from this fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition, the interests of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to that doctrine as the recent great changes in methods of production and employment make practicable. However, owing to the isolation of some few industries from thickly populated centers where the overwhelming number follow one branch thereof, and owing to the fact in some industries comparatively few workers are engaged over whom separate organizations claim jurisdiction, we believe that jurisdiction in such industries by the paramount organization would yield the best results to the workers therein, at least until the development of organization of each branch has reached a stage wherein these may be placed, without material injury to all parties in interest, in affiliation with their national trade unions. Nothing contained in this declaration is intended or shall be construed to mean a reversal of any decision rendered by former Executive Councils or previous conventions on questions of jurisdiction.

"2. We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and subdivided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation, and to the organization of District and National Trade Councils, to which should be referred questions in dispute, and which should be adjusted within allied crafts lines.

"3. The American Federation of Labor being a voluntary association, can not direct and should not adopt methods antagonistic to or in conflict with established trade union laws, and in order to carry the above recommendations into effect, and in full recognition of its logical position, the American Federation of Labor pledges its officers to aid and assist in the adjustment of such craft encroachments as disputants may be willing to submit to its arbitration."

A motion was made and seconded to

adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle, in discussing the recommendation, said in part: I am heartily in favor of the report of the special committee as last read. I am not the author of any of the resolutions. However, Seattle is probably the pioneer in the matter of, I might say, later day amalgamation propaganda, if that word is permissible. Seattle's position is, however, exactly the position of the committee as set forth in that last report.

When in 1918 the Seattle Central Labor Council approved an amalgamation program it did so recognizing the fact that the Industrial Workers of the World were out spreading wild propaganda and our purpose in outlining the program we did was to indicate the direction in which the labor movement ultimately would move. We are just as firm in our position as ever before.

We are not out attempting to disrupt the American Federation of Labor or any of its branches with adverse amalgamation propaganda, and I think I voice the sentiment of the Seattle labor movement when I say that propaganda of a lying nature, that does not give credit to the American Federation of Labor for the work it has already done along amalgamation lines, not only does not advance the sound amalgamation program, but hinders amalgamation just to the extent it withholds the truth as to what the American Federation of Labor has done in that direction.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Legal Information Bureau

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 42-44, the committee reported as follows:

Unquestionably, there is a growing need for an efficient and proficient central agency for the collecting and collating of legal decisions and decrees and to disseminate to all affiliated organizations or their legal representatives required and helpful information, in order that the wage earners' rights, interests and prerogatives may at all

times be properly defended when challenged in the courts.

That the Executive Council has been responsive to this urgent need is best indicated in its report upon this subject.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its good judgment in creating this bureau and expresses complete accord with the limitations fixed and the purposes to which this bureau is confined. To undertake an active part in all legal controversies in which the affiliated unions may become involved is not alone undesirable but impracticable. Neither is it desirable or advisable that the guidance of trade union activities, policies and procedures should be placed under the control and influence of those who are trained in the law but who are unfamiliar with trade union problems and who do not bear the responsibility of executive officers charged with the administration of trade union affairs.

Your committee unhesitatingly approves the selection of Matthew Woll as director of this Legal Information Bureau and urges upon all national and international unions, city central and state federations of labor to co-operate in every possible way with this bureau and as may be indicated by the bureau from time to time, in order that the greatest possible good may be derived out of this new undertaking. Your committee likewise expresses appreciation for the kindly and helpful services tendered by those versed in the law and having specialized in labor litigation or having been retained as counsel by affiliated trade unions. It is the hope of the committee that the executive officers in the administration of the affairs of the American Federation of Labor may, in the coming years, find it feasible and possible to enlarge upon the work of this bureau, though your committee frankly believes that it is best perhaps that we develop this bureau slowly and on sound principles and policies rather than to build hastily a large and cumbersome structure on a foundation of sand.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the Executive Council's report

on this subject in all particulars mentioned in this section of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Banking and Credits

The Executive Council's report on "Banking and Credits," pages 44-45, in expressing words of caution against the formation of promiscuous and ill-matured banking institutions conducted by labor, is both commendable and timely. No greater disaster could come to existing labor banking institutions than the failure of one or more ill-considered and badly managed institutions of this character. In this as in all other tendencies the development of labor banks presents a fertile field to those who would exploit and commercialize the hopes and aspirations sought to be realized through institutions of this character. It is, therefore, all the more essential and important that the greatest possible degree of care and caution be exercised by those contemplating investing their funds or savings in the formation of labor banks.

Your committee is likewise in accord with the expressions of the Executive Council that labor banking institutions cannot possibly operate as a remedy for economic injustice and industrial unrighteousness. That they can be made helpful supplemental agencies to the trade union movement cannot be successfully controverted.

That there may be developed through these labor banking institutions an administration of credits in the interest of productive effort, in the interest of true human progress and of service to society, is also hopefully anticipated.

Because of this supplemental aid and by reason of the influence that may be manifested in the control of our credit administration, the organized workers are urged to give favorable consideration and preference to such labor banking institutions as upon investigation by them are found to be established on sound principles and managed along well established and proper lines.

Your committee is in entire accord with the findings of the Executive Council against the possibility and practicability of the American Federation of Labor instituting or causing to be instituted a Central Labor Bank at Wash-

ington, D. C. Such an institution or arrangement must of necessity arise out of the experience and willingness of existing labor banking institutions.

Your committee, therefore, concurs in all of the suggestions and recommendations of the Executive Council contained in this section of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Kansas Industrial Law Dismembered

A careful reading of the Executive Council's Report on this subject, pages 56-57, clearly indicates that only when employers' interests and their welfare are placed in jeopardy do we find the United States Supreme Court concerned in safeguarding the device of contract and in making secure the free and unhampered use of this device to determine human relationships. Thus, quite incidentally were the rights of the wage earners to freedom of contract safeguarded. Happily, their security carried with it the practical destruction of former Governor Allen's infamous "Can't-Strike Law."

Your committee concurs fully in all the suggestions and recommendations contained in the Executive Council's report. It joins in the expressions of commendation for the effort made by Governor Davis for the complete elimination of this dismembered law from the statute books of Kansas, and for the early relief of the taxpayers of Kansas from the financial burdens imposed by the political ambitions of former Governor Allen.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Ku Klux Klan

Reporting upon that section of the Executive Council's report entitled "Ku Klux Klan," your committee, in addition to recommending concurrence in the Executive Council's report, presents the following comment upon this subject:

It was religious intolerance that so impressed the founders of our American government as to cause them to adopt a measure of security for religious tolerance in the organic act of our great republic.

So, too, when in the course of time violent differences developed among our people, founded on inequality before the

law, there came into existence the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, guaranteeing to all our citizens equality before the law and making secure the life, liberty and property of all citizens, regardless of race, creed or color.

Underlying these great charters to security of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness is the fundamental requirement that this, our government, must be and always shall be a government by consent of the people, freely expressed and uninfluenced or denied by intimidation, fraud or duress.

The American people cannot tolerate the threat or the accomplishment of usurpation of the powers of government by any organization or by any group of whatever kind.

We feel that the attempted usurpation of power of government by the Ku Klux Klan is of paramount importance to every American. We cannot believe that any American, after giving full thought to the purposes and objects sought to be attained by this organization, can either join or condone such a conspiracy.

This is not the first instance of attempt at secretly organized minority control of the powers of government. History offers many similar adventures. But nowhere does history offer an adequate justification for them.

We prize democracy because it offers opportunity for the righting of every real wrong and grievance. It offers opportunity for regular and orderly change of government and it offers and guarantees punishment for crime whereof the guilty party shall have been convicted in a court of law. It provides the jury trial for every alleged criminal.

Law cannot be for one or for a group and it cannot be enforced by one or by a group if democracy is to fulfill its mission. It cannot tolerate any secret or private usurpation of its functions if it is to live.

As trade unionists we must be concerned with every effort to control or pervert the functions of democratic government by or in the interests of any secret group.

We need not be concerned with the motives for such efforts at control of

government as those exercised by this secret organization. If the motives were of the best the offense would be no less intolerable, for it is the principle with which we are concerned. We are concerned in behalf of the safeguarding of democracy as a living, orderly system of government.

The intolerance of the Ku Klux Klan is its stock in trade. By the arousing of blind hatreds it seeks to nerve its adherents on to a policy that falls little short of treason. Through prejudice it attempts to swerve its followers to a course that could not be made attractive to any following by any other means.

Religious prejudices and racial hatreds are fostered and developed as a basis upon which to build defiance for government.

Our government guarantees religious freedom and it protects every man, of whatever race, against unlawful acts on the part of any other man.

These guarantees are not fixed in our constitution and our law for the purpose of being set at naught by any organization or group, secret or otherwise. They are there for the purpose of protecting most cherished human freedom, freedom to think and believe as the individual mind dictates, freedom to be unmolested and unafraid in the orderly pursuits of life.

We cannot refrain from pointing out the fact that great wars have been fought for the very freedom that the Ku Klux Klan seeks to deny and destroy. Our own United States constitution bespeaks the victory for freedom and tolerance, won only after centuries of struggle and sacrifice.

The trade union movement, for itself, has always sought to keep its own councils free from either religious or racial bigotry, intolerance and dispute. Any other course would long since have shattered our ranks, if indeed they could ever have been mustered in the beginning.

The trade union movement has always been firm in its support of ordered, orderly, democratic government. It has been a pioneer in the establishment of great and fundamental measures of free-

dom and it cannot now condone any movement for their undoing.

We have the highest regard for legitimate fraternal organizations and we pay the highest tribute to them for their good works. But the Ku Klux Klan seeks to overthrow laws and to destroy constitutional guarantees which we prize above everything because they constitute the breath of life itself to free men and women.

We condemn this secret conspiracy, this hideous and sinister movement that proudly calls itself the "invisible empire," cloaking itself in masks and mummery while it eats at the heart of our institutions.

We call upon Americans in general and trade unionists in particular to beware of this menace and to conduct themselves in the open, under the law, and for the preservation of democratic government and democratic institutions. We call upon them to preserve religious freedom and the rights of all men of all races under the law. It is an American duty and a trade union duty of the highest order for trade unionists to shun this conspiracy and to conduct themselves as Americans worthy of a democratic government and worthy of the freedom and the opportunity and the justice which it has made possible and which it guarantees for the future.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Michaels, Carpenters: I move that this part of the report of the committee be printed in pamphlet form and that copies be sent to the central bodies, state federations and local unions directly chartered from the Federation. (Seconded and carried.)

The Fascist Movement

The Fascist movement, as reported on by the Executive Council, page 66, and set forth in its report, is not only a reactionary and autocratic force in Italy but it is a tyrannic political power that seeks international influence and power, not through approved methods of exemplary conduct and high and lofty ideals, but through devious channels based on notional prejudice and marked with stealth and fanatic stupidity.

That this movement should find root for growth among our foreign-born people

is not surprising. With the advocates of Soviet Russia permeating many of the channels of American life, ever conniving to advance the interests of a foreign power among us, it is but an open invitation for like procedures being followed by other powers and influences in other nations.

While these menacing influences and pernicious practices of both Soviet Russia and Fascist Italy within our land are equally subject to condemnation, we direct especial attention to this section of the report of the Executive Council on this subject.

In this connection your committee has carefully considered resolutions numbered 63 and 72. Both resolutions are alike in spirit and are in accord with the Executive Council's report and your committee's recommendations. In order to give added expression to our attitude upon this subject, your committee endorses the principles and actions declared for in Resolution No. 72 and believes no specific action necessary on Resolution No. 63 because of the foregoing recommendations.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Morris Sigman, Louis E. Langer, Louis Pinkofsky, Max Amdur, Harry Greenberg, Luigi Antonini, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Fascista reaction in Italy has ruthlessly murdered thousands of men, women and children of the working class, burned hundreds of labor temples, destroyed scores of labor papers and other property, imprisoned tens of thousands of union men without cause, substituting the oligarchic rule of a handful of adventurers and marauders to the democratic form of the state, and made it virtually a crime to belong to a labor union; and

WHEREAS, Having practically destroyed the Italian labor movement, the Fascisti now seek to extend their brutal union-smashing activities to the rest of the world, being especially anxious to get a foothold in America, where Fascist bands operating under direct orders from Italy are already in existence, encouraged by the labor-hating elements here, and actually attempting to substitute Fascista organizations to the bona fide labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The spread of Fascism in America represents a dread menace calling for uncompromising action by organized labor, whose very foundations and source of power it seeks to undermine and destroy; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Fed-

eration of Labor in its 43d Annual Convention assembled, in the City of Portland, Oregon, abhors and condemns every manifestation of Fascism, and calls upon all affiliated unions to combat its importation into the United States under any guise or form whatsoever; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does endorse and grant its fullest moral support to the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America in its unrelenting drive against Fascism and all its nefarious connotations of strike-breaking, thuggery and ruffianism and asserts its readiness to co-operate with it to protect especially the Italian-speaking members of American Union Labor from the poisonous taint of this international plague.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, William A. Campbell, R. S. Sexton, of the Cigar-makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Fascist movement in Italy has, in the words of its leader, Benito Mussolini, declared that the liberties of the people of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries must be obliterated, and that in our time power and force strides over the decomposed body of liberty; and

WHEREAS, The Fascist, under the dictatorship of Mussolini, has by force, violence and tyrannous oppression, taken possession of the Government of Italy, and taken from the people the rights of freedom of assemblage, freedom of press, freedom of speech and the denial of workmen to cease work (strike) in defense of any furtherance of their rights and interests as wage earners, and in the process of such force countless outrages have been committed upon the lives of the Italian wage earners; and

WHEREAS, Attempts have been made to transplant the Fascist movement in the Republic of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The American people, while striving to eliminate any wrong or injustice which may prevail in America, yet holding that under our democratic form of government we have in our own hands the means and power to eliminate the wrong and injustice and establish right and justice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, denounce in immeasurable terms the establishment of any form of tyranny either in Italy or any other country under whatsoever name it may be launched; that we protest against any movement having for its purpose the imposition of tyranny or autocracy in America.

The report of the committee on the Fascist movement and the above resolutions was adopted unanimously.

Railroads and the Courts

Under this caption the Executive Council, pages 66-73, relates in classified

form and in great detail all the principal events having developed during the strike of the railway shopmen.

Your committee has considered the several classifications as submitted in the Executive Council's report and will submit its report in the order followed.

Railway Shopmen's Strike

Under this division a detailed account is related of the causes leading to the strike of the railway shopmen, the difficulties and obstacles experienced during the strike, the settlements made and the present status of the strike against such of the railroads as still adhere to a policy of antagonism to the organized railway shop trade unions.

This report is a most illuminating and instructive account of this gigantic industrial struggle and a careful reading of this report is commended to all. It is the confident belief of all who will judge the attitudes and activities of the railway shopmen's trade unions in this struggle from an unbiased point of view that this industrial disturbance was artfully precipitated by the railroad managers and magnates through a pliable Labor Board, leaving no choice to the railway shopmen's unions other than to be destroyed by the arbitrary dictum of the Railway Labor Board or to express their protest in the form of a strike and accept whatever consequences may follow.

The railway shopmen's unions are to be commended for the decision made by them to resist the constant encroachments made upon them, and the conditions of employment of their respective members. Arrayed against them were all the power and influence of wealth, of business, of political government. The wonderment is not that they fared so well but that they survived at all.

Your committee is confident that as a direct outcome of this conflict there will develop among the railway shopmen's unions greater and stronger trade unions than ever before and that having demonstrated their power of resistance a more respectful hearing and more considerate treatment will hereafter be accorded to their representatives.

Your committee recommends concur-

rence in the Executive Council's report on this subject.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Judge Wilkerson's Injunction

Under this section of the Executive Council's report, pages 67-71, there is recorded the terms of the most infamous restraining order ever conceived or decreed by either a federal or state court and issued at the solicitation of an attorney-general who has neither regard for law nor righteousness.

Estopped by the labor provision of the Clayton law to restrain labor organizations in the pursuance of a strike, denied authority to use the funds assigned to his department of the government for the prosecution of trade unions, and contrary to principles of the equity courts that equity proceedings cannot be invoked to prevent the commission of crime, Attorney-General Daugherty proceeded nevertheless to disregard all these legislative restrictions in his determined effort to impose the so-called "open shop" policy upon the railway shopmen's unions.

Having ventured beyond all reason and anticipating a possible reversal by the higher courts of the original injunction issued by him, Judge Wilkerson shortly thereafter proceeded to correct the original error by introducing a new doctrine of conspiracy.

Thus we find our courts ever ready to amend their original error for want of jurisdiction by committing an error more destructive to the liberties of the people and yet sufficient to clothe their illegal acts with the sanction of legality when reviewed by a court of superior position and authority.

This injunction, issued by Judge Wilkerson and decreed by him at the solicitation of Attorney-General Daugherty, will ever mark the records of our federal judiciary as the greatest monumental assumption of illegal authority ever manifested by any of our judges. That Congress should decline to take cognizance of this gross exhibition of miscarriage of justice indicates clearly that no hope of relief may be found in that constitutional check upon the judiciary which the American people have been led to believe

was inherent in the power of Congress to impeach.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Trial by Jury Held Unconstitutional

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 71-72, the committee reported as follows:

Emboldened by the ease with which our courts have been able to defy the legislative branch of government it is not surprising that the United States Court of Appeals sitting in Chicago should hold that that section of the Clayton Law providing for jury trial in all cases of contempt arising out of injunctions declared permissible was unconstitutional. One can hardly conceive of a more tyrannical doctrine than that enunciated by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals that "Congress cannot constitutionally deprive the parties in an equity court of trial by the chancellor." This is equal to saying, "I am the state," and such is not far from the truth. Our judiciary has indeed developed its powers to such an extent that it may be truly considered the state and the nation. Gradually, but surely, we shall find developing in our own land a sovietized judicial oligarchy unless the American people arouse themselves and assert themselves in unmistakable terms and action.

Concurrence is recommended in this part of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The Railroad Labor Board

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 72, the committee reported as follows:

Having demonstrated its impotency to deal properly, fairly and justly as a board of mediation and conciliation, the Railroad Labor Board, like all similar institutions, attempted to assume dictatorial powers. As is indicated in the Executive Council's report on this subject, the railway shopmen effectually challenged this assumption of power, and, having failed in its accomplishment, we

now find the Chairman of the Railway Labor Board assiduously at work endeavoring by might and main to have himself and his associates in the Railway Labor Board vested with power to decide the wages and conditions of employment under which millions of wage earners shall be forced to give service. In the palmiest days of tyrannical government no such colossal power has ever been vested in any king or monarch, or exercised by them. Even that most brutal proposal to conscript men during a "national emergency" falls into insignificance when compared to the proposal to conscript the railway workers and to place them under the complete domination, first, of the railway magnates, and, if their mastery fails, then under the lash of the Railway Labor Board.

Your committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that the Railway Labor Board is a constant menace to the freedom and well-being of the railway workers, and that its early elimination would be but a belated act of justice.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Railroad Legislation

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 60, the committee reported as follows:

Under caption of "Railroad Legislation" the Executive Council indicates that there is a complete harmony of procedure and purpose between the railway organizations and the Executive Council in the development and furtherance of such legislative proposals as may be deemed necessary, advisable and expedient to have enacted into law.

Your committee is of the firm conviction that the arrangement designed to assume and insure a united demand for proper and helpful railroad legislation is a distinctive advantage in securing the attainment of the ends desired, and your committee therefore concurs in this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

At 5:30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, October 8, 1923.

Eighth Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Portland, Ore., October 9, 1923.

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees

Gillmore, Boyer, Holtschult, Austin, Askew, Hogan, J. T. Carey, Parker, Hannah, McLaughlin, Gunther, John P. Burke, D. C. Cone, Thomas, Walden, Ely, Adams, Altman, Morris, Robinson, Pratt, Leonard, Van Fatten, Sturm, O'Dell, Keckler, Sims, Frampton, Mrs. W. F. Martin, Hickey, Bower, Horrigan, Carl S. Evans, R. T. Wood, William Meyer, Thad Stevens, Alter, Saylor, Tyden, Jacques, Mezzacapo, Marin, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Elliott.

Secretary Morrison announced that O. R. Hartwig, who had been substituted in the Painters' delegation for George F. Hedrick, had also been substituted for Delegate Hedrick as a member of the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Iglesias, Porto Rico Free Federation of Labor, asked the unanimous consent of the Convention to introduce a resolution concerning the Virgin Islands, pointing out that the islands are some distance away and that the resolution had just reached him. Objection was made, and the resolution was not introduced.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Repressive Legislation, Judicial Decisions and Decrees

Under this caption, pages 91-95, the Executive Council generalized upon the repressive legislative and judicial tendencies which have manifested themselves in the past number of years.

This generalization makes clear that underlying the greater number, if not all, of these repressive legislative enactments and judicial decrees is the per-

nicious doctrine of conspiracy by which perfectly legal acts when engaged in by the individual become illegal when resorted to by two or more in concert. It is by this doctrine that trade unions were first denied the sanction of law. Now that this sanction can no longer be denied, we find the application of the device of "conspiracy" used to outlaw and render illegal the primary essentials and activities of the trade union movement.

Your committee is in full accord with the apprehension of the dangers expressed by the Executive Council and which are essentially inherent to a constant policy of governmental repression and we concur in the report submitted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Sherman Anti-Trust Law

Under this caption, pages 92-93, the Executive Council relates how the original Sherman Anti-Trust Law was conceived and designed merely to restrain large capitalistic combinations and not to disturb trade unions; how, subsequently, the law was altered by judicial interpretation to exclude to all practical intents and purposes the capitalistic combinations originally intended to be checked and to bring trade and labor unions under its repressive features.

Attempts were made to correct the result of this presumptuous power of the judiciary; the Clayton Law, with its labor sections, was enacted as supplemental to the Sherman anti-trust law; but again the United States Supreme Court has so restricted its labor provisions as to render this law useless for the purposes intended.

More recently we find that the Federal Trade Commission, charged with the guiding and administering of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and the Clayton

Law, has demonstrated its unfitness to perform the functions delegated to it. Its activities have resulted in no tangible results in so far as large and influential capitalistic combinations are concerned. Indeed, these are thriving more than ever. We do find, however, that the Federal Trade Commission is venturing into a field never intended for it and that it is trespassing upon the relationship between employers and organized workers in assuming the right and jurisdiction of passing judgment upon labor contracts, and which contracts are specifically exempted under the labor provisions to the Clayton Law. Thus there is developing another sort of industrial court bent upon destroying the proper development of and functioning by the Trade Union movement.

It is clearly evident that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and all other legislation related to and of a similar character cannot check industrial developments and tendencies and that such laws only furnish added opportunities to repress the Trade Union movement.

Your committee concurs in the Executive Council's report and is pleased to note that legislative demands are in the making which contemplate the wiping out of these repressive laws together with all suppressive decisions predicated on this sort of legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

"Yellow Dog Contracts"

On that part of the report of the Executive Council, page 93, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in complete accord with the Executive Council in its demand that individual contracts of employment, which breathe the very atmosphere of repression, are anti-social in character and should not receive the sanction of law to the exclusion of the right of the wage earner to be fully protected and safeguarded in his right to join with his fellow worker in the protection and improvement of his conditions and for the rewards of toil. To exact as a condition of employment the waiver of the right to join with our fellow-workers in promoting a com-

mon welfare and to give such an exaction the sanction of law is to make a fetish of individualism in a life of corporate and organized industrial activities and wherein this dogma can only serve to perpetuate the mastery of the few over the many. In recommending approval of the Executive Council's report, it is urged that this unjust doctrine may not only be denied further legal sanction and that every possible legislative effort be made to that end, but that likewise consideration be given to the feasibility of denying corporate power to any industrial and commercial institution, unless the right to association, organization and combination is fully and freely accorded to all employed by such corporate enterprise.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Coronado Case

In this section of its report the Executive Council, pages 93-94, reviews the lengths to which our courts have gone to legislate against trade unions and to surround them with repressive legal assumptions and presumptions that could not have been enacted into law through the legislative expression of the government.

It is unnecessary to review this case and to dwell at length upon the extensive and repressive features involved in this decision of the United States Supreme Court. While under the former decision the United Mine Workers were absolved from blame, and while at present a new suit has been instituted, the outcome of which is problematical, nevertheless the United States Supreme Court undertook, by judicial interpretation, to do that which the legislative branch of the Government alone has power to do. In recommending approval of the Executive Council's report it is also urged that consideration be given to the preparation of legislative demands which shall annul the pernicious and repressive legal doctrines our courts have adopted without legislative approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government by Injunction

As indicated by the Executive Council

under this caption, pages 94-95, "Government by Injunction" is not merely a phrase. It is, unfortunately, an actual state of affairs. Unless the equity powers of our courts are adequately curbed and properly limited we may as well disband with our legislative branch of government and acknowledge openly and freely what is practically in fact—a government, not by law, but by judicial decree.

The evils arising out of the unwarranted extension of equity powers of our courts, the complete destruction of every constitutional safeguard by the use of the injunction writ, the complete subservency of all other branches of government to this ever-expanding and ever-extending power of our courts of equity may well cause all right-thinking people to pause and wonder as to where we are drifting. With our legislative bodies intimidated by the powers wielded by our courts and with little if any opportunity to confine our courts to the sphere of government originally assigned to them by orderly processes of law, we can only visualize civil resistance and disobedience to any and all judicial decrees which are not founded on legislative enactments and which are permissible under constitutionally delegated authority.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its diligent efforts to meet this ever-growing menace by legislative redress. It is our sincere hope this procedure may afford relief, but your committee is inclined to believe that this growing cancer in our body politic will continue its destruction of the social and political fiber of our nation unless drastic measures of resistance are adopted and the poison of assumed authority by our equity judges is removed entirely from our judicial system.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Constitutional and Legislative Redress

Your committee heartily concurs in the constitutional proposal submitted by the Executive Council, page 95, as an effective check and reversal of all legislative enactments and judicial decrees that have denied and do deny the wage earners their natural and constitutional right to organize and in concert endeavor

to bargain for the sale of their services under such conditions as to them appear just and expedient.

Your committee is mindful of the fact that the constitutional method of relief is a most difficult task and fraught with many pitfalls and delays. In thus approving this procedure your committee likewise seeks to impress upon all the necessity of using all powers of resistance at our command to correct the evils of which complaint is made.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Personnel Research Foundation

As is indicated by the Executive Council in its report, under caption of "Personnel Research Foundation," pages 124-125, the importance of exploring the general field of personnel research should not be overlooked or by any manner or means be neglected or disregarded. Your committee is of the firm conviction that the affiliation of the American Federation of Labor with this foundation is instructive and constructive; that because of our affiliation, its investigations, reports, policies and tendencies cannot only be guided in helpful channels, but so as to avoid harmful consequences. It is, therefore, recommended that the report of the Executive Council on this subject be concurred in and our affiliation with this foundation be continued.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Ship Subsidy

The Executive Council's comment on "Ship Subsidy," pages 81-82, is worthy of careful perusal by every American citizen. Had it not been for the watchful attitude of the American Federation of Labor, the carefully planned raid on the United States Treasury would apparently have been consummated with the greatest ease.

In this connection your committee wishes to call attention to the undisputed historical fact that sea power—the ability to successfully compete or fight at sea—depends upon the type, character and ability of a nation's seamen. Ships, guns, tools, etc., are all important, but the essential requirement for success is loyal and competent sea-

men. History teaches us that nations refusing to recognize this truth have slowly but inevitably lost power and control of the sea. America's policy for success upon the sea has been clearly defined in the LaFollette Seamen's Act of 1915. Sympathetic enforcement of that law will bring greater results than the transfer of billions of dollars from the United States Treasury to the private accounts of ship owners. Ship subsidies are like crutches—they lessen initiative and create a spirit of dependence. A man or an industry dependent upon crutches ultimately becomes a slave to the habit, i. e., the crutches.

We commend the Executive Council for its intelligent and effective attitude on the ship subsidy question and recommend a continuance of the policy outlined herein.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: While I am in entire accord with the report of the committee and will gladly vote for it, I deem it my duty to call to your attention some facts that are in accord with and prove beyond any peradventure that the committee's report is historically sound and that it is of the greatest importance to the United States as a nation that this matter should have more than passing notice.

The merchant marine was the navy, and the navy was just a merchant marine, with a few additional guns put on board the vessel. You are all aware that our country has combined with other countries for the purpose of reducing naval construction and to lessen naval power, in the ordinary use of that word. You know that our country has agreed that it will not build any more ships, or substantially so; that a certain percentage of the ships now owned by the United States shall be scrapped, that a certain percentage of sea power shall be allowed to Great Britain, a certain percentage to Japan, and a certain percentage to the United States.

When you take away the battleship and the armed cruiser, the battle cruiser, you are putting the duty of guarding the ports upon the many vessels operating as merchant vessels. When there are no armed cruisers or battle cruisers available, such a vessel as the Leviathan or any of the large passenger vessels necessarily will be armed with guns, and they will be just as effective in closing a harbor as a battleship or an armed cruiser would be if they were available.

This necessarily brings you back to the condition that existed about the seventeenth century, when the armada of Spain was utterly destroyed—not, as has

been stated, by God, but by the British seamen who, having improved their vessels, were capable of sailing all around the big Spanish vessels and destroying them at their pleasure. At the time the armada was sent, Spain was quite a sea power. It had so treated its seamen, however, and it so continued to treat its seamen, that later on, while she had the finest vessels in the world, so stated by Admiral Nelson, according to his statement, they were of no value. He said that if they got into war he would go alongside them and take them, and at the battle of Finisterre, I think, that is just what he did. Again, at the battle of Trafalgar there were assembled most of the finest part of the fleet in opposition to Great Britain—Spanish vessels. The Santa Maria was the finest vessel on the waters in those days, and yet at the battle of Trafalgar she was utterly useless because she had a crew taken out of the prisons and detention houses of Spain.

This I tell you because it is necessary, I think, to bring to your attention as strongly as I know how the importance of seamen. None of us are born with webbed feet and webbed hands; seamen are made at sea. The skill and discipline of seamen is a matter of ages, and in individual instances at least a matter of years. This was matter thoroughly understood by Congress when it adopted the LaFollette Seamen's Act. It was adopted with the specific purpose of bringing the American to sea. He came, upon the invitation of the seamen and the rest of the labor movement, in such numbers that in 1920, in the month of November, fifty-one per cent, a little more than that, of men sailing before the mast under the American flag were native-born Americans. It is perfectly true that they were untrained, but as between those who were at sea and were trained and those who came, the United States might have developed such a personnel as to be thoroughly prepared for the changes that have been adopted through treaty between the nations.

Since 1921, however, the utter disregard of the Seamen's Act, in so far as it can be disregarded—and nothing of it has been enforced except such part of it as the seamen themselves could enforce by appeal to the courts—the utter disregard of the spirit and purpose of the Act has reduced the native Americans to less than sixteen per cent of the men now sailing before the mast. It has driven from the sea not only the best of the Americans, but it has driven from the sea the best of those who became citizens of the United States, who had been born in foreign countries, and the best of those who came and assumed the obligations of Americanism by taking out their intention papers.

As a superstructure of this the ship owner comes to the Congress of the United States and demands that the people as a whole shall be taxed for the purpose of filling the coffers of the ship owners. The American Federation

of Labor, through its Executive Council and through its legislative committee, fought that thing persistently and systematically, and some day this country will rise up and call the labor movement blessed because it did so.

But I want to call your attention, friends, to the fact that you cannot depend upon what was done yesterday; the question is, how to continue and to bring into the consciousness of the people of this country, first, the danger that they are courting through the disregard of the laws governing the personnel, and secondly, the danger that the citizenry of the country is courting by permitting and sometimes encouraging the use of crutches, as the committee very aptly and justly stated.

Let us hope and work toward the point when the people of this country shall understand that, for the safety of the traveling public, for the safety of property at sea, for the safety of the nation as such, it is overwhelmingly important that the men who serve at sea should be of a type that can be depended upon to do their work in peace and war, and do it as men should.

I am glad that the committee has made this report. On behalf of the seamen I thank them for it, and I am glad of the opportunity to put this plain warning before you. It will not do, friends, it will not do, to apply in your foreign relations—seamen and seamanship are essentially that; it will not do to apply that strange but genuinely American doctrine that you can do anything you please and you will come out all right. Fatalistic optimism may be fine inside the borders, but when you go out to deal with the world as a whole you had better soft-pedal a little on that doctrine and look to see that if your wagon is to be hitched to a star, you have a sound and proper wagon to begin with.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Centralization of Government

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 84, the committee reported as follows:

The Executive Council is to be commended for the vigilance displayed in preventing the enactment into law of legislative proposals which, under pretense of protecting aliens within our land, would change the fundamental relationship between our several states and the national government. Unquestionably, the real intent and purpose of all such legislative proposals embraces the desire of the employing interests to the development of a supplemental system of law enforcement to enslave further the wage earners to a legal and economic

philosophy and practices which would make it extremely dangerous for them to combine to promote their mutual interests. It is a sad commentary upon those urging such legislation that in this madness to strike at the growing power of labor they have no regard or concern for the rights of the several states and by this effort to centralize all powers of government they would libel and slander the administration of all our state governments.

Your committee, therefore, concurs in the Executive Council's report on this subject and urges its continued vigilance.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Department of Labor

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report, page 85, under the above caption, your committee reports as follows:

That efforts should have continued unabated to dismember and weaken if not destroy the work and efficiency of the Department of Labor, should not occasion surprise. This is practically the only department of the government directly charged with promoting the interests, welfare and well-being of America's wage earners. It is charged with safeguarding the advancement of the human equation in our industrial world, and yet it is given less consideration and is more subject to destructive attacks and tendencies than is any other department of the government.

Your committee not only recommends concurrence in the report of the Executive Council on this subject, but in addition, urges that labor's demands for a still more efficient and extensive Department of Labor be impressively submitted to the President of the United States and to our national congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Soldiers' Bonus

Under the caption "Soldiers' Bonus," pages 85-86, the Executive Council relates in clear and definite terms what may be well regarded the treachery to a grateful people by a small but rich minority who would freely shed the blood of the country's youth in times of stress, and in times of peace would throw them

upon a pile of human wreckage to starve and rot and die, and would deny them the blessings and just rewards of a truly considerate and grateful people.

Your committee is firmly convinced that the people as a whole desire that the nation's debt be speedily paid to all our service men. It is equally convinced that all attempts made to shift this obligation from the wealth of the nation to the backs of its wage earners is but a subtle means to deny a just and long overdue compensation to our ex-service men and to prevent the grateful response of the whole of our people.

Your committee heartily concurs in this section of the Executive Council's report, including all recommendations contained therein.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Ryan in the chair.

Fixing Wages for Miners, Compulsory Labor, Mediation and Conciliation

Your committee has considered these three subjects, included in the Executive Council's report, pages 86-88, which are so closely related and interwoven that it is our judgment they should be treated as one. Underlying the proposals of fixing wages by legislation or to require submission to compulsory adjudication of the rewards that shall come by labor is the line of demarcation which distinguishes the free man from the slave or serf.

Fixing wages by legislative enactment, directly or indirectly, through boards or commissions, for employees not in the government service, is to deny such group or groups of wage earners freedom of contract and to make of them industrial and commercial serfs. Making compulsory the submission to an arbitration board, labor board or industrial court of the question of the consideration that shall govern the making of a contract for service is to deny the very fundamental principles upon which our government is founded and by which the liberties of our people are secured.

As expressed by the Executive Council, all legislative proposals which have for their ultimate object compulsory submission to any governmental body or de-

vise questions which affect industrial relations, or which have for their object the fixing of wages other than by voluntary action, whether such proposals be clothed in terms of mediation, conciliation or arbitration, justly demand our condemnation.

Your committee, therefore, in concurring in the Executive Council's report, commends it for the zeal and energy displayed in safeguarding and perpetuating the freedom and liberties of our people.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Conscription

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under this caption, pages 88-89, the committee reports as follows:

Property, in its elemental state, is man's inheritance of nature. Title to property is the creation of man's desire and ingenuity promoted and protected by the power of the state. Man himself is not the creation of government. He is beyond the power of government. Yet, though this be true, we are in that strange cycle of life wherein those charged with administrative authority of government would have our legislature delegate to the chief executive of our nation power to deal with man as though the title of ownership to man were vested in our national government.

The law of self-preservation implies and requires the use of such force and service as may repel the enemy without and conserve the life within. But to apply principles applicable only to war and to conscript the service of free men unconditional upon a like conscription of property of whatever kind or form is to deify property and to materialize humanity. To apply such principles to a condition or state so vaguely phrased as to enable the conscription of man, "in the event of a national emergency," and not to define clearly what is meant by a "national emergency," is to make property the master of man and to make the free citizen the slave of the state.

Your committee cannot adequately express its full-hearted sympathy and support of the action taken by the Executive Council in successfully resisting these inhuman tendencies and legislative proposals, and recommends, without

equivocation, concurrence in the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Anti-Injunction Bills

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 89, the committee reports as follows:

When laws within constitutional limitations are enacted for the guidance of man's conduct, it is presumed and required that everyone subject to such laws shall adhere to them or else meet with such measures of discipline and punishment as may be prescribed.

If our nation is to set a good example to this essential requirement of government, then surely those charged with administrative authority should be required to adhere more rigidly to this fundamental necessity.

It is, therefore, with exceedingly great regret that we note in the Executive Council's report, under the caption "Anti-Injunction Bills," that Attorney-General Daugherty, in his zeal and anxiety to enforce upon the railroad workers of the United States what he chose to call the "open shop," and to break the shopmen's strike, should have been permitted to draw upon the moneys of the United States government, to which he had no right.

We are at a loss to know whether this unlawful expenditure of money can now be recovered. It is quite clear, however, why Attorney-General Daugherty was so persistent to secure a favorable judgment from Judge Wilkerson so that his illegal conduct might be graced by the cloak of a judicial decree.

Under the circumstances related, we can only hope to proceed as is indicated in the Executive Council's report, and we, therefore, recommend concurrence therein.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Compensation for Occupational Diseases

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 90, the committee reports as follows:

It is a sad and deplorable commentary

upon the Congress of the United States that legislative proposals of such great human concern and as would provide at least a meager measure of relief to those unable to toil for their living because of physical impairments, occasioned by the very nature of their employment, should have found so little sympathy and response by our national legislators.

Your committee urges a continuation of the persistent efforts put forth by the Executive Council to secure the enactment of laws providing for compensation for occupational diseases and concurrence in this section of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Muscle Shoals

Under this caption, page 90, the Executive Council relates the developments which have taken place regarding the ownership and control of Muscle Shoals. In view of the constant changes in these negotiations, your committee recommends concurrence in the Executive Council's report and the authorization of the Executive Council to deal with this subject as subsequent developments may warrant.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 1 by substituting the word "convenient" for the word "convention" in the third line of the third "Resolve," making the amended resolution read:

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate W. C. Hushing, of Panama Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The President of the United States issued an Executive Order, effective January 1, 1922, which deprived Government employees on the Canal Zone of many living and working conditions they had enjoyed for years (as briefly set forth in the attached pamphlet, entitled, "Labor Conditions, Panama Canal and Panama Railroad"); and

WHEREAS, The law as set forth in the Panama Canal Act reserves to Congress the right to change the conditions that the President did change in his aforementioned Executive Order; and

WHEREAS, Deplorable conditions now exist for Government employees on the Canal Zone, as a result of the enforcement of aforesaid Executive Order; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the pamphlet en-

titled "Labor Conditions, Panama Canal and Panama Railroad," be incorporated in the proceedings of this Convention; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention approve the cause of the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Canal Zone and urge upon all delegates compliance with the requests contained in the pamphlet; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That President Gompers be instructed to proceed to the Canal Zone at the earliest convenient date, accompanied by such officials and attaches of the American Federation of Labor as he may deem necessary, to make an investigation which, upon his return, will enable him to forcefully and properly lay the entire matter before President Coolidge.

With this change, the committee recommends reference of this proposal to the Executive Council for such action as a further investigation and circumstances warrant.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Wade Shurtleff of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, Hundreds of millions of dollars of labor's money is deposited with banks and savings institutions of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has found an abundance of evidence "to bear out the findings that banking facilities are being used to destroy the trade union movement and to impoverish the workers through the savings deposited in our banking institutions"; and

WHEREAS, Fifteen trade union banks, with aggregate resources of \$50,000,000, have been established during the last three and one-half years; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give its official endorsement to the new labor banking movement and urge every trade unionist to deposit his savings with a labor bank, where such funds will be used to promote the well-being of the workers and not to their detriment.

The introducer of this resolution desired permission to withdraw same. Your committee concurs in the request and recommends approval of same.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 9, 24, 31 and 69, dealing with the subject of a Labor Party, were joined by the committee

and covered in one report. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate E. G. Hall of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The utter bankruptcy of the old political parties and their unfaithfulness to labor is clearly shown in the repeal of the Child Labor Law, the Women's Minimum Wage Law, the Coronado Decision, the passage of the Esch-Cummins Law, and the infamous Daugherty Injunction which broke the railroad shopmen's strike, as well as in numerous other ways, all of which demonstrate conclusively that labor must have a political party of its own; and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement of Minnesota through its political efforts has successfully elected Dr. Henrik Shipstead and Magnus Johnson to the U. S. Senate, showing that the farmers and workers can be organized into a political party and elect its representatives to the state and national government; and

WHEREAS, It behooves the American Federation of Labor to lend the great mass of American workers into a more effective and progressive means of defense both on the economic and political fields; and

WHEREAS, By the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in the victories of Dr. Shipstead and Magnus Johnson to the U. S. Senate, it has proven its capability of performing this function successfully; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Minnesota State Federation of Labor urges through its delegate that the American Federation of Labor, in national convention assembled, modify its former policy and amend its constitution and by-laws so as to remove, if any there be, sections which may appear counterwise to this all-important step of organizing a distinct political party of the organized workers and farmers.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates M. F. Tighe, W. E. Brewster, F. W. Wheale, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America:

WHEREAS, We see on all sides the danger that organized labor faces, while it continues to allow its united political power to lie dormant. From every side on every quarter come clarion warnings. State constitutions in the great southwest are declared unconstitutional by the highest court in the land because they would protect the rights of the workers. Money-mad masters have purchased legal laws in the great west which make it a crime for the workers to try to exercise liberties which our Declaration of Independence has guaranteed them. In the north that same power causes its henchmen to merely wink at laws which it has taken the worker years of effort to get written on the statute books.

From the east comes word that the railroad labor board is not concerned in seeing that the worker even gets a reasonable wage. From the south comes the cry that little children may again be fed into the grinding jaws of money-making machines, even though Congress has said it shall not be so. Surely organized labor must see the danger, if government is to continue to be allowed to remain in the hands of reactionary men who have been chosen by the advocates of the open shop; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the 45th Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, that we call upon the organized labor movement of the country to come together and unite their great political strength into one independent political party; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be introduced into the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor by our delegates.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate J. J. Riley of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is a known fact that the working class will not attain its full rights as long as individual ownership of the means of production, national resources and means of transportation exists; and

WHEREAS, We know that their nationalization requires political action; and

WHEREAS, The workers in the different fields are not strong enough to make such a political change by themselves in their own industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor Convention go on record as forming a Labor Party, based upon Trade Unions, which will be composed exclusively of workers and working farmers and all working class parties without regard to political differences.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate D. A. McVey of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, At a regular meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, August 19, 1923, a resolution was there introduced proposing that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by striking out Section 8 of Article III, and the Executive Council be instructed to take the necessary steps to form a political party based upon the trade unions, and "including all working class political organizations"; and

WHEREAS, During the discussion it was stated that the aforesaid resolution had emanated from the Workers' Party and the so-called Trade Union Educational League, and that its purpose was to inveigle the Chicago Federation of Labor into an approval of the outcome of the conference (which action was repudiated by the Farmer-Labor Party of

the United States) held in Chicago, July 3-4, 1923, wherein irresponsible groups masquerading under the title "working class political organizations," led by the Workers' Party and the so-called Trade Union Educational League, sought to wreck the Farmer-Labor Party and did actually usurp its title; and

WHEREAS, In an effort to make it clear that the Chicago Federation of Labor was not in accord with the wrecking party organized at the July conference under the name of Federated Farmer-Labor Party, the committee to which the resolution had been referred recommended that it be amended by striking out the reference to working class political organizations and inserting "farmer and other organizations in harmony with the organized labor movement," this change being made and adopted by a vote of ninety-nine to twenty-nine at the meeting, against the protest of the introducers of the resolution; and

WHEREAS, At the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, where said resolution was introduced according to instructions and there defeated by a vote of four hundred and fifty-six to sixty-five, advocates of the Workers' Party, the alleged Federated Farmer-Labor Party and the so-called Trade Union Educational League indicated that the change made in the original resolution by the Chicago Federation of Labor was of no consequence, and that the amended resolution would serve their ends, this being a purpose contrary to the intentions of the Chicago Federation of Labor when the resolution was adopted; and

WHEREAS, The delegate representing the Chicago Federation of Labor at the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor is still under instructions in accord with the action of the meeting of August 19; therefore, with the above statement of facts in relation thereto, the resolution is herewith presented for the consideration of the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, as follows:

WHEREAS, In the struggle between the organized workers and the employers it has become more and more apparent that the power of the government is being used on the side of the bosses, as witnessed by the infamous Daugherty injunction against the railroad shopmen, the abolition of the Federal Child Labor Law and the Women's Minimum Wage Law, and many other similar acts; and

WHEREAS, To protect our interests we workers must so organize ourselves politically that we can secure strong representation in the various governmental bodies, which are now almost entirely controlled by the employing interests; and

WHEREAS, To so protect our political interests we must have a political party of our own, the prevailing political

cal policy of labor being incapable of getting the best results; and

WHEREAS, In many other countries the workers, notably in Great Britain, have built up powerful labor parties which exert tremendous influence in the respective governments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in regular convention assembled declares that labor must form a political party of its own, based upon the Trade Unions, and farmers and other organizations in harmony with the organized labor movement, and herewith instructs the Executive Council to take the necessary steps to form such a party; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to permit this action, the A. F. of L. constitution shall be herewith amended by striking out Sec. 8, Art. III; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the Chicago Federation of Labor to the 1923 conventions of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and American Federation of Labor stand instructed to introduce and vote for the above resolution in these conventions.

Resolutions 9, 24, 31 and 69, while differing in form of expression and approaching the apparent goal through varying avenues, all are intended to and do purpose the same end, viz: the establishing of a distinctive independent Labor Political Party.

Resolution No. 9 would have an endorsement of the method and form followed in the State of Minnesota, when as a matter of fact the procedure followed by it was unquestioned, indeed was supported by the American Federation of Labor. This resolution may therefore be dismissed without further comment or consideration.

Resolution No. 24 is but a general appeal made by the 48th Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America on political action and is a direction to the officers of that association to call its appeal to the attention of this convention. This having been done, no further consideration is required of this resolution.

Resolution No. 31 is entirely improper and if adopted as presented would subordinate the American Federation of Labor to the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, because this proposal would have us resolve as the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor con-

vention. This we cannot do and hence this proposal is out of our sphere of consideration.

Resolution No. 69 calls upon the convention of the American Federation of Labor to eliminate Section 8, Article 3, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, not only to permit but also to instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to form a political Labor Party of its own, based upon the Trade Unions, farmers and other organizations in harmony with the organized labor movement.

This resolution is remarkable because of two distinctive features: First, it proposes a constitutional amendment to the organic law of the American Federation of Labor; and, secondly, the preface to this resolution indicates that those having caused this resolution to be introduced have since its adoption become doubtful of its validity or advisability and makes clear the sinister forces at work, boring from within, and using this proposal as a convenient vehicle by which to promote their nefarious work of disorganization and destruction of the Trade Union movement.

Having considered these resolutions both as to form and substance and that sought to be accomplished by them, your committee recommends dismissal of resolutions numbered 9, 24 and 31 from further action of any kind and for reasons hereinbefore indicated, and recommends non-concurrence in resolution No. 69.

In submitting this recommendation your committee further submits that the development and history of the American Federation of Labor disproves all the false imputations, allegations and charges hurled against the American Trade Union movement by those who would pervert economic and industrial problems into political discussions and who would confuse the minds and dissipate the power of the wage earners in the economic and industrial field for the temporarily radiant but ever elusive rainbow of political action that follows the stress of storm but is dissipated in the dawning of

the bright rays of the sunshine of tranquillity and prosperity.

The records of the American Federation of Labor clearly evidence that the American Trade Union movement considers of first and foremost importance the organizing of the wage earners into their respective Trade Unions, and, through their constant economic and industrial power and influence, redress wrongs inflicted, secure rights infringed upon, and protect and promote their conditions of employment and enlarge their rewards for services given.

The records further demonstrate that the American Federation of Labor is not unmindful of the necessity, advisability or desirability of massing and guiding the potential political power of the wage earners and of all groups sympathetic to the cause of organized labor; first, to prevent infringement upon the civil, economic and industrial rights of the wage earners, whether exercised individually or collectively; secondly, to safeguard and promote the welfare and well-being of the wage earners and of all citizens, and to prevent the powers of government being used by any one group for the exploitation of another.

In undertaking to mass and direct this potential political power, the American Trade Union movement deems it of primary importance that the economic organizations and power of labor shall in no way be impaired. Then too, in our peculiar form of duality of government and tripartite divisions of the powers of government, experience has demonstrated that any attempt to mass and direct the potential and actual power of the wage earners through any form of fixed party scheme is to destroy that efficiency that comes from flexible mobility of power to meet whatever emergency may arise and from whatever source it may emanate. The policy and practice of the American Federation of Labor to be partisan to principles and not to be partisan to political parties has been fully justified by experience.

That weaknesses have developed in the application of this political policy is unquestioned. These weaknesses, in-

stead of disproving the validity of this policy, emphasize its effectiveness and indicate a proficient method of improvement by extending this policy into all primary elections within political parties and by the enactment of open, liberal and democratic primary election laws.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Secretary Woll: The committee has based its finding upon the resolution introduced by the Chicago Federation of Labor delegates and the instructions of that body, and as indicated in the committee's report, is prefaced upon a statement which casts doubt as to the validity even of its own action. Since that time the Chicago Federation of Labor has met in session, has received the report of its delegates to the recent Illinois State Federation convention, and a resolution similar to this was introduced in the Illinois State Federation of Labor convention and overwhelmingly defeated.

The delegates of the Chicago Federation of Labor to the Illinois State Federation of Labor reported to a recent meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor the action of the State Federation. I will read you a telegram sent to John H. Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and which comes from the secretary of the State Federation, Victor A. Olander, as follows:

Chicago, Ill., Oct. 8, 1923.

John H. Walker, President Illinois State Federation of Labor, American Federation of Labor Convention, Portland, Ore.

At regular meeting Chicago Federation of Labor yesterday report was presented by Illinois Federation of Labor delegates, signed by Quesse, Uhlmann and Plowright, containing general outline convention proceedings and referring specifically to defeat of resolution proposing to amend A. F. of L. constitution for political purposes and the so-called amalgamation resolution and resolution for recognition of Russia in name of solidarity with so-called republic.

Report concluded with statement that action of convention was in the best interests of the trade union movement. William Z. Foster used his position as delegate from local Railway Carmen's Union to promote activities of so-called Trade Union Educational League and attacked the report and actions of convention. Through his cohorts he endeavored to have report amended by striking out paragraph of approval but was voted down. He also expressed bitterness

against Fitzpatrick and Nockels. An interesting and instructive discussion followed, at the conclusion of which the report of the delegates as originally presented was adopted by a vote of one hundred and fourteen to twenty-six, this being a direct repudiation of Foster and his tactics.

VICTOR A. OLANDER.

Delegate Hall, Minnesota State Federation of Labor, in discussing the resolution sent from his organization, declared that in that state they had carried out the non-partisan political program of defeating their enemies and electing their friends; that the political organization of that state had co-operated, not only in carrying out the wishes of the American Federation of Labor, but had co-operated with the activities of the four railroad brotherhoods and other organizations of voters who were interested in changing the political complexion of Minnesota and of the nation.

He called attention to the election of Senators Shipstead and Johnson and the methods that were employed to elect them. He stated that the resolution was introduced without any reference to the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, with which he was not in sympathy.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Typographical Union, opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution introduced by the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. Discussing the contents of the resolution, Delegate Hayes said in part:

"Naturally, if that resolution were adopted the Convention would designate a time when a great national conference could be held and a movement launched, not officially by the American Federation of Labor, but by the delegates there assembled, to establish a political party of the workers here in America.

"I do not have to tell you that there is a very strong sentiment running even in the Republican and Democratic parties in favor of establishing a new political movement that will bring about much needed legislation we have been unable to secure through the old parties. The chief executive of the State of Ohio, before being elected governor, sitting in his office as auditor of the state, some years ago said: 'Hayes, I doubt very much whether we will ever be able to secure

justice for the workers by and through legislation independent of the major political parties.' Men who will take their seats in the next Congress have stated the same thing to me personally and in my hearing to others; that they had practically lost hope of being able to secure the efficient legislation the American working men and the farmers have a right to expect from the political gentlemen whom they elect to power. And so they are discussing among themselves the establishing of an independent or new third party.

"You claim that with your old policy of punishing your friends and rewarding your enemies—well, that is what it amounts to, or at least has in the past—you secured remedial legislation. I will admit that through the persistent efforts of our membership in their central bodies, state federations and through the efforts of the officials in Washington we have finally secured the adoption of some laws we believed beneficial to the workers of this country."

Delegate Hayes then reviewed events leading up to and following the adoption of the Clayton Act, the manner in which the courts had made the act a dead letter, and pointed out that more injunctions and more drastic injunctions have been issued in the past year than in any previous five years. He then proceeded to give many reasons why the formation of an independent labor political party would benefit the workers.

Delegate Nelson, Kansas City, supported the recommendation of the committee and opposed the formation of an independent labor political party. He spoke in favor of the non-partisan policy of the American Federation of Labor and contended that the best results are obtained by defeating for office men who are antagonistic to organized labor and electing to office those who have shown a desire to deal justly with the problems that affect the workers.

He stated that political affiliations should be disregarded, and even trade union affiliations, and if the men seeking office are not friendly to labor they should be defeated. He pointed out that men with cards in their pockets

are not always fair to labor when they are elected to office, and the workers should see to it that they are not re-elected, but that men friendly to the movement should be chosen, no matter to what party they belong or to what organization.

Delegate Doyle, Painters, supported the recommendation of the committee, and stated that if all those who are asking for an independent labor political party had supported the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor the trade union movement would be more successful on election day in returning men who are friendly to it.

Delegate Doyle pointed out the success that attended that policy in the last elections in the state of New York. He stated that the Republican State convention had refused to accept any part of the program of the New York State Federation of Labor; that the Democratic State convention had accepted the program; that labor had supported the Democratic nominee for governor and he had, when elected, shown his friendliness to the movement.

In concluding, the speaker urged the necessity of members of organized labor supporting the men now in office who have been friendly to them, when they are seeking election, regardless of their party affiliations, and to support others who are seeking office who are known to favor legislation that will be beneficial to laboring people.

Delegate Walker, Illinois State Federation of Labor, spoke in favor of the adoption of the committee's recommendation. In opening his discussion he referred to the fact that in previous conventions he had advocated a separate labor political party, but that he had changed his opinion as to the advisability of such a party after his experience in Illinois.

He called attention to the fact that when the Farmer-Labor Party in Illinois had selected candidates for the various state offices and the legislature and had made an intensive campaign to elect them, not a single candidate was successful, and in the following legislature difficulty was experienced in obtaining favorable legislation from men who had been bitterly opposed by mem-

bers of organized labor during the campaign. He stated that, although little or no remedial legislation had been secured during that session, at least the legislative committee had been able to prevent the passage of measures that would have been injurious to the workers of the state.

Delegate Walker referred to a statement made by Delegate Hayes, and which had been made frequently in similar discussions in the past, that the members of trade unions go to the legislatures and beg for crumbs. He stated that his experience has been that when representatives of trade unionists go to the legislatures to seek for remedial measures or to oppose injurious measures they are as self-respecting and independent as men and women can be when they are seeking that which they feel they are entitled to.

In concluding his discussion Delegate Walker said: If the trade unionists of Illinois in the next primary and in the next election whole-heartedly work on this plan and policy outlined by the committee we will have more success than we had the last time, although two years ago in the primary we defeated seventeen of the worst enemies we had, and with one exception we returned every man who had been friendly to us, and we put in the place of those seventeen men others who were friendly to us.

I repeat what I said in the beginning that working in the direction of building up a powerful political influence in our country may defeat the things we are striving for if we are not careful. I feel if, instead of forming Socialist parties and Farmer-Labor parties, we had adopted this plan we would have reached our objective by this time. In the interest of the men and women who work for a living, and for the purpose of building up that kind of political influence that will protect and promote their interests as far as it can possibly be done in the immediate future, I believe it can be done by adopting the policy of the committee. I think that will be the means of enabling them to do that with the greatest success.

Secretary Woll, in defending the report of the committee, said in part: A delegate stated that he favors the reso-

lution introduced by the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. The resolution instructs the officers of that international union to call upon the workers to form an independent labor party. It is a resolution of instruction, and even if approved by the American Federation of Labor convention, it could be nothing less than delegating that power to the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Your committee feels that the formation of a separate political party carries with it the dangerous fundamental menace of making out of industrial and economic questions purely political actions and considerations. And what does that imply? It implies that if we rest content to place the improvement of our industrial and economic rewards into the political arena and seek to attain those standards by legislation or the action of the state, then, indeed, are we adopting a policy of instability and uncertainty, because political power exercised today by one group is defeated tomorrow by another group, and so the cycle in political life goes on.

If we entrust all our conditions of life and industry to political action we will not know from day to day what our progress or our reverses shall be, and I for one am unwilling that our economic and industrial questions shall be made political action and our rights placed in the guardianship or trusteeship of the state.

Referring to the statement of previous speakers with regard to setting aside legislation by the courts, Secretary Woll said: The Clayton Act, the Women's Minimum Wage Law, the Child Labor Law and others were legislative enactments. But how were they destroyed? They were destroyed by the judicial action of our federal courts. Form your political parties, yes, and will you then alter existing conditions?

Are you unmindful of what the committee has reported and what the Executive Council has reported of these grievous conditions and complaints? Not against the legislative bodies, because those who are aware of what is going on can very readily see that the legislative branch of our government is the one popular branch of the government

which the possessors of the wealth of our nation are constantly and insidiously undermining, taking its powers away and vesting that great power of government in the judicial branch, which is farthest removed from the people.

And so the remedy for, that is not in legislative redress, but in constitutional redress, and so I assure you, if that be true, if we are going to secure that redress, if we are going to correct that maladministration in government that is in our midst by forming political labor parties, we shall then make these great constitutional questions nothing but mere party political questions. And I ask, how can we appeal to the general public as a whole for the danger that threatens with a party political action attached to it?

And so I want to caution you against following a course that would be most joyous to those who seek to oppose us, because it would disunite us from the great mass of the American people and it would make out of grave constitutional questions involving the very life and liberty and security of our people merely a party political issue based solely upon labor.

While we have had legislation curtailing the powers of our courts against issuing injunctions, the Supreme Court has held that to take power away from the judiciary to issue injunctions is unconstitutional, and as reported in this convention, the Circuit Court of Appeals, ruling on a section of the Clayton Act making it impossible for judges issuing injunctions under that law to try and punish those charged with contempt of their own judgment, or without jury trial, and again the Circuit Court of Appeals has held that section of trial by jury as illegal, as taking away power inherent in our federal judiciary.

And what is this great branch of our federal judiciary? Is it to be elected by the people? Can you elect your judges on the federal bench by a Labor Party? Most assuredly not. It is a job for a lifetime. And so we propose that that branch of government be made responsible to the people by its selection and election by the people for fixed periods of time. Again a great

constitutional question. And are you going to make a great labor party issue out of a problem that affects the life and welfare of all?

And so we believe the policy heretofore followed by the American Federation of Labor has been best designed to keep intact and to avoid the impairment of the efficiency of the trade union movement in not confusing and dividing the wage earners on political questions, and that our great and foremost purpose is to unite the wage earners on industrial and economic lines.

The American Federation of Labor is not ignorant of the value and of the necessity of political action. Differences arise only in the form and method by which that power shall be organized and directed. And the American Federation of Labor has declared that that mass political action shall be organized and directed, but not through party organization. And so we declare, "partisan to principle but non-partisan to political parties," and also declare that the greatest efficiency of this potential and actual political power of the wage earners does not rest in massing it into fixed and narrow channels, but leaving it free so that the flexibility and mobility of its power may be applied with each and every emergency, whatever it is and wherever it may be manifesting itself.

Vice-President Duffy in the chair.

Delegate McVey, Chicago Federation of Labor, in discussing the question, said in part: I am opposed to the report of the committee. I want to say, further, in justice to myself and to those back in Chicago who put this resolution before you, that we are not communists and do not want to have that stigma attached to us. We realize that the feeling in this convention would cause some of the delegates to think the resolution was introduced by communists.

This resolution was introduced in the Chicago Federation of Labor and was fought by that bunch; they were not

for it and did not want it, but they went to the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and there turned turtle, got behind the resolution, and in that way were instrumental in having the Illinois State Federation convention go against it. The convention took the position that as they had been sponsors for and had fathered the Farmer-Labor Party in the state of Illinois they would not do anything in the convention that would go against their own child. It was because these other people were behind the resolution that the convention in Decatur defeated it.

I believe the only way we will ever accomplish anything that will be of lasting benefit to the workers will be through political action. You cannot get away from the fact that the political and the economic questions in this country are hinged together. We may get laws put through the legislature from time to time, and possibly they may be of benefit to labor, but what is the outcome? They remain on the statute books a limited time, and then when the bosses see they are not getting us as they want us they go to the judiciary. Then what happens? They throw it in the air, say it is unconstitutional and we lose what we have gained.

I stand here as a worker; I work every day at my trade when I am at home; I hold no official position and I am here in the interest of the workers. I believe you are all here for the same purpose. If we will get together and go along I believe we will achieve success. If we have a political party it must come from this body. There never was a political party that was not organized by a leader, and if this American Federation of Labor will go on record today in favor of forming a political party, labor will come into its own in the next few years. We will not only meet them on the industrial field, we will meet them on the political field and we will be able to get the workers of the country some-

thing of what they deserve. We cannot do it by economic action alone.

Delegate Brewster, Steel Workers, asked for the floor.

A motion to close debate was adopted at this point.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Neer, Teamsters: I request a roll call on this question.

The request was supported by more than the required number of delegates, and the Secretary prepared to call the roll.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men: I want to file a protest in this convention at this time. Men are allowed to speak thirty minutes and forty minutes on a subject and other men are not given the floor at all.

President Gompers: I myself indicated to Vice-President Duffy that I wanted to address the convention on the subject, but I did not get the chance to do so. The same was true yesterday; I wanted to speak on a subject and I did not get the chance.

Delegate Mahon: I insist that the rules of this convention be carried out hereafter.

President Gompers: The delegates will take notice that that rule will be carried out in the future.

Delegate Greenstein: I move that the roll call and the subject before the house be taken up after adjournment.

President Gompers: That motion is not in order. Under our rules, when a question is before the house and a ballot is to be taken, it must be completed before adjournment.

The report of the committee was read by Secretary Woll.

Roll call on Report of Committee on Resolutions on Resolutions 9, 24, 31 and 69.

Yes—Mullaney, J. C. Shanessy, Jacob Fischer, Worthall, Mehl, R. H. Baker, Jilson, Kline, Powlesland, J. A. Franklin, Reed, McGuire, Dohney, Reddick, Belair, Frincke, Lovely, Baine, J. A. Brennan, Carlin, Mary Noonan, Obergfell, Kugler, John Sullivan, Preece, Corcoran, P. A. Doyle, Skinner, Childs, Horne, Kasten, Wm. Tracy, Morrin, Edward Ryan, John O'Brien, Quesse, Rankin, M. F. Ryan, Buckley, Hyland, Ware, Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Michaels, W. T. Allen, J.

H. Weaver, Kelso, Wm. J. Kelly, White, Perkins, Gompers, Campbell, Sexton, Flaherty, Hohmann, Redfern, Steckle, Sylvester, Shurtleff, England, Pickett, F. J. Kelly, Funte, M. J. Browne, J. P. Noonan, McNulty, Bugniazet, Julia S. O'Connor, Barton, Joyce, Kirkland, Feeney, McAndrews, Huddell, Evans, Peterson, McConville, Woll, Brady, L. C. Steward, Grady, McManus, Talbott, Baer, L. N. Riley, Healey, Beattie, Morton, Rickert, Larger, F. Doyle, Adamski, Houck, Sigman, Amdur, Voll, Dall, Wm. P. Clarke, Shipman, Easton Squibb, James Duncan, Reid, Lawlor, Hollander, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Moreschi, Marshall, Etchison, Davies, H. S. Marshall, Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Farrell, Kovelski, McDewitt, Greenstein, McSorley, Case, Duty, Gainor, Cantwell, Chas. D. Duffy, Mugavin, Swartz, Bock, J. A. Madsen, Wm. H. Johnston, Good, Haggerty, Geo. Marshall, Larkin, J. F. Murray, Fljozdal, Milliman, T. C. Carroll, E. E. Clark, Gassman, Hynes, Barrett, James J. Ryan, Crawford, Moyer, McMullen, Lewis, Wm. Green, Philip Murray, Thos. Kennedy, Mooney, Farrington, Moore, Lee Hall, Lammer, Angleton, J. J. Doyle, N. F. Smith, O. R. Hartwig, Jas. Wilson, Bergstrom, E. J. McGlvern, Donlin, Peter G. Cook, Wm. A. Brennan, Coefield, Thos. E. Burke, McLaughlin, Chas. Anderson, Gunther, Britton, Diehl, J. T. Wood, Cartlidge, McQuade, Berry, Daniel J. McDonald, Youngs, M. L. Peters, Krause, Mahon, Quinlan, Jas. Rodgers, Conn. Collins, Chas. Brown, Thompson, Sutton, P. J. O'Brien, Furuseth, Scharrenberg, Helt, Cage, Cone, Wm. F. Canavan, P. J. Ryan, Suarez, Malloy, Freely, Tobin, Thos. L. Hughes, Gillespie, Neer, Casey, Rox, Ramsay, Perham, Smart, J. H. Williams, T. F. McMahon, Conboy, Geiges, Riviere, Pacelli, Howard, Morrison, Couch, Wm. Young, McCullough, Jas. O'Connell, Manning, Mikel, Walsh, Valentino, Walker, M. M. Smith, J. P. Holland, Bill Riley, Iglesias, Geo. W. Fisher, W. M. Short, Winbers, Rooney, Bowen, Kearney, Hammer, Watson, Finley, Edill, Wm. J. Moran, J. F. Burke, Andler, McSpadden, Nelson, Sumner, E. F. Duffy, Coulter, Horn, Dempsey, McDonagh, Ganiard, Theodore Johnson, Blair, M. J. Flynn, representing 25,066 votes.

No—Myrup, Beisel, Goldstone, Kaufman, Langer, Antonini, Greenberg, Pinkofsky, Tighe, Brewster, Wheale, Brock, Keegan, C. M. Madsen, Bailly, Schultz, Cashen, C. B. Connors, Sweeney, Sillinsky, Soderberg, M. S. Hayes, Kohn, T. N. Taylor, E. G. Hall, Ohl, H. L. Franklin, Fox, Freshney, McVey, D. A. Anderson, Kreyling, Emme, J. A. Duncan, Howat, Burns, Covert, Olsen, Murphy, representing 1,895 votes.

Not Voting—Mountford, Gillmore, Boyer, Desepete, Conway, Holtschult, Austin, W. E. Bryan, Askew, Hogan, Gorman, Lane, C. S. Hartwig, J. N. Weber, D. A. Carey, Weaver, E. Canavan, Stickel, J. T. Carey, M. H. Parker, Hannah, J. P. Burke, Launer, Sultor, J. A. Short, Funder Burk, Schwartztrauber, Manion, Thomas, Walden, Spencer, Jew-

ell, Hulsbeck, Greer, Driscoll, Ely, G. W. Adams, Stack, Altman, F. E. Morris, W. J. Robinson, Karston, Hushing, Pratt, Leonard, Van Patten, Sturm, O'Dell, Grace, Keckler, Sims, Stevens, Frampton, W. F. Martin, A. Manning, Hickey, Von Schrlitz, Bower, Horrigan, Paulson, C. S. Evans, R. T. Wood, Meyer, Pettipiece, T. Stevens, Giles, Alter, Saylor, Tyden, Bohm, Jacques, Mezzacapo, Marin,

Rogers, Rincker, E. J. Tracy, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Elliott, R. B. Walker, W. C. Robinson, J. A. Sullivan, representing 1,628 votes.

At 1 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 3 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Eighth Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees

Gillmore, Boyer, Fitzgerald, Austin, Holtschult, Keegan, Bryan, Askew, J. T. Carey, Hogan, Parker, Hannah, Walden, Ely, Altman, Morris, W. J. Robinson, Van Patten, Sturm, O'Dell, Keckler, Sims, Frampton, Mrs. W. F. Martin, Hickey, Bower, Horrigan, Evans, R. T. Wood, Wm. Meyer, Thad Stevens, Saylor, Tyden, Jacques, Mezzacapo, Rincker, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Elliott, Pratt, Alter.

At the request of President Gompers, Secretary Morrison read the first paragraph of a letter addressed to the President by the curator and assistant secretary of the Oregon Historical Society. The letter stated that the society was presenting President Gompers with a gavel containing eleven pieces of wood, most of them relating to the early history of the Pacific Northwest and directly connected with the work of the pioneers prior to 1860.

President Gompers expressed his grateful appreciation of the gift and said that it would occupy a place, with other gavels that had been presented to him, in the American Federation of Labor Museum, now in the initial stage of assembling.

In this connection, President Gompers asked that the delegates or members of their unions who were in possession of any articles of historical value relating to the Trade Union movement send them to headquarters at Washington to be placed in the museum.

Secretary Morrison announced the result of the roll call vote upon the

report of the Committee on Resolutions Nos. 9, 24, 31 and 69, taken at the morning session, as follows: 25,066 votes in favor of the adoption of the report; 1,895 opposed.

President Gompers declared the report of the committee adopted.

Delegate Tighe, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, arose to a question of personal privilege. He stated that in the discussion upon the report of the Committee on Resolutions on Resolutions Nos. 9, 24, 31 and 69, at the morning session, a representative of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, as one of the introducers of one of the resolutions, made repeated attempts to gain the floor and that he was not recognized. He stated that his organization felt they had not been given that consideration to which they were entitled in not being afforded the opportunity to speak on the resolution.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen's Union, objected to the course pursued in the convention of delegates moving for the previous question and thus shutting off debate. He said it was his impression that under the rules each delegate had ten minutes in which to speak upon any question before the convention, and that he did not feel that it was fair to move the previous question when there were delegates attempting to get the floor and express their sentiments.

Delegate Connors likewise objected to the practice of some delegates in objecting to the introduction of resolutions when unanimous consent of the convention was asked and when the in-

troducer of the proposed resolution offered a good reason for his action.

President Gompers: The Committee on Resolutions will continue its report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate W. M. Short of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court has usurped the power to set aside and nullify acts of Congress, thus practically setting itself up as the supreme law-making body, instead of a law-interpreting body; and

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States of America specifically places the power to make laws into the hands of Congress, the members of which are elected by the people, and therefore responsible to the people for their acts; and

WHEREAS, The members of our Federal Courts and United States Supreme Court gain their positions by presidential appointment and continue to hold them for the remainder of their natural lives and bear no seeming responsibility for their official acts to the people, placing them above and beyond and out of touch with the wishes of the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, we petition the United States Congress to submit a constitutional amendment providing for the election of all Federal judges by a vote of the people, and providing for division of the country into judicial districts based on population and making the term of office for such judges for the period of four years.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Gompers: At the time when Delegate Tighe and Delegate Connors arose on a question of personal privilege, I did not desire to continue the discussion at all. First let me say that if there be any criticism at all as to any ruling or failure to rule, at that moment I was not presiding over the convention. However, as President of the American Federation of Labor, I must be willing and am willing to bear the responsibility of any ruling for the time being, but let me add this—there has come into vogue in our conventions

of the American Federation of Labor a practice by which five, six or twenty delegates have signed a resolution and each has claimed the right to discuss that resolution, under the rules of order of our convention.

I decided at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, and I announce that decision now, that when any one delegate who has signed a resolution has discussed its merits, that, to all intents and purposes, carries out the intent of the ruling, which has for its purpose that every resolution shall find a sponsor upon the floor of the convention, and that that sponsor shall not be denied the opportunity of explaining its terms. But if the practice were permitted that every delegate who signs a resolution is entitled to the floor after the debate has been closed, then a few delegates could control the entire time of the convention without the opportunity of any of the others to determine whether they shall have a part in the discussions. If the signing of a resolution by a large number of delegates is intended to preempt for them the right over any other delegate to discuss the question, let this statement dissipate that thought.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: There are three resolutions, or perhaps four or five, that are bunched together. What is your ruling in that case?

President Gompers: If one of the signatories, one for each of the resolutions, has had the floor, that complies with the rules of the A. F. of L. convention.

Delegate Brewster, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, stated that he and his two co-delegates had signed one of the resolutions, that he was the only one of the three who had attempted to speak on that particular resolution, and that he was denied the privilege of speaking, both by Vice-President Duffy, who was in the chair when he first attempted to gain the floor, and later by President Gompers.

President Gompers stated that if he had denied Delegate Brewster the right to address the convention at that time or at any other time, it was within the

rule and not intended as a denial of the delegate's right.

Secretary Woll, for the Committee on Resolutions, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates J. P. Noonan, F. J. McNulty, G. M. Bugniet, Julia S. O'Connor, Edward Barton, Martin T. Joyce and H. H. Kirkland, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, Individual workers suffer from many ills during the active period of their lives which quickly sap their vitality and render them physically unfit at a comparatively early age to earn a livelihood for their families and themselves; and

WHEREAS, Statistics prove that the vast majority of workers are unable from various causes to accumulate a sufficient competence to insure even a decent living for themselves and families when they are no longer able to work, they thus become a burden to their friends and relatives or, what most frequently occurs, they are forced to accept charity from the community in which they live and become inmates of poorhouses or other charitable institutions; and

WHEREAS, This is an intolerable situation and a disgrace to our boasted civilization, and we are unworthy if, in the name of humanity, we are unable in this enlightened age to correct this grievous wrong; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, indorse the principle of old age pensions for those who have given the best period of their lives to industry, in order that they may have sustenance without charity when they are no longer able to work; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Convention stand instructed to present this matter to the next and succeeding Conventions of the Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor herewith affiliated and to do everything possible to secure favorable action on this important question in every Central Body, State Organization and Local Union in their community; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to advocate and work for the passage of state and national legislation to the end that the workers who have worn out their usefulness in industry be not objects of charity or inmates of eleemosynary institutions, but shall be legally entitled to an old age pension as a proper charge

on the industry to which they have given their lives.

Having carefully and sympathetically considered Resolution No. 15, your committee believes that the spirit and purpose of this resolution can best be accomplished by the elimination of the several whereas, the approval of the first resolve, and the substitution in place of the second and third resolves the following:

RESOLVED, That the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor investigate or cause to be investigated the several state constitutions with particular reference to the enactment of appropriate legislation herein contemplated and that consideration be given by the Executive Council to the preparing and drafting of constitutional amendments or legislative proposals embracing the principles and purposes herein declared for.

So that the amended resolution will read:

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, indorse the principle of old age pensions for those who have given the best period of their lives to industry, in order that they may have sustenance without charity when they are no longer able to work; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor investigate or cause to be investigated the several state constitutions with particular reference to the enactment of appropriate legislation herein contemplated and that consideration be given by the Executive Council to the preparing and drafting of constitutional amendments or legislative proposals embracing the principles and purposes herein declared for.

Committee recommends approval of this amended or substituted proposal.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Hayes, Typographical Union, spoke in favor of the committee's report and urged upon the international officers the importance of sending their representatives into Ohio to work in the interests of the passage of the old age

pension legislation in the November referendum.

Delegate Hall, United Mine Workers, supplemented the plea made by Delegate Hayes and urged that every possible influence be brought to bear in the attempt being made in Ohio to enact favorable old age pension laws.

Delegate Mugavin, Letter Carriers, in discussing the question, referred briefly to the pension now enjoyed by the Federal employees. He stated that as a result of that pension, which is supported by contributions of 2½ per cent from the salaries of the employees, the efficiency of the service had been added to and the cost of the service reduced to a considerable degree. The Letter Carriers at a recent convention, he said, had unanimously endorsed an old age pension for all the workers in the state of Ohio.

Delegate Hayes, Typographical Union, offered the following amendment to the report of the committee: That affiliated national and international unions be requested to designate representatives to assist our fellow workers in Ohio to secure the adoption of the old age pension referendum to be voted on at the November election.

The amendment was seconded by Delegate Hall, United Mine Workers, and was adopted unanimously.

The report of the committee, as amended, was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 26—By International Molders' Union of North America:

Resolution No. 45—By Frank Brown of Union No. 164, endorsed by Union No. 164, of San Francisco, Calif.

WHEREAS, Time, the great healer of wounds and impartial explorer of human events, has in the great legal tragedy known as the Mooney case heaped circumstance on circumstance, fact on fact, confession on confession, and accumulated irrefutable evidence not available during the trial, leading to the almost universal unprejudiced opinion that Thomas J. Mooney is innocent of the crime for which he is immured at San Quentin State Prison; and

WHEREAS, The trial Judge and Appellate Justices, the members of the jury, with but one exception, and all the material witnesses in the case, also with but one exception, are convinced

that they contributed to the commission of irreparable error in the conviction of an innocent man, and now regret such action and would undo the wrong, if it were within their power; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of California has settled the law of the State declaring the legal impossibility of granting a new trial and advising and recommending to the defendant as his only recourse under the constitution and the laws of the State being an application for pardon at the hands of the Governor of the State; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the International Molders' Union of North America, in the 26th Convention assembled in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, that we, as fellow craftsmen of Thomas J. Mooney, believing in his innocence of the crime charged, and having faith in the people of the State of California, its Courts and Government, and in their fairness and love of justice, do hereby most sincerely and earnestly petition His Excellency Friend W. Richardson, Governor of the State of California, to grant an unconditional pardon to Thomas J. Mooney, and thus in a measure right the wrong done to him and vindicate the verdict of public opinion.

Your committee reports concurrence. It was moved that the report be adopted.

The Chair declared the motion carried.

Delegate Blom, No. 59, moved as an amendment that a special committee of this convention be appointed to present this resolution to the Governor.

The Chair declared the motion carried.

The chairman of the committee, R. H. Curran, moved that the A. F. of L. Convention be requested to adopt the resolution.

The Chair declared the motion carried.

This resolution is prepared in a form not properly designed for consideration and action by this convention. While it is impossible to adopt the resolution in the form in which it is submitted, nevertheless the committee recommends concurrence in the spirit and the purpose sought to be accomplished by this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Scharrenberg, Seamen, stated that while he had no objection to the adoption of the committee's report, he desired to convey to the delegates the information that the Mooney Defense League had collected thousands of dollars, supposedly for the defense of Tom

Mooney, and that some of the money at least was used for very objectionable propaganda purposes. He referred to the proposed general strikes which were promoted by the agents of the Mooney Defense League, but which were never successfully put into effect. He made the assertion that the Defense League had expended approximately a quarter of a million dollars, and that after it went out of existence there came into being what was known as the "Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee," which for the past several years has had its agents soliciting funds from labor organizations everywhere and obtaining thousands of dollars from the men and women of the labor movement. To his knowledge, he stated, the Molders' Defense Committee had never rendered any accounting of the expenditures of this money, and he urged the delegates, when their organizations were appealed to in the future, to demand an accounting.

He then referred briefly to the petition for Mooney's release, as mentioned in the resolution, and said that in his opinion it would be an idle waste of time to send such a petition to the present governor.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen's Union, asked that the introducer of the resolution include in it the name of Warren K. Billings, who is serving a prison sentence with Mooney for the same offense.

Delegate Olsen, Gardeners and Florists' Union, spoke in favor of the resolution and offered somewhat of a defense for the failure of those in charge of the Mooney Defense Committee to render an accounting of the expenditures by stating that in no case where large sums of money were expended was it possible to render an exact accounting of the expenditure of every penny.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, replying to the statement of Delegate Olsen, said that he was surprised at a statement to the effect that organized labor would expend money for any purpose that it could not go out and defend before the world.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen's Union,

moved as an amendment to the report of the committee that the name of Warren K. Billings be included in the resolution. The amendment was seconded and carried, and the report of the committee, as amended, was adopted.

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Arthur J. Olsen, of the Gardeners and Florists' Local No. 10615:

WHEREAS, Thomas Mooney and Warren K. Billings are still in jail, although their innocence has long been established; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has heretofore expressed itself in favor of their liberation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we send a telegram to the Governor of California, urging immediate action in behalf of Thomas Mooney and Warren K. Billings, that justice may be restored and the men freed.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Wm. P. Hohmann, Chas. W. Redfern, Abram M. Steckle, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gairnor, L. E. Swartz, Chas D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, Grace E. Talbott, J. C. Grady, H. W. McManus, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Wm. M. Collins, B. E. Thompson, A. A. Sutton, Charles Brown, of the Railway Mail Association; T. J. McQuade of the Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union:

WHEREAS, In some Government establishments, notably the Postal Service and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, there have been instituted obnoxious practices, under the guise of "Efficiency Systems," which are harmful to the workers, and therefore injurious to the service; and

WHEREAS, These "Efficiency Systems" are devised by so-called experts who have little or no understanding of the practical work over which they assume jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated in all lines of endeavor that any method of "speeding up" workers beyond their endurance is disastrous to both employer and worker and, particularly, such a policy has no place in Government employment, where service and not profit is the motive; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor

direct its Executive Council to lend every effort in eliminating from Government employment these dehumanizing practices which are so harmful to the workers and to the public service.

It should be noted that the government employees who sponsored this resolution are protesting only against "speeding up" practices and production schemes akin to the Taylor System, which Labor has vigorously fought. There is no thought or desire of interfering in any way with the introduction into government employment of improved methods and the elimination of waste and inefficiency.

The Labor movement, and particularly the affiliated government employees, favor efficient and economical administration in federal activities and prudent expenditure of public funds for Labor costs.

Your committee agrees with the sponsors of the resolution that there is no place in government employment—nor in private employment either—for so-called "efficiency systems," designed to speed and harass the worker beyond normal capacity, and with that understanding and interpretation the Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution, and that copies of same be sent to the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 40 by adding after the words, "affiliated postal," in the fourth line of the resolve, the words, "and other," the amended resolution reading:

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, William P. Hohmann, Chas. W. Redfern, Abram M. Steckle, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, Chas. Brown, B. E. Thompson and A. A. Sutton, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department is now engaged in an accounting to ascertain the cost of collecting, distributing and delivering the several classes of mail; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Service is not

now self-sustaining, the cost of operating being in excess of the revenues, despite the fact that postal workers are receiving inadequate wages, and various expedients, not beneficial from a service standpoint, are resorted to by the postal administration in order to lower labor costs; and

WHEREAS, While the postal service should be conducted for service and not for profit, it is desirable that the service be virtually self-sustaining, in that the users of the postal system should pay practically the cost of the service they exact; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council to co-operate with the affiliated postal and other organizations in obtaining from Congress appropriate action, based upon the findings of the present investigation, to revise postal rates in order that the revenues may approximate operating costs.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates Timothy Healy, Stationary Firemen; Thos. Sweeney, Tailors; Christian M. Madsen, Max S. Hayes, D. C. Smart, D. G. Ramsay, Wade Shurtleff, A. J. Pickett, J. Louie England, E. E. Schwartztrauber, Max J. Sillinsky, Tailors:

WHEREAS, Organized labor is vitally interested in encouraging normal international relations and the spirit of good will among all peoples; and

WHEREAS, The one hundred and sixty million people living in Russia have suffered immeasurably due to the policy of ostracism practiced by various governments; and

WHEREAS, As long as this policy prevails, a return to normal conditions will be impossible and the peace of the world will be constantly in danger; and

WHEREAS, The present government in Russia has been in existence for almost six years and is gradually gaining the recognition of the powers, partly because there seems no possibility of an alternative to the present regime in the near future; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge on the Government of the United States to take steps leading to the resumption of official trade relations with Russia and the eventual recognition of the Russian government.

In considering this resolution your committee examined all former declarations of the American Federation of Labor. Your committee finds that the American Federation at no time evi-

denced a feeling of indifference to those unfortunate people; to the contrary, the American Federation of Labor has at all times manifested the kindest of feeling toward the people of Russia; neither has the American Federation of Labor attempted at any time to exact of Russia any particular form of government. To the contrary, the American Federation of Labor, in the interest of the Russian people, has insisted that as a condition preceding recognition of any form or kind of government the people of Russia be given a full and free opportunity to determine the character of government that shall guide or control their destiny. If the people of that country are given the opportunity to vote, to elect, to endorse or to repudiate this system, this tyranny, this overlordship, and so decide their fate and destiny, the American Federation of Labor shall offer no objection to whatever may be their choice.

Until this condition is first complied with, your committee believes such action as is contemplated in the resolution is unwarranted and unjustified and it, therefore, recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Madsen, Painters, one of the signers of the resolution, said that he was not one of those who believed in the Soviet form of government, that he was not a member of the Third Internationale, and that he was not in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat or any other kind of dictatorship. He said he felt impelled to make this statement because of statements made in the convention that the agitation for the recognition of Soviet Russia had its inspiration in the Communist group.

"The pity of the situation in our labor movement today," said Delegate Madsen, "is this: The man who believes in constructive trade unionism is being crushed to death between two contending factions—the extreme conservative on the one side, who wants, at all hazards, to keep things as they are, and the extreme radical on the other side who wants to turn the entire system topsy-turvy.

"I am one of those who believe in evo-

lutionary methods in the trade union movement, and I also recognize that there is an honest difference of opinion as to whether or not the present Soviet government of Russia should be recognized by the American labor movement and by the United States of America. A number of countries in the world have favored recognition of the Russian government even if they are not in sympathy with the aims and objects of that government.

"It has been stated on the floor of this convention that the Illinois State Federation of Labor has reversed itself on this question, and it has also been stated that that has been due largely to the fact that the Communists advocated recognition of Soviet Russia. Let us not let the Communists decide the policy of the American Federation of Labor or the bona fide labor movement by getting ourselves in a position where we feel ourselves obliged to oppose everything they advocate. If we do that we are getting ourselves in a wrong and ridiculous position.

"I know that Secretary Hughes and Senator Lodge oppose the recognition of Soviet Russia, and I also know that Senator LaFollette and Senator Borah advocate recognition of Soviet Russia, and I take my stand on this proposition with Borah and LaFollette and others of that type in preference to the Senator from Massachusetts."

Delegate Madsen continued by calling attention to the difficulty of getting an accurate report on the true conditions in Russia, and urged the convention to vote down the report of the committee and adopt the resolution.

Delegate Smart, Railroad Telegraphers, spoke at considerable length of his experiences in Russia, and said that he was not in favor of Bolshevism, Communism, Sovietism or any other kind of Red "ism." He stated that he had, through his experience while working in Russia, an opportunity to come in direct contact with the working people, the peasants and the soldiers, and that many of the crimes and atrocities that were attributed to the Soviet government were really the acts of those who were opposed to that form of government. He denounced Semanoff and Kolchak, char-

acterizing them as traitors to the Russian cause. He stated that of the 175,000,000 people in Russia, seventy-five per cent were unable to read and write, and that all the improvement that had been made possible in the living conditions of the people there since the old Czarist regime were directly traceable to the efforts of the Soviet government.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists, spoke in favor of the resolution. He stated that two years ago he started for Russia, but that he was not successful in gaining entry to that country; that he had, however, while in Europe taken advantage of the opportunity afforded to make a very close survey of the Russian situation, and that he was more convinced than ever before, after his travels through Europe, of the righteousness of the question of recognition of the Soviet government.

In part, Delegate Johnston said: "I believe in recognition of Russia for humanitarian reasons, if for no other. They are our brothers, they are our sisters, they are God's creatures, and they are struggling to work out their own lives and their own existence, and they are entitled to a helping hand rather than to the abuse that has been heaped upon them. I know very well that the so-called friends of Russia in this country have done the cause immeasurable harm; men like Foster and Ruthenberg have poisoned the minds of a lot of right-thinking men and caused them to be prejudiced against the recognition and establishment of trade relations. These individuals are not Russians. Some people say they are hirelings of Moscow. Foster was what he is long before they ever had a revolution in Russia; Ruthenberg was what he is, and so was Dunne, yes, and Haywood, years and years ago. We have had a certain element in this country seeking to undermine and destroy the labor movement for the last thirty years.

"If we believe in world brotherhood, if we believe in world peace, it seems high time that we change our tactics and instead of playing in with the representatives of Big Business and capital, who can see only the sacred rights of property, we should begin to deal with

the great problem of human rights, as well as of human life and happiness.

"There is nothing, in my judgment, that would help to stabilize conditions in Europe generally so much as the recognition of and trade relations with that great country of Russia. As long as Russia is sick Europe will be sick, and as long as Europe is sick we are bound to feel the effects of it from time to time.

"As a humanitarian, as one who believes in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, I think it is high time that we give a helping hand to these people who are struggling in their ignorance to overcome obstacles that we know nothing about."

Delegate Healy, Stationary Firemen, in opposing the report of the committee, said, in part: "I realize that it is unpopular for a man to speak on such a resolution as this. I believe, as Brother Johnston has said, that we should hold out a helping hand, encourage and do our part toward helping to get the people of Russia going in a government of their own choosing. It is for the people of Russia to decide what form of government they want. I believe that all the people of the world, and especially people who have been in subjection, should have the right to govern themselves according to their own ideas and their own dictates.

"In the early days I swallowed everything I heard about Russia, but my mind was changed, and what changed it? The report of the British Mission to Russia nearly three years ago, with ten or twelve members of the British Trades Union Congress, headed by Arthur Henderson. These men and women went to Russia, they divided up into four or five different groups, and they travelled Russia for six long weeks and brought back with them a most remarkable report. They reported, for instance, on the improvement in the educational system and the work that was being done by the government to educate the illiterate people."

Referring to propaganda that he said was manufactured in New York to prejudice the American people against the Russian government, Delegate Healy said that American representatives were sent to Russia to make an investigation of

conditions there, that these men were paid by Wall Street, that their reports when they returned were published broadcast, and that when Raymond Robins, who spent months in Russia on a tour of investigation, came back to America and submitted reports of his work he was branded throughout the United States as a Bolshevik and a Socialist, and people were asked not to believe his statements.

Delegate Healy said he felt that the resolution would not be passed, but at the same time he urged that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make a thorough investigation of the Russian question by sending a commission to Russia.

Delegate Hayes, Typographical Union, opposed the report of the committee, and said he had hoped that if the committee could not see its way clear at this time to recommend favorable action on the resolution, a recommendation would at least have been submitted that a commission from the American Federation of Labor be appointed or selected by the President or the Executive Council to make an investigation in Russia and bring back the facts for consideration at the next convention.

He stated that he did not accept the Soviet form of government and that he believed it was more undemocratic in a great many ways than our own republican form of government.

"So I am not appealing for Sovietism," said Delegate Hayes, "when I urge the delegates to oppose the report of the committee; I appeal, rather, to the ethical side of our glorious history, when the founders of this nation established this government as a refuge for the oppressed peoples of all countries. I appeal to you delegates to stand true to the traditions of American principles as enunciated by our forefathers when they stretched forth a helping hand to the struggling nations in various parts of the earth."

In closing his argument, Delegate Hayes referred to the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the English Revolution, pointing out that the stable governments which followed these revolutions were long years in the making, that it was twenty years after

Magna Charta was obtained from King John that the first laws were passed and placed on the statute books to give expression to the rights that were conveyed by Magna Charta; that the Petition of Rights was exacted from King Charles in 1679, and that it was not until 1689 that the Bill of Rights became operative; that our own Constitution was not established until thirteen years after the Declaration of Independence. These historical facts were recited, he said, to show that all great reforms move slowly, and that the Russian people could not be expected, in the space of a few years, to establish their government on a basis that would meet the exacting demands of other nations.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, defended the committee's recommendation, and said, in part:

"If we will go back, not to ancient history, but to modern history as applied to Russia, we will find that the people of Russia, when they revolted, did not revolt to establish a dictatorship, they did not revolt that they might change the Czarist tyranny into a Soviet tyranny, but in order to establish a democratic, constitutional form of government of the Russians, by the Russians, and for the Russians, and when its representatives met in their Congress and formulated the organic laws of its new democratic ideals and beliefs, what happened? It was then that Lenine and Trotsky, with their marauders and murderers, killed the representatives of the Russian people and established an autocracy, a tyranny and a despotism in place of constitutional and democratic government. I hope it may not be so long as indicated by the last delegate, so many years before the Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights and the rights of men so eloquently quoted may be fully recognized and established in Russia.

"We have had the argument advanced that we should adopt this resolution, not for commercial reasons, not for political reasons, but, as expressed by one delegate, in the interests of humanity, peace among the peoples of the world, and by another delegate upon the ethical considerations that prompted our forefathers in the shaping of this great Re-

public; and then, when we turn to the resolution they would have this Convention adopt and approve, they belie their words and statements, for the resolution does what? It calls upon us to urge our government to take steps leading to the resumption of official trade relations. Trade relations? Ah, humanity—where is it?

"As for the second part of this resolution, the recognition of the Soviet government—what does that mean, what does it imply? Are we going to be blind to the danger that lies in that proposition? Again the advocates of this resolution have indicated the friends of Soviet Russia working within our midst as having perhaps done a great deal of harm. Yes, they have, and it is well that the advocates of this resolution disavow any affiliation with that group, with that thought and with that action. But establish trade relations and you establish consular relations, not alone in Russia but in our own midst, and that which Soviet Russia is now compelled to do through secret channels she will be enabled to do by open means, by making men like Dunne their consuls within this country and without giving us the opportunity of protesting. What does that mean? It means that these agents of Soviet Russia, disclaimed by all the advocates of this proposition, will be directly furnished by the Russian government to mingle with us and come into our councils and divide us, as they have sought to divide, by secret and cunning and subtle means.

"So bear in mind there is much involved, and when you speak of humanity and ethicalism you little understand the relationships between nations and all that is involved. I caution you delegates against the adoption and the approval of this resolution. The very fact that some of the delegates want a commission to investigate conditions indicates the weakness of the whole case. The Red Internationale trade movement has proclaimed the destruction of the American trade union movement, and we cannot afford to permit its agents to come into our land and do their nefarious and destructive work within our midst. Self-preservation is the first law and that is

the one we appeal to, with all the sympathy and all the kindness in our hearts and souls for the poor Russian people; we want to be helpful and to give them a government of the Russian people, by and for the Russian people, and those who favor the committee's report are the real, true friends of the Russians."

President Gompers: For my part, the question for this Convention to decide is not alone the matter of the recognition of the Soviet regime in Russia, but whether it shall lower the standard and the high plane upon which the American government and the American people stand. If there were any evidence necessary to determine our course, certainly the exhibition we saw in this Convention yesterday furnished all that is required.

I ask the delegates who have espoused this resolution now before the Convention what the fate would be of any man or member, an advocate of the American trade union movement, if he had the temerity to say in Russia what this man Dunne declared in the Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Would he have been permitted to hurl insult to the movement of the Soviet? Would he have dared to besmirch the character of its leader, Lenin? Would he have dared to attempt to besmirch the character and the manhood of the men who formed the Soviet government? Would he have dared to hurl defiance in the face of the Red Internationale? If he had been permitted to finish his sentence containing the element of the abuse and the slander and the malicious falsehoods indulged in by this man Dunne, if he had done that in Russia, he would have met his fate in a very few moments after.

Some of the delegates discussing this question have urged recognition of Soviet Russia because it is the best democratic government that ever existed in that country. The very declarations and fundamental principles upon which Sovietism is based constitute a denial of democracy. It refuses to accept democracy, it is unalterably opposed to democracy, and it has set out to carry out the policy of destruction of every form of democracy in Russia and in every other country of the world.

In Russia there is no such thing as free speech, no criticism against Soviet-

ism permitted, no publication of a newspaper or a pamphlet that does not yield obedience and loyalty to Sovietism. There is no opportunity for free expression, not only in the press and not only in public meetings or any kind of meetings, but anywhere and under any circumstances. There were a few trade unionists, men high in the councils of the unions which existed and were formed under the Kerensky government while it lasted, and they sought their way out of Russia and went to England and there made their report to the then Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress. They declared that the unions were prohibited from meeting, and because these men stood true to their unions they were hunted and haunted and had to flee from the country for the safety of their lives.

These men came over to the United States and attended the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Denver, Colorado; they told there a story—not manufactured—these were laboring men, trade unionists who escaped with their lives so that they might bring the message of the poor, down-trodden people of Russia to the people of England and of the United States.

Talk about sympathy for the Russian people! When the tongues of those who were talking for sympathy for the Russian people were silenced, it was the American Federation of Labor and its representative men who dared come to the front for the people of Russia. For myself, I was in affiliation with the Nihilist movement of Russia under the Czar, and when the revolution took place there I counted it a great privilege to send a cablegram to the Soldiers and Workmen's convention congratulating them and welcoming them as a government among the free nations of the world.

When the awful catastrophe occurred to the people of that country under the regime of the Soviets, I found it not only my duty but a great pleasure to go before the committee of Congress and appeal, in the name of humanity, for an appropriation of \$20,000,000 by our government to feed the people of Russia. There is not a Far East nor a Near East Relief body in existence of which I am not a

member, and the same is true of the other officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor.

If the people of Russia are willing to submit to this dictatorship I pity them, but I have no quarrel with them; if the Soviets, by a power usurped by them, keep the people in subjection so that they cannot express themselves and change the form of government, I can have no quarrel with them; they will have to fight it out themselves. But when that government undertakes to rule, not in his own country alone, but undertakes to destroy the Republic of the United States, I must protest. I have as much criticism of our country and the ills and the wrongs committed in its name, I have a vocabulary of my own which I employ in dealing with the ills and the short-coming of my country; but I believe in the inherent institutions of the Republic of the United States and I have, when it was in danger at the hands of another autocrat, another dictator, when its life was at stake, called upon all my fellows that I might help them and they help me, and all of us help our country to defend it against autocracy and dictatorship.

When that declaration was made by the Soviets, and I challenge any man within hearing of my voice to dispute the statement that the policies and declarations of the Soviet government have been and are the destruction of all democracies in the world, and particularly the democracy of the United States, and as a condition precedent to the accomplishment of that purpose it is necessary to destroy the American Federation of Labor.

And these beasts of prey, garbed in sheeps' clothing, would stab in the back the American Republic and the American labor movement; yet we find upon the floor of this Convention expressions of sympathy for these people—not the Russians.

There has always been in the heart and the soul of the American people, in the very essence and being of the American laboring man and woman, that feeling of hope and friendship and service to the Russian people, and God being willing, we will continue in that course and give the people of Russia the opportunity to

develop out of this condition by which they are tyrannized a better and a purer democracy.

I believe in the unerring destiny of the Russian people. Give encouragement and hope in any way to those now in military control of the people of that unhappy country, and you help to perpetuate the system now prevailing there. Russia is rich in every material resource, rich as the United States and perhaps richer; her soil is fertile, her climatic conditions wonderfully varying, her people physically strong and virile, kept in ignorance and in a state of illiteracy for centuries. Can we expect those people, with 85 per cent of them illiterate, unable to read or write, who on their shop windows have to paint crude signs to indicate to the passer-by the things they have for sale inside—can we expect them to be the leaders of thought and philosophy of the world? Are they to lead and we to follow? Is their dogma to be the watchword of American labor and American citizenship? I think not.

If there has been any government in the history of the world which has proven itself so brutal, so inconsiderate, so tyrannical over its own people as the Soviet government, my study in life and history is all at fault. Even the men who believe with the Soviets in their philosophy, because they have complained against the administration of that philosophy in practice, have been tried by a court and sentenced to death. I refer, not to the reactionaries, not to any counter-revolutionists; I refer to the social revolutionists. Do they permit a discussion of any question that might involve a criticism of anything that they do, or say, or think?

In the convention of the international union of which I am a member, held last August in Chicago, an identical resolution was introduced. It is quite a coincidence that an identical resolution was

introduced, not only in my own convention, but in the conventions of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Union, the Photo-Engravers' International Union, in at least eight or nine organizations that were holding their conventions about the same time. Each of these resolutions was in identical terms, and among these was the statement that big business and high finance are the obstacles to the recognition of the Soviet government. Is that true? The fact of the matter is, and I have the positive, absolute information which cannot be successfully contradicted, that big business and high finance in the United States have been clamoring on the administration of our government for the recognition of Soviet Russia, and the reason is quite plain. They have large vested interests in Russia, and if the government of the United States should recognize the Soviet government it would give these big business men and high financiers a better guarantee and a safer return on their investments in property.

I don't want to take any more time. I feel, men and women of this convention, that we can do nothing more to stultify ourselves and our movement and our country than to adopt the resolution under consideration. I feel that the recommendation of the committee meets the situation without condemnation, without censure. If the Soviets will but let us alone we are perfectly willing that they shall stew in their own mess.

Upon motion, debate was closed.

A request was made for a roll call vote, but it was not supported by the necessary number of delegates.

The report of the committee was adopted by a very large majority.

At 5:50 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned to meet at 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 10.

Ninth Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Portland, Ore., October 10, 1923.

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees

Gillmore, Boyer, Holtschult, Austin, Keegan, W. E. Bryan, Askew, Hogan, Carey, Parker, Hannah, Walden, Ely, Altman, Morris, Pratt, Leonard, Van Patten, Sturm, Keckler, Frampton, Martin, Bower, Horrigan, Carl S. Evans, R. T. Wood, Wm. Meyer, Thad Stevens, Alter, Saylor, Tyden, Jacques, Mezzacapo, A. J. Olsen, Rincker, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, N. Elliott.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates J. H. Sylvester, A. J. Pickett, J. Louie England, Wade Shurtleff, P. J. Kelly, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees is at the present time, and has for the past three years experienced considerable difficulty in forcing the Pennsylvania Railroad to recognize this organization as a representative of the employees, notwithstanding the fact that this organization does represent a majority of the class or craft properly represented by the organization, and employees on the said railroad; and

WHEREAS, The Pennsylvania Railroad has deliberately, and for the express purpose of disrupting this organization upon its properties, refused to apply to the employees represented upon its lines such favorable decisions as have been handed down by the United States Railroad Labor Board upon the application of this organization, and has defiantly refused to comply with the provisions of the transportation act of 1920, all of which has had for its purpose the obliteration of the organization from its properties; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Justice did take steps to force the employees on various railroads throughout the United States to observe and respect the

decisions of the United States Railroad Labor Board through court action; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the United States Government is greater than the Pennsylvania Railroad, in that the government of the people has the power, if its properly constituted officers will exercise their prerogatives of office and their duty to the people, by forcing and requiring the Pennsylvania Railroad to observe the supreme law of the land; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct the President of the Federation, and he, together with the Executive Council, to call in person upon the President of the United States and the Attorney-General, and present a demand to the Department of Justice that it institute such measures and take such steps as will force the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to respect the supreme law of the land and decisions of such tribunals as may be created by the Congress of the people; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled call upon every citizen of the United States to observe the lawlessness of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and that organized labor as a whole take such steps as will forever brand the Pennsylvania Railroad as the "premier law violator of the age."

The introducer of this resolution requested permission to withdraw this resolution. Your committee concurs in this request and recommends acquiescence in same—in so doing, however, it should be distinctly understood that the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and its management is regarded the most autocratic organization and most hostile opponent to the cause of trade unionism in general and the railway shopmen's unions in particular.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 65 in the first "Whereas" by substituting the figures "1863" in lieu of the figures "1862"; and in the second "Whereas" by striking out the words "the American Federation of Labor to have"; by adding after the word "law" in the third line

the words "and subsequent amendments to"; by adding after the words "to all" in the third line the words "work done or to be done and all"; by omitting the third "Whereas," and by substituting the word "law" for the word "bill" in the third line of the "Resolve."

The amended resolution reads:

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department:

WHEREAS, The Federal Eight-Hour Law, enacted in 1868 and amended several times since that date, has been narrowly interpreted and its application confined to but few contracts let by the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, It was the intention of this law and subsequent amendments to apply to all work done or to be done and all contracts let by the United States Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to cause the present law to be amended, providing for a more general application of the law to contracts let by the United States Government.

The committee recommends concurrence in this proposal as amended.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The officers of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. have had introduced in Congress a bill for the purpose of relieving unemployment among civilian workers of the Government, to remove the financial incentive to war, to stabilize production in Federal industrial plants, to promote the economical and efficient operation of these plants, and for other purposes; and

WHEREAS, The bill known as H. R. 10967, which provided that the Government navy yards and arsenals, through their proper officials, should have the opportunity to bid upon all contracts being let by the Government, provided such navy yards or arsenals are prepared to perform the work and have the necessary machinery and equipment to do such work, and if such navy yards and arsenals are the lowest bidders for such contracts, the same should be awarded them, failed of passage in the 67th Congress; and

WHEREAS, We believe that legislation such as that proposed in the above mentioned bill is still essential in the interest of economy in government operations and stabilization of employment in government industrial plants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention en-

dorse the principles embodied in the bill, H. R. 10967, and direct its officers to continue their efforts to secure favorable action by Congress upon this legislative subject; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. desire at this time to express their appreciation of the splendid assistance already rendered by the officers of the A. F. of L. and request their continued co-operation in an effort to secure the enactment of this or similar legislation.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The future development of the United States will be dependent in a great measure upon the efficiency of its civilian employees; and

WHEREAS, In the Civil Service there has been established a merit system of competitive examinations founded upon the theory that service to the country in a civil capacity should be an opportunity of public usefulness, open fairly and equally to all competent citizens; and

WHEREAS, Laws have been enacted by Congress (Legislative, Executive and Judicial Act of Aug. 23, 1912; Census Act of March 3, 1919, and Deficiency Act of July 11, 1919) giving a sweeping preference to all honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines, or their widows, and to the wives of injured soldiers, sailors and marines who themselves are not qualified to hold such positions; and

WHEREAS, In addition to the laws giving preference to veterans in the matter of appointments to and retention in positions in the civil service, an Executive Order was issued by the President under date of March 3, 1923, extending the preference allowed under previous Executive Orders, so that it will apply in the matter of retention in the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby records its opposition to any weakening of the Civil Service Merit System through the creation by law or otherwise of a preferred group, believing as we do that legislation creating class distinctions and preferences, especially based upon military service, is not consonant with the ideals of this Nation, whose founders declared against the military being superior to the civil power and for the equality of opportunity for all men; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that those who serve the Nation in time of war deserve much from a grateful country. We believe it is only proper that those citizens who

rendered hazardous service in time of national peril should be rewarded in a fitting manner. We cannot, however, regard it a fitting reward of patriotic service to grant to those who have rendered military service privileges which can but result in the impairment of the civil service.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 70 by striking out the words, "once again to take up," in the third line of the second "Resolve," and substituting therefor the words, "to continue its efforts upon," so that the amended resolution will read:

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates Morris Sigman, Louis E. Langer, Louis Pinkofsky, Max Amdur, Harry Greenberg, Luigi Antonini, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The attitude of antagonism toward organized workers by the courts in a great many jurisdictions in the United States, notably in the cities of New York and Chicago, has manifested itself lately in an ever-growing number of sweeping and severe injunctions against labor unions engaged in legitimate struggles to maintain living standards; and

WHEREAS, Such injunctions have in some instances been accompanied by opinions from the bench proclaiming it a crime and a conspiracy for organized workers to peacefully persuade their fellow workers to join a Labor Union on the spurious ground that these organized workers have been forced by their employers to sign upon entering employment fake agreements binding them against becoming members of organized labor, and making such peaceful activity punishable by fines and imprisonment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Portland, Oregon, emphatically and solemnly protest against this alarming practice of the courts which menaces the very existence of American workers as free men; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Executive Council of the Federation to continue its efforts upon this paramount question of injunction abuses by the courts, and to do its utmost, in conjunction and co-operation with all affiliated organizations, to check this in-

tolerable practice by legislative relief or otherwise.

Thus amended, the committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Jeremiah F. Driscoll of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is affiliated with the Workers' Education Bureau; and

WHEREAS, The Bureau proposes to publish a Workers' Bookshelf of Books on all subjects for the education of the organized workers; and

WHEREAS, The volumes so far published have been printed on non-union paper; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in all future volumes published by the Workers' Education Bureau nothing but union watermarked paper be used; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Representatives on the Workers' Education Bureau see to it that this is carried out.

The committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for investigation, consideration and such action as the Executive Council will find warranted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department:

WHEREAS, A sound basis for the determination of wages is fundamental not only to labor, but to society as a whole; and

WHEREAS, There was introduced in the 67th Congress a bill (H. R. 11956) "to create a board of adjustment which constitutes a wage board and board of appeals for employees of navy yards and arsenals, and to define its powers and duties"; and

WHEREAS, Under the provisions of the above mentioned bill the following relevant factors would be considered in the determination of wage rates:

(a) The maintenance of a standard of living for the worker and his family which will insure health and decency;

(b) The relation between wages and the cost of living;

(c) The average change in per capita productivity of manufacturing industries in the United States over a period covering the preceding ten years;

(d) The progress made in per capita production in manufactures in the United States since 1900 which has not already been reflected in increased wages;

(e) The training and skill required;

(f) The degree of responsibility; and

(g) Inequalities of increases in wages

or of treatment the result of previous wage orders or adjustment; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has for some time been devoting some attention to a study of wage theories without as yet having reached definite conclusions upon the subject; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the principles of wage determination as set forth in the bill (H. R. 11956) would, in their application to the employees at the Federal navy yards and arsenals, constitute an improvement over any method yet tried, and if put into effect would furnish a practical experiment from which a constructive policy could be formulated in connection with this subject; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention place itself on record as favoring the enactment by Congress of legislation similar to that proposed in H. R. 11956 introduced in the 67th Congress; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the principles contained in this proposed measure in so far as same shall apply to the industrial establishments of the government, such endorsement, however, to be considered as a recognition of a constructive attempt to work out an improved method of wage determination and such endorsement to be considered as subject to the later adoption of any policy which may result from the Executive Council's research and study of the question.

The committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Paul Scharrenberg of the International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, The past two years have witnessed an increasing tendency among American shipowners to disregard and violate laws enacted to protect life and property at sea; and

WHEREAS, The general disregard of safety laws has been accompanied by an organized effort on the part of the shipowners to discourage American citizens from serving in the American Merchant Marine and to replace self-respecting, competent and efficient citizen seamen by Orientals and other cheap and servile labor; and

WHEREAS, The means adopted by the shipowners to accomplish their purpose is the maintenance of private shipping offices, compulsory registration of seamen and forcing each seaman to carry a blacklisting discharge book, which has been properly branded as an industrial passport; and

WHEREAS, An inefficient and alien personnel in our country's Merchant

Marine is a positive danger in peace and war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in 43d annual convention assembled, at Portland, Oregon, October 1, 1923, that we enter our most emphatic protest against the policies now pursued by American shipowners whereby American seamen are driven into other occupations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon our Federal Government to enforce all laws enacted to provide greater safety of life at sea and do everything possible to develop a personnel that can compete in peace and defend our country in war; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Department of Commerce, and to Congress when it shall assemble.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee, with the approval and consent of the introducers of Resolution No. 88, recommends the elimination of the two "Resolves" contained in this proposition and substituting therefor the following "Resolve":

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in 43d annual convention assembled, that the Executive Council be instructed to notify all national and international organizations which, either directly or indirectly or through local action, participate in the Joint Conference on Retirement, to purge such conference of any non-union or dual taint, and to reorganize it along bona fide trades union lines.

The amended resolution reads:

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, D. P. Haggerty, James Murray:

WHEREAS, Several years ago the representatives of the local and national Trades Unions representing employees of the Federal Government formed a voluntary organization, known as the Joint Conference on Retirement, for the purpose of securing united action with regard to the attempt then being made to get Congress to enact a law which would provide a system of old age retirement for the civil service employees; and

WHEREAS, The Joint Conference on Retirement, as its name implies, has been merely a conference body without power to commit its constituent organizations to any specific program and has served the purpose for which it was formed, namely, that of getting a civil service retirement law placed upon the statutes, which was accomplished when the present retirement was approved May 22, 1920; and

WHEREAS, While excellent work has

been performed under the auspices of and in the name of the Joint Conference, it should always be borne in mind that it has been the Trade Union organizations which have given the Joint Conference its strength and support; neither has this support been merely moral support, for, as a matter of fact, a great amount of the actual work which made retirement legislation possible was performed by its member organizations and their regular officers and committees and the legislative committee and officers of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Trade Union representatives engaged in this work have had a clear understanding that the Joint Conference was merely an instrument for securing united and concerted action, others hearing and seeing only the "trade-mark" or "label" of the "Joint Conference" in connection with these activities, have, in some instances, seemed to have formed the opinion that retirement legislation was secured by an organization separate and apart from the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, In recent months there has been some effort made to develop a permanent national organization composed of local groups made up partly of trade unionists and partly of non-unionists, with the object of furthering retirement legislation; and

WHEREAS, The Trade Unions have been organized and are maintained for the purpose of securing improved conditions and protecting the interests of their members and these unions severally and through joint action have developed ample facilities for handling retirement as well as other legislation in which the membership may have an interest; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in 43d Annual Convention assembled, that the Executive Council be instructed to notify all national and international organizations which either directly or through local action participate in the Joint Conference on Retirement to purge such conference of any non-union or dual taint, and to reorganize it along bona fide trades union lines.

Thus amended, the committee recommends concurrence in this proposal.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate J. E. Giles of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has declared repeatedly for the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, It is regrettable that this un-American system of government is permitted to exist in our National Capital; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention

again condemns this condition and calls on every national and international union, state branches and city central bodies to write their respective Senators and Congressmen to use every effort that a bill remedying this situation may be introduced and become a law.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 95 in the first "Resolve" by striking out the word "appeal" and substituting therefor the words "request our government to appeal"; by striking out the words, "we appeal," in the fourth line of this "Resolve," and by striking out the word "we" in the eleventh line of this "Resolve." The amended resolution reads:

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate W. M. Short, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The best laws cannot keep opium, morphine, cocaine and like drugs from finding entrance to any country, to the irreparable ruin of millions; and

WHEREAS, We are convinced that there is only one way of suppressing the traffic, namely, by stopping production; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we request our government to appeal to Great Britain, Persia and Turkey, as the principal seats of opium-growing, to cease growing the opium poppy; and to the United Netherlands, Peru and Bolivia, the principal growers of the coca shrub, from which cocaine is made, to cease production of the coca shrub, except in such amounts as are strictly necessary for medical and scientific purposes; and call upon China to undertake again the extirpation of the poppy, which she undertook so successfully in 1906; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor appeal to the labor unions of Great Britain, and like organizations in other countries, asking them to urge their respective governments to take adequate action for total suppression of these ruinous drugs, except so far as they can be utilized for strictly medical and scientific purposes; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to lay these resolutions before the Government at Washington, requesting their transmission through regular channels to the various nations herein named.

Thus amended, your committee recom-

mends concurrence in the proposal herein reported on.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union.

WHEREAS, The American Red Cross as an organization of unselfish service is helping to interpret the constructive spirit of our Republic, which holds sacred human life and the ideals it seeks; and

WHEREAS, In its mission to relieve physical pain and minister to the distressed in body and mind the American Red Cross has found a place deep in the hearts of our people; and

WHEREAS, Heroic as it was in war time, the American Red Cross, when grave emergencies arise, is equally heroic in peace time; and

WHEREAS, Working people throughout the country are the beneficiaries of the American Red Cross, through its active work in giving and teaching first aid to the injured and lifesaving, and that our people look upon the organization as the great agency of relief when misfortune comes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, acknowledging the effective work accomplished by the American Red Cross in all its various services, commends the unselfish activities of this national organization as deserving of unselfish support, and bespeaks for it full and hearty co-operation in its purpose to extend to the remotest community its healing ministrations to humanity.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Fischer in the chair.

Secretary Woll: Resolution No. 97 is in the form of a telegram. It reads as follows:

Resolution No. 97

Philadelphia, Pa., October 5, 1923.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Portland, Oregon.

The Veterans' Bureau at Washington has a committee in district 3, comprising Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware, and is rendering a great injustice to disabled soldiers by discontinuing trainees before completion of their prescribed courses. As a friend of the disabled ex-service man, a great many of whom were members in good standing in the different labor organizations before their disability inflicted in the service of their country, we would like you, since we know you have the interests of the dis-

abled ex-service man at heart, to bring this matter before your convention for whatever action you gentlemen may see fit to take to remedy the aforesaid injustice and invite an investigation with the trainees in District 3, Philadelphia, in regard to the true facts of this matter.

EDGAR J. ADAMS,
President of Committee, 1250 West
Harold St., Philadelphia, Pa.

NORMAN TAYLOR,
Secretary, Ambler, Pa.

Your committee is of the opinion that the complaint mentioned in this statement should be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and such action as the situation may warrant. In submitting this recommendation your committee is impressed with the necessity and desirability of attaining the highest possible degree of co-operation between those charged with the administration of the affairs of the Veterans' Bureau and the International and National Unions and city central bodies and State Federations of Labor. Your committee is aware of complaints that have been made against so-called "trade schools" which developed out of the hope of support from the Veterans' Bureau and of existing trade schools that hoped to profit by the opportunity they believed to exist.

Your committee was pleased to be advised that the Veterans' Bureau is keenly alert to all these elements of exploitation and that measures to correct these evils and avoid their repetition are under process of enforcement. Your committee therefore recommends that the Executive Council be requested to consider this subject as well and in co-operation with the Director of the Veterans' Bureau endeavor to promote such policies and practices as will protect and advance the best interests of both workers and injured soldiers and prevent the exploitation of those injured in the service of our nation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Woll: That concludes the report of the Committee on Resolutions in so far as propositions referred to it by the convention are concerned. The committee will have one or two resolutions of its own to present at the close of the convention.

I move the adoption of the report of

the Committee on Resolutions as a whole. (Motion seconded and carried.)

President Gompers in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Workmen's Compensation Laws

In the Executive Council's Report, pages 76 to 79 inclusive, under the caption "Workmen's Compensation Laws," is presented a partial report of the Committee appointed in conformity with the authority given by the Cincinnati Convention to the Executive Council to make inquiry into the present status of Workmen's Compensation and Employers' Liability Laws.

This committee has made a very careful inquiry covering a broad area of the subject, whose scope is such that it cannot be completely treated in a single report.

The committee emphasizes a point which is apparent to all who have studied the subject; that is, that private insurance companies have interfered with and seriously retarded progress in the field of Workmen's Compensation and Employers' Liability Laws. Opposition to state insurance funds on the part of private insurance companies is easily understood, because whenever a state insurance fund is well established profits that are enjoyed by the private insurance companies are cut off from them and remain in the possession of the state, and thereby tend to reduce to that extent at least the cost to the employers of the maintenance of the fund required to take care of the victims of industrial mishaps.

The solution for this serious phase of the general question that readily suggests itself is the rigid exclusion from the field of the private insurance company. Before this remedy can be effectively applied there must be a more general dissemination of information concerning the exact nature of the work that is undertaken by the state in the establishment of the insurance fund.

Experience has shown that the workmen as well as the employers are not willing to entirely forego certain of

their natural rights, even though it be made plain that by doing so and accepting the conditions of a properly safeguarded compensation law, with the accompanying state insurance fund, they really are accepting an advantage to themselves. The impersonal character of the state insurance is a guarantee to both employer and employee of justice rather than the unavoidable suspicion that attaches to transactions controlled by a privately managed concern that frankly exists solely for the profits that arise from the business it transacts.

When those who are most vitally interested in this tremendously important feature of our modern industrial life come to realize that their interests are identical, and to trust one another in this as they do in other matters pertaining to their relations, and will accept the operations of an agency that is within their own control, because it is set up by a law which they have helped to make, and not allow themselves to be pulled apart by ambulance-chasing lawyers and profit-seeking insurance agents, the true benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Law will become apparent to all. The mutual distrust which has been created by interested persons or agencies for selfish purposes must be dispelled and for it must be substituted a confidence resting on the mutual understanding of the parties most directly concerned.

Your committee listened carefully and with interest to statements made before it by delegates and others who are interested in the general subject dealt with in the report. We feel that this is one of the most important subjects now being dealt with by organized labor bodies, by welfare groups, state boards, legislatures and the courts. The literature on the subject is increasing rapidly as experience determines the need for modification or extension, or the abandonment and substitution of new for existing practices.

While the Committee reporting to the Executive Council in its concluding paragraph says, "Pending the final report of this Committee and the conclusions reached by the Executive Council, it is recommended that the Ohio Workmen's

Compensation Law continue as the model law on this subject," we do not understand that the Committee so reporting intends to convey the impression that the Ohio law is a perfect law, but it is so referred to because of the very many valuable features which it contains and which features have stood the test of the courts and have proven their worth, that the law as a whole is suggested to those groups who have not as yet formulated a measure to cover the points.

Your Committee would recommend that in addition to the suggestion contained in the Ohio law, the following eight points be given full weight in the preparation of any compensation law or amendments to same:

1. Employees in all occupations to be protected.
2. Work accidents and occupational injuries and diseases to be compensated.
3. Benefits to be provided only by state insurance funds.
4. Such surgical care, hospital service, orthopedic appliances and artificial limbs as may be necessary to as complete physical restoration as is possible.
5. Compensation for widows for life or until remarriage.
6. Compensation for life for permanent and total disability.
7. No waiting period.
8. Vocational rehabilitation.

The Executive Council in presenting the report of its Special Committee concludes:

"Having given careful attention to the foregoing report, the Executive Council recommends favorable action on the several conclusions contained therein, including authorization to complete the work undertaken, and in the manner undertaken and recommended in the Committee's report."

We recommend concurrence in and approval of the report and the recommendations.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

In this connection your committee

has considered Resolution No. 68, which reads as follows:

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate John Donlin:

WHEREAS, There has been enacted in several states and possessions of the United States of America legislation termed workmen's compensation; and

WHEREAS, The ambiguous phrasing of such laws in many instances defeats the intent and purpose for which they were enacted; and

WHEREAS, The many and various conflicting interpretations of these laws result in both faulty decisions and delay of enforcement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the city of Portland, Oregon, does hereby declare in favor of amending all existing workmen's compensation laws where said laws exist to the extent of incorporating the following:

First—Exclusive state fund insurance for workmen's compensation and the elimination of all other forms.

Second—Lump sum payments for death and permanent disability.

Third—Incorporating loss of hearing in both ears as a permanent injury.

Fourth—Eliminating the waiting period and making all injuries compensatable from date of occurrence.

Fifth—Incorporating payments for all medical and surgical treatment and appliances necessary to recovery, including artificial parts in addition to all other devices required during the life of the injured.

Sixth—Recognizing claims of husband or wife when both are employed and the claim of either or their children when not living together in all cases except when divorced.

Seventh—Permitting injured employees to select their own physician or surgeon.

Eighth—Prohibiting compulsory examination before employment and removing age limits in connection with same.

Ninth—Requiring compensation payments to be based upon seventy-five per cent of daily wage at time of injury and requiring employer to give employees statement in writing at time of employment, setting forth wage rate and further statement as to board, lodging, transportation or any other expense incurred.

Tenth—Requiring that notice of wage reduction or increase be mailed workmen's compensation commission by employer at time same goes into effect.

Eleventh—Providing for payment of flat funeral expense of at least two hundred and fifty dollars in addition to all other expense incurred in cases where body is transported for interment.

Twelfth—Providing that employees under the age of twenty-one years shall be considered as minors.

Thirteenth—Providing for payments of expense incurred by claimant when ap-

pearing at hearings of commission when claims are contested by employer.

The foregoing resolution was concurred in by the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., and referred to the American Federation of Labor for consideration and final action.

The committee finds that Resolution No. 63 was not concurred in by the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, but was simply referred to the American Federation of Labor. We recommend non-concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Bill, Ohio State Federation of Labor, called attention to the fact that in the second day's proceedings Resolution No. 63 was recorded as having been concurred in by the Building Trades Department convention, and that this was an error. He then offered a motion that the proceedings of the second day, covering Resolution No. 63, be corrected to show that this resolution was not concurred in by the convention of the Building Trades Department.

Delegate Lammert, Painters, urged that the correction be made and explained his reason for making that request.

President Gompers stated that the correction requested by Delegate Bill would be made in the record and made part of the record. No objection was offered to that course, and the secretary was instructed to make the necessary correction.

Secretary McCullough: In connection with the subject of "Workmen's Compensation Laws," your committee also considered Resolution No. 36, which reads as follows:

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Wm. P. Hohmann, Chas. W. Redfern, Abram M. Steckle, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, Grace E. Talbott, J. C. Grady, W. H. McManus, National Federation of Federal Employees; Wm. M. Collins, B. E. Thompson, A. A. Sutton, Charles Brown of the Railway Mail Asso-

ciation; T. J. McQuade of the Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Compensation-for-Injury Act of September 6, 1916, covering Federal Employees injured in the performance of duty, fixes monthly benefits ranging between \$33.30 and \$66.67; and

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated that benefits under this law are inadequate and do not meet the needs of the workers affected; and

WHEREAS, Under a recent restrictive ruling of the Comptroller-General the benefits of this law would be withheld from all employees whose injuries occurred in any way except by an accident definitely fixed in point of time; and

WHEREAS, This decision is obviously at variance with the intent of the law and contravenes the administrative policy of the Commission having jurisdiction over the operation of the law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor directs the Executive Council to aid the affiliated Government employees to liberalize the Compensation-for-Injury Act by increasing the benefits and by also securing the enactment of corrective legislation to offset the restrictive ruling of the Comptroller-General.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Extension of Jurisdiction—Elevator Constructors

On page 123 of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption "Extension of Jurisdiction—Elevator Constructors," will be found the report of the action of the Executive Council in approving the extension of jurisdiction of the International Union of Elevator Constructors to include Elevator Operators and Starters; also the notice of appeal by the officers of the Building Service Employees' International Union to this convention.

In connection with this your committee has taken up Resolution No. 20 by Delegate Wm. F. Quesse, of the Building Service Employees' International Union, which reads as follows:

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate William F. Quesse, of the Building Service Employees' International Union:

WHEREAS, In April, 1921, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the convention of the A. F. of L. in Montreal in 1920, did issue an international charter to the Building Service Employees' International Union; and

WHEREAS, In determining the juris-

diction of the Building Service Employees' International Union, the Executive Council granted jurisdiction to that union over elevator conductors and starters (excepting, however, the local union of elevator conductors and starters in San Francisco, California, and local union of elevator conductors and starters in Chicago, Illinois, those two local unions at that time being affiliated and part of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers); and

WHEREAS, Subsequent to the formation of the Building Service Employees' International Union, the Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union in San Francisco and Chicago, with the consent and approval of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, ceased their affiliation therewith and made application to and were admitted as local unions in the Building Service Employees' International Union; and

WHEREAS, At the meeting of the Executive Council at Atlantic City in 1922, the International Union of Elevator Constructors made application for jurisdiction over elevator conductors and starters and the Building Service Employees' International Union was notified that at the November meeting of the Executive Council consideration would be given such application; and

WHEREAS, At the November, 1922, meeting of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., after a hearing of about an hour's duration, the Executive Council granted jurisdiction over elevator conductors and starters to the International Union of Elevator Constructors; and

WHEREAS, Our Building Service Employees' International Union immediately notified the Executive Council, through President Samuel Gompers, of our appeal from such decision to this 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, There is no more reason from a trades union standpoint to give jurisdiction over elevator conductors and starters to the elevator constructors' union than there would be to give such jurisdiction to the Machinists' International Union or the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, nor any more reason that the Machinists' Union should have jurisdiction over linotype operators because they construct the linotype machine; and

WHEREAS, It is essential to the development of the Building Service Employees' International Union that elevator conductors and starters who are part of the employees engaged in the maintenance and upkeep of buildings should be members of the same international union as the janitors, scrubwomen, window cleaners and others in that line of work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the International Union of Elevator Constructors to transfer all elevator conductors and starters now

under charter by them to the Building Service Employees' International Union, and that jurisdiction over such workers be and hereby is vested in the Building Service Employees' International Union.

After listening to the arguments of the representatives of the International Union of Elevator Constructors and the Building Service Employees' International Union, they having agreed to submit to a reopening of the case and further consideration of its merits by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, your committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in and that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for further consideration.

The report of the committee was adopted.

A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Political Campaign

Under the above caption, on pages 46 to 55 inclusive, Report of the Executive Council, will be found a very interesting and important resume of the actions of the committee in charge of the Non-Partisan Political Campaign.

The circulars sent out by this committee with the suggestions made and the principles enumerated afford most excellent illustrations of the very practical and effective methods adopted by the American Federation of Labor in pursuance of its policy dealing with political questions from a Non-Partisan standpoint. Some of the results that were attained are recorded in the report, one of the outstanding achievements being the election of 23 candidates for the United States Senate who had been loyal to labor and to the people, and the defeat of 11 candidates whose record was that of deserving the classification of reactionary. In the House of Representatives, 170 candidates owe their election to the activities of the American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee. This result should encourage the workers to continue their confidence in the policies of the American Federation of Labor, which have been productive of beneficial results.

The concluding paragraphs of the re-

port are especially recommended to the attention of the convention, particularly the last paragraph, which reads:

"While the Non-Partisan Campaign brought many victories to labor and the people, the A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee was hampered by the lack of necessary funds. In many districts more effective work could have been done with sufficient funds available. The convention should consider this phase of the Non-Partisan Political Campaign and devise some method through which during the elections of 1924 a more thorough campaign can be inaugurated and carried to a successful conclusion. It would be dangerous not to give this subject the most careful consideration, as failure to finance the necessary campaign will make it possible for the reactionaries to gain their ends through insidious propaganda that could not be counteracted."

Your committee realizes the many difficulties that surround this phase of the question, because of the restrictions placed on the various national and international unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor by their own laws, which prevent any part of their funds being devoted to this purpose.

We offer to the convention as a suggestion that each national and international and directly affiliated organization impress upon its individual membership the vital necessity of providing ample and sufficient means for carrying on the work of the American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign, and that to this end each urge upon its members the desirability of individually contributing money to this fund.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Gompers: Delegates and friends, the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion have had a most interesting experience, one with the other, since the institution of the American Legion. There has been a constant effort made by the men of that great organization and by the men in the American labor movement to

reach a common ground for the protection of the rights and the interests of the great masses of our people, the wage-earning people, the largest number of whom constitute the membership of the American Legion and all of whom are organized or in the unions of the American Federation of Labor.

How much of a beneficial result has been accomplished by that intermingling and by that mutual co-operation is not for me to say now, except that, in my judgment, it has been beneficial to labor, beneficial to our ex-service men, beneficial to our common people, and beneficial to our Republic.

The last convention of the American Federation of Labor directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to proceed to the following convention of the American Legion and there to convey the fraternal greetings and best wishes of the Federation in a helpful effort to advance and protect the people who have given so great a service to our country and to our cause. I carried that message as best I could to the New Orleans convention of the American Legion, and I may say to you that never has any reception been accorded me, never has my word or message been greeted with greater acclaim and accord than was demonstrated in the New Orleans convention of the American Legion.

The American Legion had declared that the then new Commander of the Legion should attend the convention of the American Federation of Labor and address it. Unfortunately, Commander Owsley has been indisposed and is unable to be here with us today. However, he has sent a competent, valuable substitute. I shall not present this representative of the American Legion to you this morning; I should prefer, and I think you will understand the purpose, that the President of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, Major George L. Berry, introduce him to this convention, and I ask Delegate Berry to present Captain Plummer at this time.

Delegate Berry: Mr. President and fellow delegates of the convention, I appreciate the very great honor that

has been bestowed upon me by the President in asking me to present to you the official representative of the American Legion to this convention, and in doing so I desire to bring to your attention at least one point which I am sure will be of interest to you, and that is that as a result of every war in which this Republic has participated there has come into being an organization of ex-service men and women. As a result of the World War there came into existence that ex-service men's organization known to you as the American Legion. The American Legion will be here in America until every man and woman who participated in that great world conflict has passed to the Great Beyond.

The American Legion, made up of human beings who are entitled to your respect and confidence because they were your servants and your representatives, is not unlike your own American Federation of Labor, since we are subject to error and mistake, but it is good to be able to say that the American Legion today is as near in harmony with the purposes of the American Federation of Labor, and the Federation as near in harmony with the purposes of the American Legion, as any two institutions in the Republic of the United States.

I cannot pass without saying that, both as a trade unionist and as one of the founders of the American Legion, I must not fail to transmit to you, as an ex-service man, my very grateful appreciation for the patience, for the cordiality and for the respect that the trades union movement of America has shown toward the American Legion; and I am glad to be able to say to you that the Legion, with its growth and with its recognition of increased responsibilities, has come to the point of realizing the value of your friendship and has accepted your affection and reciprocates in full for the consideration you have given them.

It is good to be able to say, as a trades unionist and as a Legionnaire, that in two great industrial conflicts with which this country was faced, namely, the miners' strike and the railroad shopmen's lockout, this great or-

ganization of ex-service men came through those two great industrial conflicts with a clear and clean record that neither the labor movement nor the employers of America could raise objection to.

I am glad to be able to say in addition to that that the Legion does not recognize or give consideration to class, creed, or nationality. It is the great, cosmopolitan, democratic organization of America, and on this platform we have, in addition to the representative of the American Legion, the National Chaplain, Father O'Connor, who comes here succeeding the chaplain of last year, who happened to be a Baptist minister, and who may be succeeded at San Francisco by a chaplain who may be Jewish, thus establishing the democracy of this great order.

It is a great pleasure to be able, in compliance with the direction of your President, to present to you the Senior Vice-Commander of the American Legion, who will transmit felicitations and good wishes to the labor movement of America as represented in this convention; therefore, I present to you Captain Charles P. Plummer, the Senior Vice-Commander of the American Legion.

ADDRESS OF CAPTAIN CHARLES P. PLUMMER
Senior Vice-Commander American Legion

Mr. President, Commander Berry, ladies and gentlemen of the convention, and to you who, by the double distinction of belonging to a trades union and of wearing the uniform of your country in the world war are my buddies of the American Legion, I bring greetings. I regret exceedingly that Commander Owsley, the head of the American Legion for this year, is unable to be present at this convention for physical reasons.

I have had some proud moments in my life, and I want to assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that there have been none prouder than when I received the cordial wire from your President asking me to address this convention. It is perfectly fitting and proper for the American Legion to bring greetings to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled. And why? We are the two great service organizations of the world. During the world war some of us wore the uniform of our country; some were not so for-

tunate; they stayed back at home, prepared the munitions, the food, the clothing and everything necessary to carry on the war on the other side.

It is surprising how much misinformation there is about your movement, and I appreciate this opportunity more than I can tell you, simply for the benefit it has been to me personally in an educational way. I thought I knew something about American trades unions, and I found that I had a fund of misinformation big enough to patch hell a mile. And the unfortunate thing is that so many people don't know the real facts about you. It is too bad that everybody in the United States could not have this privilege and pleasure of attending the American Federation of Labor and then go right on and attend the national convention of the American Legion. If you could do that, if everybody in this country could do that, this United States would be a bigger and a better place in which to live, because we would be reconsecrated to the service of our state and our country.

There isn't anything in the world that gives you more satisfaction than service. You know and I know that you get out of a thing simply what you put into it. If I was a carpenter, if I was a blacksmith, if my trade was anything but that of a lawyer, I know that I would go out of my way to go back to a town or a community where I had helped build a great building or a railroad, just to glory in the pride of my achievement, and I want to tell you now that I am surely proud to succeed Commander Berry as Vice-Commander of the American Legion.

You have a lot of serious business here, and I am not going to take up a long time, but I want to touch two or three high spots where the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor are going down the line, hand in hand and parallel with each other. The first of these is Americanism. My personal opinion, people of this convention, is that aside from the proposition of adjusted compensation to take care of our sick and disabled buddies who made that great sacrifice in the world war, this question of Americanism stands out as perhaps the most important before the American people today.

And right here and now, before I go into that, I want to thank you ladies and gentlemen for holding up your hands and giving us the strength to carry on our battle for adjusted compensation, not because we need the money so much, for we have fairly well reestablished ourselves all over this country, but just to show the people of these United States that American federated labor, the men who work with their hands and their brains, know that the boys who served deserve an adjustment. You cannot pay for sacrifice, you cannot pay for suffering, you cannot pay for things like that,

but you have shown by your action that you desire to be fair and square, and you are making that gesture, if you wish to call it that, showing that this other great service organization believes that we are not selfish, but simply asking for those buddies who need it that which is legitimately theirs.

That, you may say, is more or less selfish. Be that as it may, we will some of these days have adjusted compensation, and I may say to you and to all the rest of America that as the days go by we are going to take more care and better care. In fact, we are going to give the best care in the whole world to these sick and disabled buddies of ours. That is the big job of the American Legion as an organization, and that is the big job of the United States of America, as I see it.

Now I want to talk to you about Americanism. We have a little more than 110,000,000 people in these United States, and out of that number one-eighth, not quite that many, are foreign born. As an illustration, if this convention here were a true cross section of American life, one out of each eleven of you men and women could not read, write, nor speak the English language. How, in God's name, are you going to show to those people who are here, who are entitled to a square deal from this country of their adoption, what that flag means, what our Constitution means, what this country means? It is almost an insurmountable proposition, but with the American Federation of Labor taking the stand that it takes, with the American Legion working on its Americanization program, it is not impossible.

Then you must stop and think that those who do not speak our language are handicapped, in addition, by having six hundred papers and periodicals published in the United States in foreign languages, and that one out of every six of these is not helping these foreigners—no, it is not helping this country, it is not holding that flag up where it should be held, but it is tearing it down, because one hundred of these six hundred periodicals are devoted to the Reds, the Bolsheviks, and Communists, and the Soviets, or some other damnable idea that is absolutely un-American, unpatriotic.

From the bottom of my heart, I, as a Legionnaire, appreciate the action of this convention regarding that, because with the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor working hand in hand, there isn't any question that sooner or later this great foreign element of ours, the element that in days gone by included the pioneer who helped to build the railroads, to develop the farming communities, who helped in the logging industry out here, will be helped by our efforts. It is a great program, and I want to say that the American Legion stands firmly on this proposition: We believe in putting out

of business every newspaper published in a foreign language, so that of necessity, just as we had to do in France, those who come to America to live and make their homes will learn to speak, to read and to write the English language. The foreign newspaper has absolutely no place in American life today.

Let me say this to the ladies of this convention: We find in our Americanism work in the American Legion that one woman can do more in thirty minutes, by dropping into the home of a man who has come over from a foreign country, to make that man, that wife and those kiddies good American citizens than we can do in six weeks of hard work. And so I say to you that we desire your help in this Americanism program.

Another high point I want to hit is that of immigration. Until such time as every ex-service man has a good job and a good place to live, and a good wage, until every laboring man belonging to the American Federation of Labor has a good job and a good place to live and good wages, I say the proper way to handle the immigration problem is to put up the bars, put the chain around and the big padlock on, lock it, throw the key into the ocean and let it stay there until that day comes.

The day has gone by when any man who is not selfish believes in cheap labor. You can go clear back to the days of Holy Writ and you will find there that "the laborer is worthy of his hire." I'll bet that is one text that you are all familiar with. The thinking people of these United States believe the same way, and then if the time comes, if it ever does come, when we shall go to the locksmith and have a new key made to open that padlock and take down the bars, we are going to demand of the select few who are allowed to come into this promised land, this land flowing with milk and honey, three things. We are going to say to them: "You must be mentally, morally and physically clean, or you cannot set your foot on American soil."

Getting back for a moment to what I said earlier, I am delighted to be here just for the education it affords me. Frankly, it is not to be wondered at that those outside of Trades Unions get wrong ideas about you. I don't think your publicity always gives the average American a fair look at you. I don't think you do yourselves justice. Then, of course, there are certain people who go away back to the early days when neither capital nor labor had much to brag about, and they keep on bringing that up, but when I see a great convention representing all the working men in this country and some foreign countries at work here, it looks as if the headline on your stationery should be the Golden Rule.

You are doing things that ten or

twelve years ago you could not have made people believe the American Federation of Labor would ever do. This convention, I believe, more than any other convention of the American Federation of Labor, is going to be a lesson to the people in the United States, and I am going down to our American Legion convention in San Francisco next week and tell them not to let anybody in the world "kid" them—American Labor and the American Legion are buddies, and you can't get away from it.

Mr. Gompers told us that last year down at New Orleans, and I don't know whether he quite sold the American Federation of Labor to me at that time or not, but ever since I fell heir to this invitation I have been looking you up, and I know a lot more about you than some of you know about yourselves today, and I want to tell you folks that I am sold on the American Federation of Labor—and I think there isn't any question about the American Legion as a convention being sold on it.

I want to touch on one subject brought up here this morning, and that is politics. The American Legion, as you know, stays out of political discussions, stays out of religious discussions—the fact is, we've got our own business to attend to, just as you have, and we generally aim to attend to it. I want to tell you about this political game. If you belong to the Republican Party, get in your own party. The other day I heard a union man in a town not far from here say, "The trouble of it is, there is a bunch of us fellows getting along in years and we don't attend the union meetings." I said to him, "You have gone far enough; you can't kick about what the fellows do who go to your meetings if you stay at home." And so I say, if you are a Republican, get into that party and make it absolutely impossible for a poor, weak, bad man, an inefficient man, to even get the nomination for public office. If you are a Democrat, do the same thing.

The American Legion and the American Federation of Labor should get into politics in this way—get in your own party and make your own house clean. Then we will have what we ought to have—the things you are fighting for and the things we are fighting for, and the things that go along under that text of the Golden Rule.

Now I want to relate three instances that will prove to you as they have to me, that this country of ours is just as safe and sane and sound at the bottom as it ever has been or ever will be. The first of these is sentiment. In the United States, during the past year the American Legion has raised a fund approximating at this time \$300,000, and we have the solemn duty of handling that fund so that on each Memorial Day the graves of those buddies of ours who lie in foreign soil are going to be prop-

erly, tenderly and reverently cared for for all time. That is one of the things that shows that this country of ours is all right.

The next one has something to do with some very recent happenings, and I don't care whether the individual to whom I am going to refer likes it or not. I want to tell you that any time the President of one of your unions speaks out against those who are not willing to be fair and honest and to give to the other fellow the same things that they ask for themselves, when that President says that "we have certain contracts, you have violated those contracts, and the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations, as well as all other honest, decent, going concerns, lives by its contract, by its constitution, whether written or spoken"—whenever one of your Presidents speaks out in that fashion, the American Federation of Labor is entitled to be shown in that light to the people of this country. I am speaking of Past National Vice-Commander Berry of the American Legion, who settled the pressmen's strike in New York last week. Such action as that puts the American Federation of Labor up where it belongs, and it is one of the things that show the people of this country that the country is safe, sane and sound.

Then the third instance: You can remember a few weeks ago when that funeral train bearing our President left San Francisco for the long journey to Washington and back to Marion, Ohio. Without regard to race, creed, or political faith, without regard to anything in the world except the fact that he was our President, that he was going to his final resting place, whether it was midnight or noon, early morning or early evening, across this country and part way back again we saw the people of this country, yours and mine, standing at attention with bared heads, paying reverence to the President of our United States.

I am telling you that must have been a terrible shock to those who do not want to see these United States go on and be the country that we are and that we will be in the days to come.

Here are three widely separated instances that absolutely convince me of what our country is. And now I want to recite to you, in conclusion, my creed. Those of you who belong to the trades unions and who do not belong to the American Legion can substitute your organization, and those of you who are fortunate enough to belong to both can put the two together, but this is my creed: I know that I live in the greatest country that the world has ever seen; I know that that flag is the most beautiful flag that the sun has ever shone on, and I know that the greatest influences for good in these United States of ours, and therefore in the whole world, are these two—the American Federation of

Labor and the American Legion—yours and mine.

President Gompers announced that a part of the morning program was an address by General Frank T. Hines, Director of the United States Veterans' Bureau, and that General Hines, who was present, had kindly deferred to Mr. R. R. Walker, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, who was obliged to leave the Convention at this time for the return trip to England.

Fraternal Delegate Walker, in a few remarks to which he gave expression with much feeling, said that he was grateful for the extreme cordiality shown him during his stay in the United States, and for the opportunity afforded him to study, even in a hurried way, the American trades union movement. He said that in his opinion a little knowledge was dangerous, and that therefore he would reserve the expression of any definite opinions until such time as he had the opportunity to again visit America and study the movement more thoroughly. Fraternal Delegate Walker was applauded by the delegates as he left the Convention.

President Gompers: Perhaps no arm of our government has been as beneficial and as constructive in the service for our veterans of the great war as the gentleman I am now going to present to you for an address to this Convention. It is not necessary that a personal eulogy shall be pronounced upon his services and the services of the Bureau over which he presides so efficiently. I may say that during the great World War he showed his great understanding and demonstrated his ability in the transportation of the military forces of our country in that war. As the Director of the United States Veterans' Bureau, I have the honor to present to you General Frank T. Hines, who will now address you.

ADDRESS OF GENERAL FRANK T. HINES

Director United States Veterans' Bureau

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Your continuous interest in the work of the Veterans' Bureau and the welcome you have given me here today is appreciated very much. I come before you at this time because I feel in the work of

that Bureau we have reached the point where the co-operation which you have so splendidly given us should be told to you, and what has been accomplished by that co-operation you are justly entitled to the credit therefor.

Before talking on my real subject I want to express my admiration of the reception which my fellow Legionnaire, Vice-Commander Plummer, received; and I am sure that the great newspapers of the country that take pleasure in trying to bring about differences between your splendid organization and the American Legion will not find much comfort tomorrow morning in presenting what occurred here today. It reminds me of a story told of a conversation between two colored soldiers in France just before going into action. It is something like this:

Rastus was trying to get Sambo to tell him what he thought the papers at home would say on the morrow about the great fight they were going into. They were on the front line, some twenty-five hundred colored troops, and immediately in their support were five thousand white troops. Sambo wasn't as enthusiastic about what was going to happen as his buddy, but finally, after Rastus had insisted that he tell him what he thought the papers would say next morning, replied:

"Well, I don't know, but I wouldn't be a bit surprised but what they recite that five thousand white troops were stomped to death."

Your organization is for service; the American Legion is for service, and I wish to state to you today that the Veterans' Bureau, of which I have the honor to be the head, is for service, and a great service, to the disabled men. It is my hope that in the administration of the affairs of that Bureau the time will come when there will be no criticism leveled at it for lack of service for the disabled men.

There is one problem of the Veterans' Bureau you are interested in, and that is the subject like the weather, that has been talked about a great deal but little done—the problem of vocational training and rehabilitation. The past endorsements of various organizations of the American Federation of Labor and of the great corporations in the United States have resulted in bringing about some accomplishments in that direction which are gratifying.

On March first of this year we had 93,000 men in training, in training to the point of employability, in training for the purpose of enabling these men to again take up a vocation and stand on their own feet. Through the co-operation of your organization, by the endorsement you gave that work at Cincinnati, it has been possible since March first to place 23,000 of these men into employment. In other words, on October first, instead of having in training and on the government pay roll 93,000 men, it was

reduced to 70,000, and I wish to publicly express the appreciation of the Bureau for your part in that accomplishment.

And what does it mean? It means that those men who, through their service to their country, were unable to return and take up their pre-war occupations and trades, have again gained that very essential quality of civil life, and that is confidence in themselves that they are able to earn their own living. Of the 70,000 still in training, about 40 per cent are training for trades and industry. These men will come out of training gradually, and I do not feel that you should fear that it will be any great problem to take them into the trades and let them go ahead on their own feet. The assimilation of these men will not in any way embarrass the trade or industry.

One of the important things in the work of the Veterans' Bureau is making sure that we do not in our policy of training, in the problem of rehabilitation, bring about about a condition of dependency. That is not good for the men nor good for our country. Therefore I contend that the real rehabilitation of men is employment, and in that your co-operation is asked.

Many of these men have had difficulty in re-establishing themselves, due to the fact that in some localities they have felt that these disabilities were a great handicap. The men who will be sent out and for whom we seek employment are men who can overcome their service disability and they come to you as efficient disabled men. I am sure you will agree with me that, due to their service, due to their energy in overcoming their disabilities, they are entitled to your consideration and to whatever preference the rules of your organization will extend to them.

The Bureau does not believe in what is known as placement training, where a man is continued in that training to the extent that he is receiving from the government and from his employer together more than he would actually receive if he were following the trade for which he is being trained, because that man will not desire to be rehabilitated; it will be his desire to stay under the conditions that now exist, and that cannot continue indefinitely. Therefore it is necessary for us to find out what is going on with each of these 70,000 men in training, to advise them, to help them get employment, and it will not be the policy of the Bureau to unnecessarily hurry these men; but it will be the policy, when we find a man who is able to take up employment, to carry out the provisions of the act, which is to place him in employment when he has overcome his service handicap.

The men I am speaking about are those who are able to go ahead and stand on their own feet. In relation to the other disabled man, the man who will be unable to take up again his pre-war occupation or any occupation, it will be the desire of the Bureau to give to that man

the greatest possible relief, not only by making sure that we are providing for that man the best hospitals in this country and in the world, but to see that he receives his compensation promptly and without unnecessary red tape.

I am sure it is most gratifying to me to receive the co-operation of the great American Federation of Labor in my work, and with it the co-operation of the great ex-service organizations that stand always as censors over the work of the Bureau in the care of the disabled men. I am sure the time is not far distant when the employer, the employee and all those interested in this great service will meet at the same table and discuss these problems as you are doing here today.

I desire to again express my appreciation for your reception, and I hope that I may rely upon the continued co-operation of the American Federation of Labor in this great problem of the employment of the ex-service men.

I thank you.

Delegate Brady, Photo-Engravers: Mr. Chairman, I know and feel that I am expressing the sentiments of a great many delegates in this Convention when I move that we give our commendation to General Hines for the effective way in which he is working out rehabilitation of ex-service men through the Veterans' Bureau. (Seconded and unanimously adopted.)

President Gompers: The addresses made to us by Captain Plummer and General Hines open to us vistas of the future as well as important recollections of the recent past. I remember, as you will all remember, that tremendously important gathering of the representatives of the organized labor movement of our Republic, held on March 12, 1917, at the Capital of our nation and at the American Federation of Labor Building. At that gathering a declaration of loyalty and fealty was made, when we had a realizing sense that the time was fast approaching when it would be no longer possible for the self-respecting people of our country to remain silent while the shadows and clouds of impending struggle were hovering over us.

On that occasion the voice of labor was heard in the declaration that we hoped for peace, but if we were drawn into the maelstrom of the world war, as the representatives of the great toiling masses of America we pledged to our government our services upon any field which might be necessary to be occupied, so that we in common with all the democratic countries whose very existence was at stake were willing to make the supreme sacrifice and give any service to maintain the honor and dignity and self-respect and independence of our Republic. And, better than all this declaration, American labor made good its pledge.

This Convention has already gone on

record upon the position of the American Legion in its demand upon our government for adjusted compensation for the ex-service men of our country. That pledge may be more formally conveyed by the direction of this Convention. The motion just adopted expresses the unanimous judgment and confidence in the high purposes of the Director of the United States Veterans' Bureau.

May I just in connection with the story of the war recount one incident that transpired on the sacred soil of France? The American Federation had directed that a commission go to Europe for the purpose of encouraging and heartening the men, not only at the front but those who were back of the lines and who were producing the necessities of life and of war. With my four associates I went to all the fronts where the battle raged, and along the Hindenburg Line, in No Man's Land, we saw a number of graves, newly made, within an hour of our entrance upon that field, and learned from the officer in charge that that morning more than one hundred of our American boys had given up their lives, and these graves contained all that mortally remained of these men.

We were all deeply touched, and I called my associates to attention. We stood with bared heads at those graves, and I asked our good friend and co-worker in our cause and in our ranks, Brother John P. Frey, to recite the poem of Flanders Field and the poetic response to that appeal, and he did so in his most eloquent manner. Then we went on our way to Chateau-Thierry, St. Mihiel, Soissons, the Marne and all over the field, and I think we gave a little encouragement and inspiration to our fighting boys.

Lapsing just for a little from the serious to a little witticism, apropos of the story told by Captain Plummer of the colored boys. In Washington, when the men were on their way to the camps, there were thousands and thousands of them in uniform, the sidewalks were jammed with people with yearning hearts and tearful eyes, still conveying the hope for triumph.

When a number of regiments of our white boys marched along with their martial stride the bands played with great vehemence, "When Johnny Comes Marching Home." There was great cheering. Then came a regiment of the colored boys and the band played "I Don't Care If He Never Comes Back." It created a great deal of merriment at the time, and it was not expressive of the hope of the American people.

May I say that in this great common cause in which we were all engaged every man of whom I know gave the best that was in him. Conforming to the statement made by Captain Plummer I may add this: I know from my own experience that the men of fifty and sixty years of age were made by the war ten years younger, and it added ten or more years to the boys of fifteen and sixteen and seventeen. I know of the false oath

taken by two of my grandsons who falsified as to their age so that they could enter the American army.

As we are proud of all the achievements of our country before, when we were merely colonies, during the early history of our nation, during all the periods of its struggles and its sacrifices, there is no one who has red blood coursing through his veins who has any regret for the sacrifices which were made in order that America and the democratic countries of the world might live and work out their own destinies.

God grant that we may be safeguarded against another war. Let us help in our own way to see that that is not accomplished. But the man who would not fight and make the supreme sacrifice in defense of his country, his home, his wife and his little ones is unworthy the privilege of citizenship or the honor of the title of a man.

A delegation of our members of this Convention have stated to me several times that a sermon was delivered by one of the prelates of a church in the city of Portland a few evenings ago of most intrinsic thought and value. I have been informed that this gentleman did not simply preach that sermon for any particular purpose of the day or because of the fact of our meeting in this Convention; but it was in another way and in other words thoughts which he had expressed on frequent occasions. I have been asked, and I am sure it will conform with your wishes, to comply with the suggestion that we hear an address from this gentleman. In carrying out that purpose I am asking Rev. Father George J. Campbell, of St. Mary's Catholic Church, to address this Convention at this time.

ADDRESS OF REV. GEORGE J. CAMPBELL

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I feel myself this morning deeply honored in the opportunity that I possess of being able to address you a few brief words. Year after year in convention assembled you have been privileged to listen to expressions of Catholic thought from the lips of eminent clergymen of the church far more eloquent than I, who am a simple, humble Catholic priest. There is nothing I could possibly say that would interest you unless it dealt with some of the aspects of the church with respect to the labor movement.

Let me at the outset say that the church is the prolific mother of labor. And she never tires reminding those who gather around her altars of the fact that the Master, though he was the

creator of the heavens and the earth and all the treasures they contain; still, when he came into the midst of men, came not ensconced among the princely comfort of a royal palace, but enveloped in the swaddling clothes of poverty and dedicated to a life of toil, thus sanctifying by the touch of his divine life a lot which he well knew was to be the portion of so many millions, unnumbered millions, of the children he came to save.

And again later on, when Christ had reached the full flush of his manhood and stood before his fellow men as a teacher and master, disciples came from John the Baptist in prison, a victim of unjust persecution that he was, and interrogated the Savior as to his identity; and he sent them back with no other message than the simple charge to tell the Baptist that "the lame walk and the blind see, and the poor and the oppressed have the gospel preached to them."

These were his credentials, credentials enough to vindicate for all time his own divine Messiahship. Leaders have risen up among men, but no leader has ever invited men with so much of promise as has Christ when he appeals to us and says: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavily burdened, and I will refresh you."

It is not surprising, then, that the church, as we scan her history and the efforts she has made for the past twenty centuries, to find her ever interested in and ever sympathetic toward the legitimate aspirations of the men of toil. She knows full well that only in the fulfillment of these legitimate aspirations can the innate dignity of man be preserved and can the social and spiritual interests of the race be advanced.

The church was old, old indeed and ancient, before any of the movements or any of the institutions of the present day were as yet conceived in the womb of time. She faced the paganism and slavery of the Roman empire, and it was her beneficent teachings and her legislation that sounded the death knell of slavery. It was under her tutelage that the great guilds of the Middle Ages flourished and waxed strong for the benefit of the toiling masses.

There is no concept, gentlemen, more untrue than the fiction that the principles and purposes of the church run counter to the legitimate aspirations and strivings of organized labor. The church is unreservedly opposed to radicalism under all its newer names and all its newest forms, but to oppose such things is not tantamount to siding in with or recognizing or endorsing the evils of capitalism and the injustice of the pernicious exploitation of labor. These processes are not identical and it is high time this distinction be recognized, and that at times senseless antagonisms be swept away.

Leo XIII was in a position to speak the mind and the conscience of the church, and his encyclical on the conditions of labor evidences the fullest comprehension of the grievances of labor.

As you scan his encyclical, published 30 years ago, you will find he sounds a note to be heard throughout the length and breadth of Christendom. He tells mankind that the condition of labor is such that it must be adjusted, a remedy must be found and found quickly. He goes on to say that a certain number of the few rich have succeeded and have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the laboring poor a yoke little better than slavery itself; and he concludes his great encyclical by proclaiming that there is no question more pressing than the question which pertains to the solution of the problems of labor.

The doctrine of the church has always been opposed to that iniquitous teaching whereby the labor of a man is to be accepted simply as a mere material commodity, subject to no other law than the heartless and inhuman law of supply and demand; and the church has directly attacked that other contention so loudly and so frequently maintained, that the right of free contract warrants the employer in enforcing the hardest obtainable terms on the necessitous worker.

Against such teachings the church proclaims a living wage and that the remuneration of the working man must be such in justice as to maintain himself and his family in comfort.

With respect to labor organizations and labor unions, you will find complete vindication in the encyclical of Leo XIII. He maintains as a principle and as a right grounded in man's very nature that the state has no right to attack or gainsay the right of men to band together in helpful associations for the advancement of their material, their social and their moral interests. And all that you see there proclaimed you find reinforced, amplified and brought down to date in that wonderful program, the Bishops' Program on Social Reconstruction. This program sets before you more vindication for the most ambitious sort of tasks that you may dedicate yourself to.

We are not living in a Utopia and you cannot find this side of the eternal judgment seat of God Almighty absolute justice. The best that man can expect is a fair approximate of justice; hence, our problems and the seriousness of our problems can be measured and gauged in proportion as this approximation of justice advances or retreats away from that which is absolute justice. But, be our problems what they may, this fact remains, that no solution of the problems that face us must be sought in violation of our loyalty to God and of our loyalty to our country and the sacred emblem that floats o'er its mountains and its plains.

I am very pleased, my dear friends, to have had this opportunity to speak to you and to speak a word in the interest of established constitutional government, because in this alone you

have the sole guarantee of your liberties. Under its benign influence organized labor has seen, one by one, its dreams of yesterday come true, and in the future will see the complete enjoyment of the visions and the dreams that we possess today.

I thank you for this wonderful opportunity that you have given to me, and speaking to you not merely as the representatives of millions of my fellow countrymen, but speaking to you likewise as men through whose veins there courses the rich red blood of loyalty, into the hands of such may we safely entrust the best interests of the nation.

President Gompers: The President of the United States has issued an appeal to our country to concentrate effort during this week for fire prevention. It is his request that this week be regarded as Fire Prevention Week. The service which the fire fighters of our various communities give cannot be told in words; their deeds, their sacrifices, surpass anything which men can say. As one of the fire fighters and the fire marshal of the city of Portland, I take great pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Edward Grenfell.

Mr. Grenfell: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am pleased to have an opportunity to say a few words about our troubles in the fire departments of the United States. Our fire department in the city of Portland is a union fire department, I am glad to say.

This week has been proclaimed Fire Prevention Week, not only by our President but by the governor of every state and the mayor of every city throughout the land, and all the fire departments are putting forth an effort to bring to the attention of the people the great loss of life and property due to fire—and ninety per cent of these fires are caused by ordinary carelessness.

In our nation last year we burned many millions of dollars' worth of property, and in the destruction of that property 15,000 people lost their lives by fire, the most horrible death a human being can be put to. I believe the worst fire of the year occurred in South Carolina, where in a two-story frame country school house fire broke out when the people were holding a meeting there, and within a few minutes 70 people lay in the ashes burned to death.

I am going to ask you, in behalf of all the firemen throughout the United States—and I believe a great majority of them are union men—to go on record as being in favor of fire prevention work. I believe you can do more by passing a resolution or going on record as being behind this movement than any other

organization in the United States. You can pass the word down to the great masses of laboring people; it will be far reaching and will help us more than anything else. In the last convention of the International Fire Fighters' Union a resolution to that effect was passed, and if you will help us that much I am sure that all the firemen in the United States will be pleased and you will be of great assistance to them.

President Gompers: I wonder whether you will consent to the adoption of a motion which I shall orally offer upon this subject. With your consent I will offer it.

RESOLVED, By this 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we urge upon all men of labor, organized and unorganized, upon all our citizenship, men and women alike, the greatest care for the avoidance and prevention of fires, and ask all our people to make a continuous effort for fire prevention.

Delegate Kovelski: I move the adoption of the resolution as submitted by the Chair. (Seconded and unanimously adopted.)

President Gompers: We have with us the Chaplain of the American Legion, and I ask that he have a few minutes to address this convention.

ADDRESS OF REV. WILLIAM L. O'CONNOR

National Chaplain American Legion

Mr. Chairman and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor: I do not wish to detain you; I know the hour is growing late and you have heard from Vice-Commander Plummer of the American Legion. I am happy to have the occasion to come through Portland on my way to the American Legion conven-

tion in San Francisco and to have the opportunity to listen in today. Last year you assembled in Cincinnati, and I am glad to come all the way from Cincinnati to meet you here in Portland this year.

I want to congratulate the American Federation of Labor for its great spirit of comradeship, because indeed it is a federation, thinking as I do of that great comradeship of the American Legion in which are gathered all the men of the great war. That great spirit of comradeship of Flanders Field did not die, it lives in the American Legion, and when I look out upon this body of men and women here today I see that the same spirit of comradeship lives in the American Federation of Labor. And today we are striving to give to America a living spirit; we are gathering all groups together and amalgamating them into a great American body, and the word goes over the country today that indeed the American Federation of Labor has done its part when it puts down and condemns all spirit of sovietism, Ku Klux Klanism and all isms in this country that are trying to tear up the soul of comradeship of the nation.

I congratulate you as big men of the nation, and today when we look at the Stars and Stripes we see the red that ran out of the soldier's heart; we see there, too, the red blood that ran out of the hearts of the toiling masses of labor; we see that white that was bleached by a nation's tears—it was tears for a soldier and tears for a laborer; and indeed may the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion and all of us go into the field of blue and take those stars and put them together, men and women, and may they shine together for millions and millions of years.

I thank you.

At 12:40 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Ninth Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, October 10, President Gompers presiding.

Absentees

Gillmore, Boyer, Holtschult, Austin, Keegan, W. E. Bryan, Askew, Hogan, Carey, Parker, Hannah, Funder Burk, Thomas, Walden, Jewell, Ely, Morris, Winberg, Robinson, Pratt, Freshney, Van Patten, Sturm, O'Dell, Keckler, Framp-ton, Mrs. W. F. Martin, Bower, Horrigan, Evans, R. T. Wood, Wm. Meyer, Thad Stevens, Alter, Saylor, Tyden, Jacques, Meszacapo, A. J. Olsen, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Elliott.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

The Volstead Act

In the report of the Executive Council under the caption "A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Political Campaign," on pages 47-48, will be found the text of a circular sent out by the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee dealing with the Volstead Act.

The American Federation of Labor has gone clearly on record as being in favor of such modification of the existing law as will permit the manufacture and vending of wholesome beer and light wines.

That we may correct an impression which has sought to be created by the advocates of the Volstead Act, that the action of the American Federation of Labor was not a fair statement of the attitude of the organized labor bodies affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, your committee recommends that this Convention vote its reaffirmation of the action of former conventions of the American Federation of Labor dealing with this subject, giving approval at the same time to the statements made in the circular sent out by the Executive Committee of the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the position of the American Federation of

Labor on this important and vital question.

It is our belief that the efforts at enforcement of the Volstead Act have produced results that in themselves are so far from being what was promised or reasonably expected might follow the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, that we feel warranted in saying that the reasonable modification now asked for, and a rational enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, will bring relief greatly sought by the people. The fact that the open saloon has been supplanted by the "speak easy," and that instead of licensed venders of liquor, who carried on their business under strict surveillance and regulation by law, we now have an unnumbered multitude of bootleggers, who dispense their vile and poisonous liquors in secrecy, to the great detriment of the health and morality of the people; the presence of this nefarious traffic has brought with it a great host of so-called law enforcement officers, many of whom have not hesitated to set aside or ignore all other laws in their zeal to enforce the one law in which they have interest. Between the lawless vender of forbidden liquor on the one side, and the lawless enforcement officer on the other, the public has suffered irreparable damage because of the consequent and inestimable diminution of regard for any law.

We believe that this condition may be remedied by giving a more reasonable interpretation of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States than is contained in the so-called Volstead Act, and we recommend that the Executive Council through its Legislative Committee use all reasonable efforts to bring about such modification of this statute as will have the effect of giving to the people wholesome beverage in lieu of the flood of "moonshine" that now poisons those who are foolish enough to consume it, and which encourages the illicit traffic and the irrational efforts to suppress that traffic, which has brought so much con-

fusion into our national, political and social life.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Wheale, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Doyle, Painters; Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers; Delegate Kovelski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Delegate Dall, Glass Bottle Blowers, and Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers, supported the report of the committee.

Delegate Sumner, Teamsters, opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Chairman Wilson of the committee defended the report and pointed out that it was a reaffirmation of the position taken by previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Kugler, Brewery Workers, and Delegate D'Alessandro, Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers, supported the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Valentino desired to amend the report of the committee by providing that the Executive Council take the question up with the various state organizations throughout the country in order to ascertain the sentiment of the membership. The amendment was not considered for lack of a second at the time it was offered.

Delegate Quinlan, Street Railway Employees, supported the recommendation of the committee.

Secretary McCullough of the committee explained that the report of the committee does not ask for the repeal of the Volstead Act, but that it be so modified that it will more nearly express what was the general hope of the American people at the time the law was enacted.

Several delegates requested a roll call on the report of the committee. The chairman asked if a sufficient number of delegates supported the request to require a roll call. Only 13 delegates supported the request, and the roll was not called.

A viva-voce vote was taken and the

chair declared the motion carried by an overwhelming majority.

Delegate Wheale, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and Delegate Williams, Railway Telegraphers, desired to be recorded as voting in opposition to the report of the committee.

Labor and the Farmer

On page 63 of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption of "Labor and the Farmer," will be found reference to the relations between the American Federation of Labor and the farmer. The Executive Council recommends that the Publicity Bureau of the American Federation of Labor should send its "Labor Information" to all the farm papers in the country.

Your Committee approves the activity of the Executive Council in its dealings with the farmers and recommends that the recommendation of the Executive Council be concurred in.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 22—Your committee deems no action necessary on this resolution, as the subject matter therein contained is of such a nature as affects only the organization whose delegates have introduced it, and such other organizations as they seek to affect with an exchange of working cards and other courtesies.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, The workers of the Virgin Islands have, by unanimous vote, requested the American Federation of Labor to petition the Congress of the United States to organize and establish a form of Civil Government in those islands; and

WHEREAS, It is proper that this American Federation of Labor Convention should formulate such a petition to establish a form of Civil Government in the Virgin Islands, instead of a government by the Navy Department, and that this petition should be made to the Congress and the President of the United States, through the President of the American Federation, so that all such demands as the present situation of the Virgin Islands require, politically, economically and socially, may be achieved; and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy,

who is in charge of the Virgin Islands, and a recent Commission from the Congress of the United States that investigated conditions in said islands, undoubtedly will give their support to the establishment of a form of Civil Government in said islands; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested and instructed to urge upon the President and the Congress of the United States the necessity of the establishment of a new form of government in the Virgin Islands which will grant the citizens of those islands the rights of citizenship for their political, economic and social development; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all such measures of a national character that tend to benefit education, agriculture, economics and other branches of knowledge, and for the protection of the wealth in those islands, shall be extended to the citizens of the Virgin Islands in the same proportion in which they are extended to all of the people of the United States.

Your committee recommends that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 48—By William P. Clarke, Charles J. Shipman and John B. Easton, of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The daily minutes and final proceedings of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor are burdened with resolutions of unnecessary length, including therein numerous whereases that are unnecessary and meaningless, thereby incurring needless cost, wasting valuable time and making the record so cumbersome that it appears necessary to place a limit to the length of such resolutions; and

WHEREAS, We believe that each resolution could be printed in the daily and final proceedings under a heading which would immediately indicate its purpose; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That these suggestions be referred to the Executive Council for thought and action, and that the Executive Council be requested to present a plan to condense and improve the printed minutes of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, thereby making the record more definite, attractive and pleasing to peruse.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing, so far as it relates to the intent of the second "Whereas," and urges upon the Secretary of the American Federation of

Labor that he give this consideration in making up the minutes of the proceedings of the convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Fischer in the chair.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Flore, Sullivan, Kovelski and Farrell, of the H. & R. E. I. A. & B. I. of L. A.:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor conceived the plan of establishing special departments for the national and international unions whose members are working in the large basic industries, for the purpose of promoting harmony, efficiency and advancement of the common interests of the membership of such departments; and

WHEREAS, The food industry is one of the largest and most important basic industries of the countries covered by the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor, and there are millions of workers in this industry who could be organized and benefited by the establishment of a separate department to care for their common interests and welfare; and

WHEREAS, The present membership of the national and international unions eligible to form such a department is greatly handicapped in the building up of their respective organizations, through the lack of an agency to unify their policies, deal with their specific problems, and promote co-operation in whatever enterprise they may undertake that requires a unity of plans and a co-ordination of forces and means to bring the same to fruition and success; and

WHEREAS, The General Executive Board of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America were instructed by their recent convention held in the City of Chicago to make proposals to the governing bodies and conventions of all national and international unions eligible to affiliate with the food industry department, for the holding of a general conference of their representatives to consider the advisability of establishing and to prepare plans for the formation of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we again reaffirm our faith in the efficacy of such a department; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use his good offices to bring about such conference or conferences and to co-operate in every way possible consistent with his many other duties to bring about a formation of

such a department as an integral part of the American Federation of Labor.

This resolution is in effect a re-drafting of Resolution No. 45 as presented to the convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Montreal in 1920, and which was then referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council reported to the Denver convention in 1921:

"After a conference and correspondence with various national and international unions, it became clearly evident that the proposal is impractical of accomplishment."

Resolution No. 22, introduced at the Cincinnati Convention, revived directly Resolution No. 45 at the Montreal Convention, which was reported on adversely by the Executive Council and was then referred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report, which the committee reported upon by reciting the recommendation of the report of the Executive Council to the Denver Convention, and recommended that the resolution be non-concurred in. The report of the committee was adopted.

In view of this record, and on information that conditions have not changed, your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution submitted to this convention and a reaffirmation of the action of the American Federation of Labor at its Denver and Cincinnati conventions.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, spoke briefly in support of the resolution, pointing out that there had been changes in the industry since the Executive Council had previously acted upon the subject matter contained in the resolution, which changes might warrant different action being taken at this time.

Delegate Kovelski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, moved as an amendment to the report of the committee that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council

for their consideration. The motion was seconded and carried.

The report of the committee, as amended, was adopted.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates J. W. Kline, W. G. Powlesland, of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Dropforgers and Helpers:

WHEREAS, On July 26, 1921, in the City of New York, after an investigation of the controversy between the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Dropforgers and Helpers, and the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union, by the representative of the American Federation of Labor, Brother Hugh Frayne, an agreement was entered into and signed by the duly accredited representatives of the above international organizations. That agreement also bore the signature of Brother Hugh Frayne as the representative of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, That agreement was not at any time complied with by the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union, and later repudiated entirely; and

WHEREAS, At the Cincinnati Convention Resolution No. 80 was introduced by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Dropforgers and Helpers, which was referred to the adjustment committee, and their recommendation to the convention was that the controversy be referred back to the representative of the American Federation of Labor, Brother Hugh Frayne, to more clearly define his decision. The convention adopted the report of the committee. Brother Frayne later submitted his decision to the Executive Council, clearly defined, and the same was adopted, and appears on Page 122 of their printed report to this Convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the charter of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' Union be revoked, unless they comply with this decision before November 15, 1923.

Your committee recommends that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for further investigation and such proceedings as the Council may deem proper.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The declared intention of Congress, Government officials, associations and organizations of every kind and character, to force a reduction in

living costs, the purchasing power of the dollar has not increased; and

WHEREAS, It is common knowledge that high living costs can be traced directly to profiteering; and

WHEREAS, The profiteers in the necessities of life are moving along in the even tenor of their ways, continuing their nefarious practices without much opposition or hindrance from those in public life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to use their best efforts to bring to the attention of the public the truthful causes of the high living costs; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to bring the subject matter of this resolution to the attention of the President of the United States and request that he take such steps as he deems necessary to bring about reduction in living costs.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Frank Walsh of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is now existing a jurisdictional dispute between the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, It is the earnest desire of the organized labor movement in California that this dispute be settled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby declares its intention to grant a rehearing of the case of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, with a view to settling the question at issue.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates George W. Perkins of the Cigarmakers' International Union, and Matthew Woll of the International Photo-Engravers' Union:

WHEREAS, Group insurance has made phenomenal progress during recent years and is being used by unfair employers as a means of alienating the affiliation of wage earners from their respective trade unions under the cloak of philanthropy and the plea of paternalism; and

WHEREAS, It is believed that group

insurance is subject to efficient use by trade unions, not alone to combat the misuse of these devices by unfair employers but to give added strength and stability to the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, There are many trade unions carrying on insurance or death benefit feature of some kind and character, and a number of them having provided for group insurance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to conduct or to appoint someone to conduct an investigation of all forms of insurance and death benefit systems now provided by National and International Unions; that this investigation include group insurance plans and other insurance features used by employers to provide insurance for their employees; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized, with the approval of the Executive Council, to advise the National and International Unions of the findings and recommendations resulting out of this investigation, so that these beneficial features of the trade union movement of America may be strengthened and solidified so that a unified and intensified policy of defense and of aggression may be directed against the misuse of group insurance by those who would weaken or destroy the trade union movement or prevent its full growth and development.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, William A. Campbell and R. S. Sexton of the Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Labor conditions in the Philippine Islands are, as reported, far from those which human beings within the jurisdiction of the United States should enjoy; and

WHEREAS, The Philippine Islands is the only possession of the United States which has not so far been visited by an authorized committee of the organized labor movement of our country; and

WHEREAS, The introduction of many of the products of the Philippine Islands into the states duty free comes in direct competition with the higher paid working men and women of the mainland, thus making it practically impossible for employees and independent manufacturers to meet competition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby authorized and instructed to appoint a special committee for the purpose of a general survey of working and living conditions of the workers of the Philippine Islands, and

report its findings to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and that it be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to call into conference representatives of the several national and international unions affected to make arrangements for the appointment of the Special Committee provided for in the resolution, with the express understanding that the expense incurred by such Special Committee shall be borne by the national and international unions affected, and that no part of it shall be paid from the funds of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate M. J. Flynn, of the Boston Newspaper Writers' Union:

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union, by referendum vote of its membership, has relinquished jurisdiction over newspaper writers; and

WHEREAS, It is in the interests of the wage workers to welcome those employed in the news departments of weekly and daily newspapers to membership in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council are hereby directed to issue local union charters to those employed as editorial writers, desk editors, feature writers, reporters and newsgatherers employed in the news departments or contributing to the news columns of daily and weekly newspapers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their best efforts toward organizing and assisting in the organization of those employed in the news departments of daily and weekly newspapers.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates Dan W. Stevens of the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, and James A. Duncan of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, One of the cardinal aims

of the American Federation of Labor is to organize all wage workers, regardless of race, creed, color, or sex; and

WHEREAS, Groups of lady barbers in various cities have made repeated application for a charter in order that they might affiliate with the bona fide trade union movement, but have, up to this time, been denied the right and opportunity of such affiliation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session assembled, that the Executive Council be, and hereby is, authorized and directed to use its good offices in an effort to have the lady barbers admitted to membership in the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America; and, further, be it

RESOLVED, That in case of failure upon the part of the J. B. I. U. of A. to make provision for female workers in that organization within 60 days after the adoption of this resolution, the Executive Council is directed to grant Federal charters to such groups of lady barbers as may make application for same, subject to rules governing such applications and with the understanding that such groups shall be transferred to the J. B. I. U. of A. whenever such transfer can be arranged.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

In this connection your committee desires to again point out clearly that each national and international organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has full and final control over its own internal affairs. The jurisdictional rights of each of the several national and international unions have been clearly and specifically outlined in their charters and such charters have been approved, first by the Executive Council and then by the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and in at least one instance the jurisdictional rights of a national union were approved by the convention of the American Federation of Labor before the charter was issued by the Executive Council.

No charter can be more exclusive in its nature than those granted by the American Federation of Labor to its affiliated organizations, and no charter is more sacred or will be more carefully respected than are these. It is not within the power or province of any affiliated organization to interfere with the discipline of management or control

of its own affairs by another body so chartered from the American Federation of Labor. Therefore, it would be an unwarranted invasion on the part of this convention to undertake to prescribe, by resolution, to an affiliated organization the character or qualifications of its membership.

We earnestly hope that the several state and city central bodies which are chartered direct by the American Federation of Labor, and hold their powers and authority from the American Federation of Labor, give heed to the principle that the "creature cannot become greater than the creator," in this regard; that the restrictions placed upon the American Federation of Labor lie with added weight on the bodies subordinate to the American Federation of Labor, and that any invasion by a Central Labor Union or a State Federation of Labor of the jurisdictional rights of a national or international union is going far beyond the limit set for the subordinate bodies to control them in their action and relations to the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Council, spoke at length in opposition to the recommendation of the committee and in favor of the adoption of the resolution. He called attention to the fact that the Committee on Organization, in its report to the convention as recorded on page 226 of the fifth day's proceedings, had called attention to the necessity of the organization of women in industry, and that that report was unanimously adopted by the convention. He told of the repeated efforts which had been made to secure a charter for the lady barbers of Seattle, both from the Journeymen Barbers' International Union and, following the refusal of that body to issue a charter, the American Federation of Labor itself, in the form of a Federal Labor Union charter. He made the statement that the splendid conditions enjoyed by the barbers of Seattle today were due in large measure to the fine support

given them by the Seattle Central Labor Council and the affiliated unions.

He expressed the hope that if the committee could not see its way clear to make a favorable recommendation on the resolution, the matter would at least be referred to the Executive Council of the Federation, in the hope that that body might prevail upon the Barbers' International Union to alter their policy with regard to the admission of lady barbers to membership.

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee, said that the real issue contained in this question had been untouched by Delegate Duncan in his remarks, that the same question was before the Denver convention in a very acute form, with a provision for an amendment to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor which would give the Federation the authority to insist that the Journeymen Barbers' Union make such provision in their law as the advocates of this movement saw fit to make in order that the lady barbers might become members of that International Union. The Denver convention, Delegate McCullough pointed out, listened to the arguments and finally voted down the proposed amendment.

Continuing, he said: "Delegate Duncan has failed to tell you that after he had had correspondence with the officers of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union and with the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and after the Denver convention had taken this action, he proceeded to organize the women barbers of Seattle, holding out to them the prospect of becoming members of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union or else having a charter given them direct by the American Federation of Labor, which he knew the Federation could not do without violating its contract with the Barbers' Union.

"The Convention of the American Federation of Labor is on record; the laws of the American Federation of Labor will not permit this Convention to invade the jurisdiction of any body chartered by the Federation. Any such body holds its own control over its own affairs, and no state or city central body chartered

directly by the American Federation of Labor has any right or authority to put out a shop card or any other form of designation and recommend to the public at large that an illegal and dual organization is a legitimate organization under the American Federation of Labor.

"We must not allow sentiment to carry us away in this matter, because if we do we are undermining the very foundation of the American Federation of Labor—that of voluntary association."

Delegate Stevens, Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, moved to amend the committee's report by adopting the first resolve in the resolution. (Motion seconded.)

President Gompers: The Chair desires to call the attention of the delegate to the fact that that cannot be done at this time. If it is the desire of the Convention to adopt the resolution as offered, it must of necessity first defeat the recommendation of the committee. That is the only process by which any resolution can be reached at this time.

Delegate Karston, Atlanta Federation of Trades: A point of information—if a national organization disclaims jurisdiction over any branch of workers, has or has not the American Federation of Labor the right to issue a Federal charter?

President Gompers: Not in the same trade or industry. If the national union has jurisdiction over the industry, it has the right to prescribe the conditions under which that membership may be obtained.

Delegate Valentino, Georgia Federation of Labor: I have been told that the American Federation of Labor either instructed or requested two international unions to strike out the word "white" in their qualifications for membership, where the international said that a man should be a white citizen in order to be eligible to membership. Is that true?

President Gompers: The only instance when that occurred was when an application for a charter was made and it was held up upon that condition.

Delegate Fischer, Barbers: I want to explain to this convention a few of the

circumstances in connection with this question. First of all, the body that seeks the passage of this resolution does not come in here with clean hands and a clean purpose. This matter has been before our International Convention on numerous occasions. We have made an investigation of the subject, and we have found that the greatest menace to our trade from the women engaged in it is their incompetency as tradesmen in our line. We have never found a man who goes to a barber shop who says that he goes there because he receives as good or better work in a female shop than he does by going into a male shop. Our organization has discouraged lady barbers in our industry because they don't usually stick at the trade long enough to become artists in this line.

The Central Labor Council of Seattle wants everybody organized, irrespective of who they are. We have in the city of Seattle not affiliated with us because of our laws a Japanese barbers' organization, and the Central body of Seattle is not so solicitous of their welfare, and we know why.

We stand by the right to work out our own problems in our own organization and trade. We believe we are competent to take care of the matter. Reference has been made to a one hundred per cent organization of the women barbers in Seattle. Before a committee there a lady representative of the barbers said that at one time they had 170 members in the organization, and at the present time they have 100. I don't know whether the others in Seattle are non-union or whether they are out and gone from the business.

Many years ago, when this lady barber question came to the attention of our organization, they were in large numbers in the Central and Eastern States. Many of those towns and cities that had lady barbers then have none now. It is a fact that a few cities in the west, Spokane, Tacoma, Seattle and Portland, have a few of them at this time. There are probably a dozen in San

Francisco, but they are becoming less in number every day, and we don't believe in encouraging them to come into the profession when they do not become artists in our line. We are trying to elevate our occupation and we have made some headway, and we expect to continue that work on lines that we deem best for the interests of our trade.

Delegate Hall, United Mine Workers, moved that the subject matter contained in the resolution be referred to the Committee on Laws. The motion was seconded, after which Delegate Hall spoke briefly in support of it.

The question was further discussed by Delegates Murphy, Rubber Workers; Hall, Mine Workers; Furuseth, Seamen; Walker, Illinois State Federation of Labor, and by Delegate Wilson, chairman of the committee.

Delegate Wilson opposed the motion to refer the matter to the Committee on Laws, saying that he would oppose any law or proposed law of the American Federation of Labor that would attempt to say to the affiliated organizations the qualifications of its membership, as that was a question for the affiliated organization to determine for itself.

Delegate Furuseth said that he saw in the resolution simply a means of promoting the One Big Union idea.

Delegate Walker pointed out that if this convention assumed the right to appropriate to themselves the jurisdiction of the Barbers' Union and dispose of it as they saw fit for the barbers' organization, they would have the same right to do the same thing for every other organization. He felt that the adoption of the resolution would establish a very dangerous and far-reaching precedent.

President Gompers, discussing the question briefly, said: If this motion is referred to the Committee on Laws, and that committee should propose a change in our laws making it compulsory for the Journeymen Barbers' International Union to take in the lady barbers, whether in Seattle or any other place,

and this convention should adopt such a law, if that kind of law had been in existence about seven or eight years ago this situation would have been presented: About that time the Western Federation of Miners, now known as the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, made application to the United Mine Workers' of America to become a part of that organization. The United Mine Workers of America then and there declared that it was impracticable, and therefore unfeasible—that absorption of the metal miners.

If the law suggested and in mind were the law of the American Federation of Labor at that time, it would have been within the power of the American Federation of Labor to declare that the United Mine Workers of America must take in the metal miners. I desire you to have that in mind, and what would have applied in that instance would have applied to every other international union affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. I am merely making this statement of fact so that you may have the information and act according to your judgment in the premises.

Delegate Mooney, United Mine Workers, discussed briefly the motion offered by Delegate Hall.

Delegate Hall's motion to refer the matter to the Committee on Laws was defeated, and the report of the committee was adopted by a very large majority.

President Gompers stated that the hour of adjournment had passed, but requested the delegates to remain for a few moments to give Fraternal Delegate Robinson, of the British Trades Union Congress, who was obliged to leave Portland on Thursday morning, an opportunity to say a few words.

Fraternal Delegate Robinson, on behalf of himself and Mrs. Robinson, said that they would leave the convention with none but the kindest of feelings and with lasting memories of the cordial hospitality shown them during their visit. He said that they had been received everywhere with a kindly hand-shake.

and that persons unknown to either of them had gone out of their way to make things pleasant for them.

In closing his remarks, Mr. Robinson expressed the hope that the American Federation of Labor, its officials and af-

iliated unions might enjoy a future of unclouded success.

At 5:45 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, October 11.

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Tenth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Portland, Ore., October 11, 1923.

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock a. m., President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees

Gillmore, Boyer, Holtschult, Austin, Brock, Keegan, Bryan, Askew, Hogan, Carey, Parker, Hannah, Thomas, Walden, Jewell, Ely, Altman, Morris, Winberg, W. J. Robinson, Pratt, Leonard, Van Fatten, Sturm, O'Dell, Keckler, Frampton, Mrs. W. F. Martin, Bower, Horrigan, Carl S. Evans, R. T. Wood, Wm. Meyer, Stevens, Alter, Saylor, Tyden, Jacques, Mezzacapo, A. J. Olsen, Rincker, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Elliott.

President Gompers: The Committee on Executive Council's Report will resume at this time.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee feels impelled to bring to your attention some tendencies that are being promoted by different strata in society and in different countries.

For several years past, but more especially since the war, there are efforts more and more open to view to destroy the faith of the working people in democratic government, but particularly in the legislative branches thereof. It seems, further, that definite efforts are put forward to either take away or to bring into contempt those very fundamental principles upon which popular government and organizations of mutual aid have been and still are based. These tendencies have received different names in different countries and they are expressing themselves with some variations in different places, but they are substantially the same everywhere. In Russia it is called the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, in Italy it the Dictatorship of the Middle Classes, in Bulgaria and Spain it is not so distinct and crystallized, but in

each the tendency and the action taken is unmistakable. The movement seems to be gaining great headway in Germany and is there known under different names and promoted by various parties, while here in the United States it may all be recognized under the well-known title of the I. W. W.

Let us not overlook the fact, however, that there are I. W. W. at the top of our industrial world, and that these are very influential and much more dangerous than the I. W. W. among the working people.

The I. W. W. among the working people could not influence the press sufficiently to fill it with gibes and sneers at the legislative branch of the government, while insidiously extolling both the executive and judicial.

If one were to go through the current daily literature, it would be found to be loaded down with propaganda against popular government, but more especially against the legislative branch thereof. The I. W. W. is carrying on extensive propaganda in traveling, printing and speaking at an expense which obviously has not been gathered from actual or prospective members of the cult. Here and there information crops out of money furnished to them. Here and there, we are informed, detective bureaus are guiding them, and it is beyond belief that such is done without ulterior purpose, and when we find the propaganda from above and below to be identical, we have a right to draw conclusions.

It is therefore reasonable, and we believe legitimate, to assume that a large part of the means with which the propaganda is carried on comes from those who are in sympathy with that propaganda and who have an abundance of means out of which to give.

The I. W. W. are not sent into virgin fields, but where the organizers of the

bona fide labor movement go, there they are sure to follow, and always for the purpose of destroying the efforts of legitimate unionism. Where there is an effort to improve conditions, they are sure to appear with their stickers, their literature and their speakers who begin secretly to instill distrust of any movement that would tend toward collective action. Where strong, well organized unions of labor exist and those unions are found to be too cohesive and too well entrenched for a general attack, the I. W. W. appear with their stickers and their propaganda to destroy the faith in the organization, the faith in the officers and the faith of men in each other. This is accompanied always by the exaltations of the principles laid down in the preamble and constitution of the I. W. W. When confidence is so shaken as to make it possible to use open propaganda, they promptly begin to use it. From open propaganda they go to open scabbing, spreading and exulting in a contemptuous disregard for all skill and of respect for creative work. When they have succeeded in gathering a sufficient number to follow their policy, they begin of their own motion a policy that distinctly tends to destroy the confidence of such members as they have gathered and to destroy hope of any improvement through collective action. When that is done, their work is finished, and they proceed elsewhere. They claim to be an industrial organization, when, as a matter of fact, they are a purely political one, using industrial conditions and industrial facts as a cloak.

Your committee feels that it is essential for the preservation of our organizations, our labor movement and our form of government that these facts should be carefully investigated, and that reports carrying authority should be made to the American people, but more especially so to the American working people.

We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to carry on such an investigation and to make from time to time such report thereon as shall be possible, and to the next con-

vention of the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, emphasized the note of warning sounded in the committee's report, and said, in part: When Mr. Dunne was in San Francisco last summer he was permitted to speak to the labor council. As he dressed for the part here the other day, so he dressed for the part there. He spent his time in a clever, covert way in trying to destroy all faith in the trade union movement. When he was through I asked him some questions, and he said of course it was very natural for Andy Furuseth to complain, because they had taken away his organization. Now I am telling you this just because I want you to understand that I am not of the complaining kind, because I believe in the idea that you must never beg bread from your friends or mercy from your enemies. You must live by your own strength or accept death, so I am not speaking here today out of any feeling for the Seamen. We are gradually learning to take care of ourselves in the matter.

I am speaking because I have given some study to this question; I have paid some careful attention to what the I. W. W. are doing, the principles upon which they claim to be based, and the different names they give themselves in different countries, and to me their plain purpose is to destroy not only the labor movement of this country, but of the world. The ladder with which the now governing classes mounted the rampart is of no value to them, and so their purpose is to destroy all the freedom and opportunity that labor has attained in the last one hundred years. Thus we see in every country from South Africa to Norway, from the eastern border of Japan to the Ural Mountains, the same tendencies in legislation and in administration. It is the destruction of republican or democratic government, the destruction of freedom of speech, of press, freedom of locomotion, and the right of assemblage. All these things were necessary before; they are not necessary now.

So you have in Russia one phase of it, in Bulgaria another, in Italy another, in

Spain another, in Germany another, or half a dozen, but the legislative proposition is substantially the same in every country, and that is the discrediting of the legislative branch of the government everywhere. That is the upper strata of this movement. The upper strata furnishes the means to carry on the agitation amongst the lower order, so-called, of society.

You cannot find anything for which the great employers stand that is not duplicated in the I. W. W. They are utterly opposed to everything; they are utterly opposed to legislation, they are utterly opposed to anything like the union shop, they are for the open shop, and they are for the proposition of issuing to all workers what should properly be called an industrial card. As the employer is utterly and absolutely opposed to any qualification of skill that he is bound to respect, so the I. W. W. stands in exactly the same position, and in their propaganda and in their literature they are advocating not only utter disregard of skill and the free transfer of men from the teamsters to the cooks, and from the cooks to the barbers, and so on, but they are claiming in their propaganda and in their stump speeches that there is no such animal in the jungle any more as skilled or creative labor.

They come through back doors and side doors into your occupation. They absolutely hide their activities until they have aroused sufficient distrust and disturbance in the mental attitude of the men so that they can go farther openly. They begin with their stickers in absolute secrecy, and you can't discover who issued them, you can't discover who put them out. It is an utter impossibility for them to find the means to do what they are doing.

The organization is the least expensive, the most effective and the most dangerous strike-breaking organization in this country. It makes no difference whether they work in the east or in the west, it is the same story. It makes no difference whether they are amongst the miners, the longshoremen or the woodsmen—as Mr. Dunne said to us in San Francisco: "We have made it impossible to organize

and to function with a union in any semi-skilled occupation." My latest information is that the woodsmen of the Pacific Northwest here, after having been called on four strikes this summer, all for the purpose of getting their prisoners out of jail, so they said, are getting sick of I. W. W. doctrines and policies and they are tearing up their red cards.

Whenever they bring about the arrest and trial of some of these men you will find that if the leader is caught in the net with the rest of the men he goes squarely up to the judge and says, "Your Honor, I am guilty." And His Honor lets him go. Why? I don't need to explain that to you; you know what human life is and I don't need to go any farther on that question.

The longshoremen and the seamen have suffered quite materially from these people on this coast. We seamen are gradually working out of it. We expelled some forty of them from our union; we don't tolerate any of them in it; we know their password so well that I have listened to it half a dozen times at least on this floor and recognized it for what it was. I hope some of them will get up now and dispute what I am saying.

As a result of the trouble that we have had, upon the request of the Longshoremen's delegates the representatives of that organization and the Seamen met here and we have come to an agreement to mutually assist each other in cleaning these people out. It isn't anything that you are particularly interested in, but it shows that not only the Seamen, but the Longshoremen as well, understand some of the things that they have had trouble with.

I hope you will adopt this report of the committee, and I feel satisfied when that is done the Executive Council will do whatever it can to expose this cult which is attacking the organizations of labor by its lower strata and the democratic forms of government the world over by its upper strata.

Delegate Madsen, Longshoremen, related in some detail the difficulties of the longshoremen on the Portland water front, which had been organized under

the Longshoremen's Union for the past twenty-three years. He said, in part:

"Our organization was composed largely of men who owned their own homes and who worked in perfect harmony with their employers up until about eighteen months ago, when they were suddenly informed that what we term the 'Fink Hall' would be established. President Gompers has had considerable experience in the past with the 'Fink Hall,' and through his assistance we were once successful in eliminating that thing from our water front. It is a system of registration giving the most intimate and personal information about a man, with entirely too many questions for any man who believes in the American principles of freedom and liberty, and it likewise makes up the most perfect system of blacklisting that there is in America today. The longshoremen in this city naturally refused to accept that system, and while the employers were still negotiating with a committee from our organization, without any notice, without any warning, an ultimatum was served upon the men on May 1 of last year that this institution would be established.

"The longshoremen struck against the 'Fink Hall.' The system they use is this: First they resort to the press, then the police, and in Portland the regular police force was not sufficient, and they employed a small army of extra special policemen. They threw a cordon of police around the 'Fink Hall,' and when that was not sufficient to break the spirit of the longshoremen they made arrangements with an organization known as Marine Transport Workers No. 510 of the I. W. W., with police protection, if you please, and with busses carrying the strike breakers they lined up in front of this Marine Transport Workers' headquarters, at 109 Second Street, Portland, and took six gangs out of there to break the strike of the longshoremen.

"By reason of the institution of that 'Fink Hall' in this city, men who had their homes here for thirty years were compelled to leave their families and go elsewhere for employment, and in many instances they were obliged to sell their property. That 'Fink Hall' carries with

it a system of blacklisting that has never been equaled any place in the country.

"I want to say that my colleague, Brother Furuseth, is the one man on the Pacific Coast in the American labor movement who has by word of mouth and by the printed word traced the history of the I. W. W., and anyone who has read that as carefully as I have can easily trace the unholy alliance that exists between certain employers and the I. W. W. I believe that those employers are as guilty and as responsible for the conditions that exist on the Pacific Coast and throughout the country as any other one factor, and I believe the blame should be placed squarely upon the shoulders of those men who are willing to use the I. W. W. to destroy the legitimate American labor movement.

"Therefore, I am going to ask the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, to turn the pitiless light of publicity and exposure upon that system, and when that is done it will kill the institutions that are now in existence on the Pacific Coast to crush the legitimate labor movement of this country and the American Federation of Labor will be able to function as effectively here as it does in other parts of the United States."

In the course of his remarks Delegate Madsen took occasion to compliment the blind editor of the Oregon Daily Journal for the splendid support given by him to the longshoremen in their struggle. His editorials, he said, were of great assistance to the men in enlisting public sentiment in their behalf.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees, added emphasis to the committee's report by saying that it was one of the most important questions before the convention and one that should not be passed over lightly by the convention or by the Executive Council. Continuing, he said:

"I am pleased with the action of the committee, and I feel that it should be impressed upon the Executive Council that a thorough investigation be made, and that the facts which come to some of us in connection with this matter be carried to all our central bodies, State

Federations and international officers. I realize that to the skilled trades it is not such a serious matter as it is to those of us who represent what are termed the semi-skilled workers.

"In my own organization, in our recent settlement in the city of Chicago, we were attacked as officers of that organization by the slanderous circulars and sheets of the I. W. W., after making a settlement affecting 20,000 street-car workers of that city, establishing thoroughly there the eight-hour day and a satisfactory wage to the majority. They went to work at once to sow the seed of discord among that vast army of men and women, many of them who never have an opportunity to attend their local union meetings or to learn the facts concerning their organization. This is a serious question to us in this occupation, where our members are beset in their homes with the slanderous circulars and publications of these people that are boring from within and trying to destroy our trade union movement.

"Therefore, I appeal to the Executive Council to take the recommendation of this committee seriously, and see to it that the information which comes to some of us is put in shape where it can be had and understood, for many of the workers are carried into the I. W. W. through misrepresentation."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Committee's Recommendations

Your committee would again direct the attention of the delegates to this convention, and through them the attention of the entire body of organized workers as represented by the American Federation of Labor, to a situation which has become increasingly acute. Its distressing features have been intensified by the general disturbance of social and industrial relations incident to the upheaval of affairs following the World War. We refer to the situation of the casual or migratory laborer.

It is not a new or novel proposition we present to the convention, but one which has come to your attention at various conventions and for which but one remedy has so far been presented, and it is not at all to our credit that

this remedy has not been effectively applied.

At the St. Louis convention in 1910, Resolution No. 44 was presented by the Seamen's delegation, and Resolution No. 86 was presented by Delegate O. A. Tveitmo, representing the United Laborers' Union No. 12992 of San Francisco. The "resolve" of Resolution No. 86, "That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to give particular attention and accord to this great mass of unskilled labor, and endeavor to perfect an international organization in accordance with the principles of the trade union movement and the laws of the American Federation of Labor," was adopted by the convention and with Resolution No. 44 was referred to the Executive Council.

At the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in 1911, President Gompers in his report dealt at great length with the subject matter of the resolution referred to him. This discussion will be found on pages 69-71 of the proceedings of the Atlanta convention, under the caption, "Migratory Laborers."

President Gompers recommended to the convention:

"The American Federation of Labor recognizes the fact that the migratory workers must be organized and that the labor and expense of so doing must be borne by the organized workers; its maintenance must be by the members themselves. A patronizing attitude would react and prove the undoing of the entire project of helping them to help themselves and to have them take their position side by side with the others in the ranks of the organized labor movement. Through the exertion of great energy in the labor movement of California, ten unions of migratory or casual laborers have been organized in that state within the past year and chartered by the American Federation of Labor. That work must be aided and supplemented by our Federation."

The Committee on President's Report at the Atlanta 1911 convention, referring to that part of President Gompers' message under the caption of "Migratory

Laborers," said: "We endorse his recommendations and, in addition, desire to say that in the condition of what is sometimes called the migratory worker, or the casual worker, or the hobo, lurks most serious danger, not only to our movement, but the whole of existing society. * * * We realize that the located and stationary worker of today may be the migratory worker of tomorrow; that our interests are, therefore, mutually interdependent; and, being such, it is our duty to ourselves and to the migratory workers to assist them to assist themselves. To that end we recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to devise methods by which migratory workers can be organized and to extend such money as is necessary to accomplish the purpose."

Again, at San Francisco, in 1915, your committee on Executive Council's Report presented to the convention a recommendation dealing with this topic, as follows: "Your committee would recommend that the city central bodies chartered by the American Federation of Labor be requested to take up this matter under the guidance of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with the view of putting organizers into this field. The cost of this work need not be large and the return from it in the industrial centers would, we believe, be very great."

Your committee would recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to call the attention of State Federations and City Central Bodies to the action of the Atlanta and San Francisco conventions on this subject, with the request that steps be taken to carry out the plans then adopted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, stated that he had accurate information to the effect that the great majority of those who were scabbing on the shopmen on the Pacific Coast and in intermountain territory carried the I. W. W. card.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Secretary McCullough: Your committee has given careful consideration to all matters which were referred to it. We

have listened to the arguments presented by the various parties concerned in the resolutions before this committee, and have completed our work in full, as shown in the foregoing report, all of which is respectfully submitted.

JAMES WILSON, Chairman,
COLLIS LOVELY,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
JOHN J. HYNES,
WM. L. HUTCHESON,
WM. P. CLARKE,
JOHN COEFIELD,
WM. A. CAMPBELL,
JAMES C. SHANESSY,
JERE L. SULLIVAN,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
T. W. McCULLOUGH, Secretary.

Delegate McCullough: I move the adoption of the report of the committee on Executive Council's Report as a whole, as amended by the convention. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers: This wonderful and beautiful basket of flowers, a product of Portland, was presented to me this morning with a note, and I am going to ask the secretary to read that note for the information of the convention.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

Portland Grade Teachers' Association, Inc., 331 Chamber of Commerce Building, Portland, Oregon.

Greetings from the Portland Grade Teachers' Association to President Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor, in sincere appreciation of what that body has done under his leadership to improve the status of women in industry, to protect the children of America from too early entry into industrial life, and to support and encourage progress in education.

LILIAN GOODSPEED,
Chairman Teachers' Affairs Com.
JULIA A. SPOONER, Pres.

President Gompers: May I first ask that the splendid testimonial from the Teachers' Association of Portland to the American Federation of Labor, through its President, be made part of the record? It is an appreciation which a body of teachers, men and women, have given expression to because they feel and know that, after all, we are doing the level best we can to help them and to help all who give service to society. Let me say, on behalf of the convention, that

this splendid tribute to our organization, to our movement and to our men and women must be gratefully and appreciatively accepted, and in your name, as well as my own, I convey to the teachers this manifestation of our appreciation. They are beautiful, they are wonderful, but better than all the spirit in which they are given is so beautiful and so wonderful.

A motion to include the testimonial note from the teachers as part of the record was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: I desire to make a motion that the subject matter handled by the Executive Council at their last session in New York, the controversy between the Bill Posters' International Union and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance in regard to the hanging of sheet metal signs, be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and further consideration. (Motion seconded.)

Delegate Jillson, Bill Posters, opposed the motion, calling attention to the fact that the dispute in question had been before the Executive Council on two different occasions, and that the question had been decided in favor of the Bill Posters. He stated that the dispute in question was more a question between the sign hangers and the bill posters than it was a question between the bill posters and the sheet metal workers, because the bill posters had no desire to claim jurisdiction over the making of any kind of signs, whether they be of metal or other materials. He pointed out that their organization was small and that they could not well afford the expense of sending representatives to additional conferences.

Delegate Hynes briefly urged the adoption of his motion, stating that his organization desired the Executive Council to become familiar with the intricacies of the dispute.

The motion offered by Delegate Hynes was adopted.

Secretary Morrison: Last week, during the report of the Auditing Committee, Delegate Mahon asked for information in regard to the fund for publicity purposes, mention of which you will find made at the bottom of page 17 of the report of the Executive Council under the caption,

"Fund for Publicity Purposes," as follows: "Contributions received from international unions upon request of President Gompers for publicity purposes showed receipts from February 3, 1923, to and including August 31, 1923, \$7,221.00, and expenses from March 26, 1923, to and including August 31, 1923, \$1,160.74, leaving a balance on hand August 31, 1923, amounting to \$6,060.26."

A motion was made by Delegate Tobin that the secretary furnish the delegates to this convention with the names of the organizations that made appropriations and the names of those to whom the money was paid. I wired for and received last Sunday the financial report covering this matter, and this is really the first opportunity I have had to bring it to the attention of the convention. With your permission I will request that a copy of this report, which contains four pages, be handed to each delegate for his information and in compliance with the instructions of the convention to the secretary.

Printed copies of the report were then distributed to the delegates.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Delegate Huddell, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate John H. Donlin:

WHEREAS, There has been a condition of turmoil and strife existing between the building trades mechanics and the contractors in the City of San Francisco during the past two years; and

WHEREAS, This condition of affairs has been constantly growing worse as a result of the activities of the Industrial Committee in that city continuing the attempts to keep the building trades mechanics and the employers in that city who desire to be fair, apart, in order that this committee may foster and advance the open shop movement in the City of San Francisco; and

WHEREAS, This Industrial Committee of San Francisco and neighboring cities has, by illegal and unlawful means, coerced the contractors in these cities who have endeavored to be fair with their employees to refrain from resuming such friendly relations as have heretofore existed between themselves and their employees in the city of San Francisco and vicinity; and

WHEREAS, These illegal and unlawful acts have been condemned by the Attorney-General of the United States and the Department of Justice and at-

tempts of prosecution of those responsible have been pending in both the State and Federal Courts during the past 18 months without any relief being accorded the injured parties in this conspiracy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 17th annual convention of the Building Trades Department, in convention assembled, does hereby insist that the Attorney-General of the United States and the officers of the Department of Justice proceed at once to prosecute all of those who are responsible for the continuing of these illegal and unlawful acts which have been and are now being carried on by the Industrial Committee of San Francisco, and which acts constitute a crime of conspiracy against the employer who desires to be fair and the building trades mechanics of San Francisco and neighboring cities in the State of California.

The foregoing resolution was concurred in by the Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, and referred to the American Federation of Labor for consideration and final action.

Your committee concurs in Resolution No. 41, and as the Executive Council has shown a keen interest* in this matter, your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for them to continue their efforts to have the authorities prosecute the offenders in San Francisco.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted, after Delegate Squibb, Granite Cutters, had appealed to the international officers to lend their efforts toward restoring the militant character of the trade union movement in San Francisco.

Secretary Huddell: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Building Trades, which is respectfully submitted and signed.

JOHN DONLIN, Chairman,
J. P. NOONAN,
D. D'ALESSANDRO,
FRANK FEENEY,
JOS. A. MULLANEY,
JOHN J. DOYLE,
JAMES A. SHORT,
PETER S. SHAUGHNESSY,
W. J. M'SORLEY,
EDWARD RYAN,
WM. C. WHITE,
JAMES REID,
RICHARD PATTISON,
JAMES MURPHY,
ARTHUR M. HUDDALL,

Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Conboy, secretary of the committee, presented the following supplemental report:

Resolution No. 46 was referred back to your committee for reconsideration. Several hearings were had, in which all parties interested were heard, and the committee now begs leave to report as follows:

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The success of the trades union movement depends in large part on the proper functioning of local and state central bodies; and

WHEREAS, These bodies can only efficiently serve the movement when they have the maximum affiliation and co-operation of all eligible locals, a condition that does not now exist owing to the refusal or neglect of these locals to conform to the spirit of the American Federation of Labor in effecting such affiliation in many instances; and

WHEREAS, Where voluntary affiliation is in effect the burden of carrying on the active work of local and state central bodies is borne by those unions whose virile membership maintain such membership or whose organic laws require such affiliation, a burden that could well be borne by all to the greater advancement of the movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43d annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that while we express appreciation for the continued efforts of the American Federation of Labor officers as well as those of affiliated national and international unions, in urging such voluntary affiliation, that we recommend to all of these affiliated organizations such changes in their organic law as will provide for the compulsory affiliation of all subordinate local unions with all regularly chartered local or state central bodies of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee gave this resolution careful consideration after all interested parties had been heard. We realize the confusion that exists at the present time in the minds of delegates to central bodies and state federations of Labor in dealing with questions outside of their jurisdiction which gives cause for local unions to withdraw or

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drop out, thereby weakening these central and state bodies. Not only that, but the actions of these central and state bodies create complications and cause trouble and annoyance for national and international unions and the American Federation of Labor as well.

These actions have reacted against central bodies and state federations of labor and resulted in impairing their usefulness in dealing with questions within their own sphere, thereby causing them to now ask that all local unions be compelled to affiliate with them. Your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor require all local trade and federal labor unions to become affiliated with central bodies under whose jurisdiction they are located, and that all local trade and federal labor unions and central bodies become affiliated with state federations of labor under whose jurisdiction they are located.

On the matter of affiliation of local unions of national and international unions with central bodies and state federations of labor, while we feel that it is desirable, advisable and necessary that they should do so, we doubt whether the best results would be obtained through an effort on the part of the American Federation of Labor to bring about that end by compulsion. In fact, the American Federation of Labor is a voluntary association of national and international unions and cannot take unto itself compulsory features in dealing with these national and international unions even by "recommendations."

Your committee therefore strongly urges the officers of national and international unions to see to it that their local unions become affiliated with city central and state bodies to the end that these bodies may more properly, correctly and efficiently serve the movement and fully carry out the objects, aims, purposes and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Easton, Flint Glass Work-

ers, spoke briefly and told of what had been accomplished in the State of West Virginia by the State Federation of Labor in combating legislation unfavorable to labor. He said that in the last State legislature there were introduced five bills which absolutely legalized the open shop in that State. One of these, he said, was even more vicious than the Kansas Industrial Court Law, and that still another forbade contracts of any kind, shape or character between employer and employee, carrying with it also a penitentiary offense for violation.

Had it not been for the efforts of the State Federation of Labor, he feared that the final outcome of these proposed measures might have been vastly different. He called attention to this, he said, because he wanted to show what was accomplished by his State Federation with the support of only a comparatively small number of the members of organized labor in that State, and what might be accomplished in the interests of labor if the various State and central bodies had the support of the full membership.

Delegate Short, Washington State Federation of Labor, speaking in support of the recommendations of the committee, appealed to the various international officers present to lend their co-operation in bringing all their local unions into affiliation with city central and state branches.

"In the last five years," he said, "in the State of Washington we have secured amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Law that have resulted in increased benefits to the workers in Washington aggregating more than a million dollars, and this was brought about with only about two-thirds of the local unions in the state affiliated with our State Federation. The other one-third reap the benefits without contributing a single penny. In the 1923 session of the State Legislature we succeeded in defeating fourteen measures hostile to labor, and it is not fair nor right that these campaigns should be conducted with only a portion of the local unions of our state

supporting the labor movement in its fight. A great deal more, at least a hundred per cent more, could be done in our state than has been done if we enjoyed the affiliation of all the local unions."

Delegate Campbell, Cigarmakers, said he felt the chief function of the city, central and state bodies was to educate their members to the importance of spending their money for union-made commodities and necessities of life.

Delegate Walker, Illinois State Federation of Labor, agreed with the sentiments expressed by former speakers to the effect that all local unions and members who enjoy the benefits of the work of the State Federations should be willing to assume their share of the burdens, financial and otherwise.

Continuing, he said: "However, past experience satisfies a number of men and women who are interested in this particular matter that it would be impossible at this time to secure an enactment or an amendment to the laws of the American Federation of Labor making provision for compulsory affiliation with city central and state branches, and I am not sure that under the unwritten law guaranteeing autonomy to the unions in their internal affairs they would have the right to enact such a law.

"However, there are some other elements entering into it, and that has been the attitude of the central bodies and state federations of labor in a great many matters in the past that have created a mental attitude on the part of international officials hostile to most of these bodies. They are recommending that all federal local unions and central bodies affiliate themselves with and keep in good standing with the state federations of labor under whose jurisdiction they are located. That is substantial progress, and I am quite sure that if the central bodies and state federations of labor will discontinue dealing with questions of jurisdiction as between international

unions, with the form the international unions shall take, with the national political activities and form of the American Federation of Labor itself, and other questions that are international in their scope, and confine themselves to dealing with the problems for which they were created, in the course of a year or two we will bring about an understanding and feeling upon the part of the international officers that will result generally in their taking such action as will bring about the affiliation of their local unions.

"I want to point out that in our recent session of the State Legislature in Illinois there were 137 measures injurious to the workers of our state and we were successful in defeating most of these. We are trying to secure the enactment of legislation in many states that will prohibit the use of injunctions in labor disputes. In Illinois we have about one-third of the membership of organized labor in the State Federation of Labor. The state has a total membership of three quarters of a million, and we have something like 260,000 in the State Federation. We came within one or two votes of putting over a law prohibiting judges of our state from issuing injunctions in labor disputes. Without question, if we had had all the trade unionists in Illinois in our State Federation, we would have been able to put that law on the statute books, and the influence there, as well as throughout our country, would have been of immeasurable value to the trade unionists and the workers generally."

In closing, Delegate Walker urged that the report of the committee be adopted and expressed the hope that in the coming year the officers of central bodies and state federations of labor would use their influence to keep their particular bodies from dealing with matters that are purely questions for the international unions or the American Federation of Labor, and confine their efforts to the problems for which they were created.

Delegate Hartwig, Oregon State Fed-

eration of Labor, said that neither the Oregon State Federation of Labor nor the Portland Central Labor Council could be charged with having gone outside their jurisdiction in attempting to handle questions over which they had no legal authority.

He expressed regret that many organizations stayed out of the central bodies and state federations because they were not in harmony with some of the actions of these bodies, and said that in his opinion the only way to remedy such a condition was for all the organizations to be on the inside and thus be in position to clean up any situation that might be disagreeable to them.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men, stated that the impression given by some of the speakers that the international unions and their officers pay no attention to this question was an erroneous one. In his own organization, he pointed out, there is a law requiring the local unions to attend central bodies and state federations. He said, however, that there were times when they could not compel their local unions to affiliate with these bodies.

"The officers of the international unions," he said, "appreciate the worth of your local and state federations, we know the legislative force of them, and we urge our organizations to affiliate, but when your state federations and city central bodies do not follow the laws and the policies of the American Federation of Labor, when you attempt to direct strikes, when you attempt to put on assessments that are illegal and that burden our local organizations, we do not compel our local unions to be affiliated.

"I have worked hard for these bodies and shall continue to work hard, but wherever I find a condition that is wrong I am not going to compel one of our local unions to affiliate on that condition. In the Amalgamated Association we are going to make our own laws for the direction of the association, and I believe when I express that

sentiment to you I express the sentiment of all the other international officers here present. We want to be helpful, we want to work in harmony with these bodies, and we will do so when they follow trades union principles as laid down by the American Federation of Labor."

Vice-President Green in the chair.

Several delegates called for the question.

Vice-President Green, however, recognized Delegate Duncan, of the Seattle Central Labor Council, who was on the floor when the question was called.

Delegate Duncan stated that a large majority of the local unions in Seattle were affiliated with the central body. He asserted that the central body there was responsible for the organization of the streetcar men in that city and had done much toward the maintenance of that organization, as well as for other organizations which had reaped the benefits held out by affiliation with the central body. He stated that in Seattle it had never been found necessary to use compulsory methods in attracting the local unions, and he urged that the central bodies and state federations elsewhere try to make their work so effective that the local unions would come in without pressure being exerted to bring them in.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate Ben Murphy, Rubber Workers' Union No. 17656:

WHEREAS, The rubber industry is a basic industry of this country in which there is no labor organization of any extent; and

WHEREAS, The local organizations in the principal rubber center, Akron, Ohio, are practically powerless, due to the industrial domination of the rubber interests; and

WHEREAS, Almost every international union would find organization work within their jurisdiction in the rubber industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 43d Convention of the A. F. of L. refer this matter to the Executive Council, to the end that they direct the attention of the various international unions to the conditions

of the labor movement in Akron, Ohio, and the rubber industry in general; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council take the necessary steps to further organization in the rubber industry.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution with the understanding that when the work of organizing these workers is undertaken, the rights, claims and autonomy of other affiliated organizations involved in this industry be protected to the end that jurisdictional disputes may be avoided.

Delegate Murphy, Rubber Workers, in discussing the question, said in part: "I would like to say a few words in support of the report of the committee and to call to the attention of the delegates here the extent of the rubber industry, which is hardly necessary, for if you do not use rubber tires you at least use rubber heels. The greatest evil we have is the speed, the nerve-racking work in that industry. They are putting in machines and employing women to run them. These women are more in need of protection than the men. I would like to call attention to the policies of the companies in maintaining present conditions and suppressing any feeling of discontent. One of their greatest policies is the turn-over of labor every couple of years. Skilled labor is unnecessary; it requires only two or three days on a machine to enable the worker to earn his pay.

"Another thing is the industrial assemblage maintained by the Goodyear Company in Akron. The representatives of the industry in that assemblage have no power except to discuss and make recommendations. These recommendations are easily abrogated by the management."

Delegate Murphy spoke of attempts that have been made to organize the rubber industry, and urged that help be extended by the American Federation of Labor. He cited the large number of unskilled workers in that industry and the conditions that prevail where large rubber plants are located.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Conboy: This completes the

report of our committee, which is signed by

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman,
SARA A. CONBOY, Secretary,
T. S. FARRELL,
CHARLES A. MOYER,
E. J. MANION,
FRANCIS W. WHEALE,
JOHN P. BURKE,
F. J. McNULTY,
WILLIAM J. SPENCER,
W. N. REDDICK,
HARRY GREENBERG,
W. D. HELT,
PHILIP BOCK,
E. E. MILLMAN,
Committee on Organization.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Delegate Mugavin, Secretary of the Committee: On page 144, first day's proceedings, Resolution No. 8, bearing on the affiliation of local unions to state branches, appears. I desire to move that permission be given to withdraw that resolution. (Seconded and carried.)

Chairman Ryan: Resolution No. 8 having been withdrawn, I desire to report that that concludes all the work assigned to the Committee on State Organizations. The secretary has the names of the committee and I desire that they be attached to the report.

MARTIN F. RYAN, Chairman,
JOHN T. MUGAVIN, Secretary,
FRANK GILLMORE,
WILLIAM M. MICHAELS,
MORRIS SIGMAN,
JAMES F. MURRAY,
JOHN SUAREZ,
E. G. HALL,
HENRY F. SCHMAL,
SAM SQUIBB,
FRED SCHULTZ,
FREDERICK M. YOUNGS,
WILLIAM YOUNG,
WILLIAM A. NEER,
PERCY THOMAS,
THOMAS McQUADE,
Committee on State Organizations.

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COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK-DAY

Delegate Hohmann, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 28 — By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, Horace A. Riviere and Gus Guiges:

WHEREAS, In the Southern States, where many textile mills are located, the longer work week prevails; and

WHEREAS, These states are so controlled by the textile interests, making it impossible to secure human remedial legislation for women and children who, through necessity, are compelled to toil for their existence; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of the longer work week is to exploit these women and children by forcing them to work from 54 to 66 hours per week; and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America are now and have been fighting against this abominable working condition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Committee on Shorter Work Week request through this convention that all National and International Unions having affiliated local unions in the south instruct their representatives and advise their local membership to aid the United Textile Workers in its fight for a forty-eight (48) hour work week.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers, in supporting the recommendation of the committee, said in part: It is our purpose to continue, if possible, an intensive campaign among the workers in the textile industries. We are striving to continue the fight in North Carolina, where we have two representatives; in Tennessee, where we have one representative in the city of Chattanooga, and we intend to send a representative to Columbus, Georgia. In all the mills of the South, after careful computation, I found somewhat over 400,000 people engaged directly in the textile industry. There are probably 15,000 men of the metal trades engaged in those mills of the South.

We have been assisted splendidly by many organizations, such as the carmen, some of which sent down representatives a short time ago, and a couple of years ago the American Federation sent two or three organizers to assist us. We were beaten back at that time, but to be beaten back once is nothing new in the history of the textile workers—we always

come up with a smile and are ready for another fight.

We come to you today, after going through an experience last year that few organizations have gone through, and ask that you assist us to organize those mills. If we can secure justice for our people in the mills there is a bright day in the future for the men and women in the mills of the South as well as in other states. It may be considered an imposition to request further aid, and I hope the day is not far distant when the membership we have and the membership we expect to gain by militant tactics in our branch of the industrial field will be able to support themselves.

We hope and trust that everything will be done by the officers of the international organizations that have representatives in the Southern field to pay some attention to the textile mills. The Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor have helped us, and I am pleased to thank them for it. We believe they will continue to help us in the future. No better or more fertile field exists for organizing than in the field that is now open in the Southern States.

The cotton barons are drunk with power; they are wielding the ax on organization wherever it springs up. They destroy the officers of local unions by putting them on the blacklist, and many of our men and women have trudged from state to state without being able to get employment because their names were on the blacklist. We ask you to assist us in that fight. Out of the 400,000 workers in the textile industry there, approximately 225,000 are women and children.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 43 — By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Wm. P. Hohmann, Chas. W. Redfern, Abram M. Steckle, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin; National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, Grace E. Talbott, J. C. Grady, H. W. McManus, National Federation of Federal Employees; Wm. M. Collins, B. E. Thompson, A. A. Sutton, Chas. Brown, Railway Mail Association;

T. J. McQuade, Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Saturday half holiday observance, which wage earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power, has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employees and employers; and

WHEREAS, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly period of rest and recreation for workers is becoming more general in its application in private industrial pursuits and in state and municipal governments; and

WHEREAS, In some instances notable progress has recently been made in applying this beneficial policy in Federal activities, with resultant benefits to the public and the employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the importance of the United States Government establishing and maintaining advanced employment standards, instructs the Executive Council to cooperate with the representatives of the affiliated government employees for the purpose of having the Saturday half holiday observance in government establishments extended to benefit every possible worker.

The committee recommended concurrence in the above resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORKDAY

In submitting its report to the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, your Committee on Shorter Workday desires to impress upon the delegates to this Convention the importance of dealing with this subject as fundamental. In it lies one solution of many of our industrial, social and economic ills; and we believe that only by universal establishment of a scientifically calculated shorter workday can we build a continuing and enduring condition of national and world prosperity; that by thus balancing production and consumption, and in that way only, can we solve the problem of unemployment and all its attendant social, industrial and economic ills.

The shorter workday is demanded in the interest of health, mental and moral development, and the general well-being of the workers. In its practical application the results realized have justified the position of organized labor.

In the present-day development and

use of labor-saving devices, the application of the shorter workday has become a necessity, if the worker is to enjoy a part of the increased production.

We can expect no continuing relief from those employers who place profits above the health and well-being of their employees. They rightfully assume that with more workers than jobs, wages can be forced to the lowest possible level. They assume that by mass production and the smaller portion accorded to labor, the greater the residue for themselves. In its final analysis their position is untenable. Reduced consumption destroys the balance and without fall brings ever-recurring periods of industrial depression and thus those who oppose the shorter workday, thereby denying to others a richer and fuller life, bring chaos and industrial ruin upon themselves.

Undoubtedly, unemployment is the greatest menace to established standards and the opportunity to raise those standards.

In the coal mining industry and in the printing trades the fight for a shorter workday has been waged with commendable determination. They have paved the way and your committee feels that the fight must be pressed and the field of action broadened to a point where every worker of this country shall be guaranteed the opportunity of continuous employment.

Your committee is of the opinion that in the realization of a shorter workday the destructive effects of unemployment will be eliminated and that the workers will thereby be enabled to enjoy that richer and fuller life to which all mankind is entitled.

CHAS. P. HOWARD, Chairman,
WM. P. HOHMANN, Secretary,
E. J. GAINOR,
E. J. MCGIVERN,
T. P. HYLAND,
BERNARD HOLLANDER,
P. J. KELLY,
M. J. SILLINSKY,
H. J. CONWAY,
LOUIS LANGER,
PETER BEISEL,
J. H. WEAVER,
THOS. F. McMAHON,
LEON WORTHALL,
JOSEPH REED.

Committee on Shorter Workday.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Treasurer Tobin: The constitution provides that the election of officers and the selection of a city in which to hold the next convention shall take place on the last day of the Convention. I therefore offer a motion that the election of officers and the selection of a convention city be

made a special order of business for 10:30 tomorrow, unless, however, the work of the Convention is terminated and we can proceed to the election before that time. (Seconded and carried.)

At 12:30 o'clock the Convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Tenth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m., Thursday, October 11, by President Gompers.

Absentees

Gillmore, Boyer, Holtschult, Austin, Brock, Keegan, W. E. Bryan, Askew, Hogan, Carey, Parker, Hannah, Funder, Burk, Thomas, Walden, Jewell, Ely, Altman, Morris, Winberg, Robinson, Pratt, Sturm, O'Dell, Keckler, Sims, Frampton, Mrs. W. F. Martin, Bower, Carl S. Evans, R. T. Wood, Thad Stevens, Alter, Saylor, Tyden, Jacques, Mezza-capo, A. J. Olsen, Rincker, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Elliott.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Delegate Charles J. Lammert, stating that he had found it necessary to return to the general office of the Painters, and certifying that Joseph T. Clark had been selected to serve in his place for the remainder of the Convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS

Delegate Joyce, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The following resolutions, No. 53, No. 62 and No. 73, deal with the subject that was discussed this morning. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates G. A. Von Schrlitz, of the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity, and O. R. Hartwig, of the Oregon State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A number of local unions affiliated with national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are not affiliated with Central Labor Councils and State Federations of Labor in localities where such councils and federations exist, which is in violation of principles of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor, resulting in much criticism of local central and state bodies which are endeavoring to promote peace and harmony within the local labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the city of Portland, Oregon, hereby requests all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, or which may hereafter become affiliated, to amend their constitutions and by-laws so that all local unions of national or international unions must affiliate with the local Central Labor Councils and State Federations where such councils and state federations exist; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor requests all affiliated national and international unions to strictly enforce the laws requiring all of their local unions to affiliate with the Central Labor Councils and State Federations of Labor.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate W. E. Hulsbeck of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The best interests of organized labor demand that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation shall by affiliation become members of their respective State Federations; and

WHEREAS, The machinery provided by the American Federation of Labor Constitution seems to be and is inadequate to compel that solidarity so necessary to the success of the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended to contain the following principle: "That National and International organizations shall compel all local unions under their jurisdiction to affiliate with their respective State Federations of Labor under pain of suspension of charter."

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Frank

Walsh of the California State Federation of Labor:

RESOLVED, That Section 2, Article XI, Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"All National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall make it mandatory upon their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor bodies, departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. The American Federation of Labor shall make the same requirement of all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction."

Secretary Joyce: As this subject was before the Convention this morning and action was taken at that time, your committee deems it unnecessary to act on these resolutions.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Constitutional Amendment

On page 36, Executive Council's Report, under the caption "Constitutional Amendment," the following recommendation is made by the Executive Council:

"For obvious reasons we recommend the amendment of Section 3, Article XI, of the constitution to read, 'where there are five or more local unions,' instead of 'one or more,' which would make the section read as follows:

"Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence."

Your committee concurs in the amendment to Section 3 of Article XI, as offered by the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

On page 37 of the report of the Executive Council the following paragraph appears:

Convention City

Each convention decides in what city the next convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be held. Because this is binding and not subject to change, the Executive Council in making arrangement for the convention and accommodations for the delegates often finds itself where it cannot get the right kind of a hall, secure its printing or hotel

accommodations for delegates for reasonable rates.

In every case when a city is proposed we are promised that it has the right kind of a hall, printing facilities and that hotels will not raise rates, but very often find that these promises are not carried out.

When conditions are not satisfactory or excessive rates are exacted, it should be possible to change the meeting place. Therefore, we recommend that the following words be added to Section 1 of Article III of the constitution:

"But if the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations cannot be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting."

Your committee has given this subject considerable thought, and, after discussing the situation from every angle, realizing the necessity and the importance of this change in the constitution, and being fully aware that the Executive Council will not abuse the power conferred upon it by said change, realizing that the Executive Council fully understands the seriousness of a preceding convention deciding where the next convention should be held, but believing that should an unlooked-for emergency arise, or should the representatives of the American Federation of Labor find it impossible to make satisfactory arrangements for the convention, we recommend that then, and only then, shall the Executive Council exercise the authority vested in it by this change in the constitution.

Having all of this in mind, your Committee concurs in the amendment as read, changing Article III, Section 1, of the constitution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Kovelski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, suggested that the report provide that where the headquarters hotel is selected the representatives of the American Federation of Labor ascertain if the restaurants and kitchens employ union help, and if they do not, that the delegates be not sent to such hotels.

Treasurer Tobin, Chairman of the Committee: The words "satisfactory arrangements" are used. The power is given to the Executive Council to take

all these things referred to by the delegate into consideration. It gives them general supervision over the arrangements for the headquarters hotel, but your committee insists that the Executive Council shall have substantial reasons before setting aside the action of the previous convention.

Delegate Kovelski: I still contend we should be mentioned in there. You mention rates and other things, but say nothing about the restaurants in the headquarters hotel.

The report of the committee was adopted by a vote of 135 in the affirmative to 27 in the negative, after a division had been asked for.

On page 37 of the Executive Council's report there appears the following:

1924 Convention

In view of the fact that a national election for the president, vice-president, members of the house and senate will be held in November, 1924, it seems inadvisable to hold our convention in that year at the time specified by the constitution. The energies of the officers and delegates to the convention will be required in the important work of the campaign. Under the provisions of the constitution, the convention would be held at a time when campaign activities would be at their height and the holding of a convention then would deprive the officers and delegates to the convention of the opportunity to participate in campaign activities for a period of from three to four weeks.

In view of these facts we recommend that the American Federation of Labor convention for 1924 be held during the period beginning November 17.

Your committee believes in the substance and spirit of this recommendation, but we also realize that were the recommendation adopted as read, it would necessitate the bringing of this subject before the convention every four years, or during a Presidential election, and while we realize that it means considerable inconvenience to change the date of the convention from the first Monday in October to the third Monday in November, this change of date would only occur once every four years, and we feel that the Executive Council in making this recommendation fully understood the seriousness of the situation and the necessity for the change.

We therefore offer the following substitute for the recommendation of the

Executive Council, dealing with Section 1, Article III, of the constitution, to read as follows:

"The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10:00 a. m. on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a Presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November."

Delegate Kovelski: I think we are very much interested in electing congressmen every two years. Those of us who are active are away from home now and the governor of our state asked us to help him elect a favorable assembly so he can put over laws labor needs. We elect the lower house every year. I must leave here Saturday to get back in order to register in New York State, to be able to vote.

Delegate Doyle, Painters, stated that he would not be able to register because of his attendance at the convention, and urged that some way be provided to allow the delegates to be in their own states a sufficient time before the election date to enable them to work for the political candidates they favor. He stated that he was not in accord with the committee's report.

Chairman Tobin: Your Committee on Laws, in making its report, has slightly changed the recommendation of the Executive Council, which would prevent the same subject coming before the convention each year. There is not a man on the Executive Council that I know of who, if he were to take his personal feelings into consideration, would not much rather have the convention held in October than in November. It seems we somewhat lost sight of this question when we changed the date from June to October. So I say it is not a question of the personal feelings of the Executive Council; it is a question of the Council making a recommendation to this convention that is of interest to the toilers of our nation.

Those who have spoken have not

seriously found fault with the change, but they feel the election of congressmen is as important as the election of a president, and for that reason they think we ought to change the date every two years instead of every four years. If this report is adopted it will provide for next year, and then if you desire to make some further change you can do so. Next year there is a congressional election, and members of the senate are to be elected as well as a president.

President Gompers: Having my legal right to vote in the City and State of New York, I, too, am deprived of an opportunity to register and therefore cannot vote in the election during the coming months. The proposal of the committee is to at least tide over the difficulty of the year 1924. If that is accomplished, in the convention of 1924 we can meet the other emergencies as they arise.

Delegate Healy, Firemen, spoke of the necessity of having the convention at a date that would allow the delegates and officers of the organizations, not only to be in their states to register and vote in the election, but for a period before the election in which they can work for candidates they desire to have elected. He called attention to the work done by representatives of organized labor in the election in New York state in which Senator Calder was defeated and Dr. Royal Copeland elected in his place, thus defeating an enemy and electing a friend.

The Chair announced that it required a two-thirds vote to amend the constitution.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: In order that there may be no doubt as to the result, I move that we have a roll call vote on this amendment.

The request for a roll call was not supported by the required number of delegates, and a division was asked for. This request was granted, and the secretary announced that 198 votes had been cast for the report of the committee, and 14 votes against the report of the committee.

President Gompers: The report is

adopted and the amendment to the constitution is made.

Secretary Joyce: The committee recommends that the terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the 31st day of December, succeeding the convention. (Seconded and carried by unanimous vote.)

Secretary Joyce: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman,
MARTIN T. JOYCE, Secretary,
DENNIS LANE,
WM. H. JOHNSTON,
JAMES F. HOLLAND,
DANIEL J. McDONALD,
PETER COOK,
A. J. KUGLER,
CHARLES ANDERSON,
FRANK FARRINGTON,
WM. QUINLAN,
BERT CHILDS,
WM. M. COLLINS,
PAUL SCHARRENBURG,
FRANK DOYLE,
F. L. CARLIN.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Birmingham, Ala., Oct. 7, 1923.
American Federation of Labor, in Convention.

Samuel Gompers, President, Portland, Oregon.

Committee of allied labor organizations of Birmingham, Alabama, by motion adopted today, urge the convention to go on record as opposed to Senator Underwood for president of the United States.

ARCHIE B. WARNER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Delegate Bowen stated that the telegram expressed the position of organized labor with regard to Senator Underwood. He said that he had been unfriendly to labor measures in Congress, and read the following statement by Senator Underwood, made on January 2, 1920, before the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce:

"I am probably more responsible for the labor clause in the Cummins Bill than any man in the Congress of the United States, because I originated it."

The telegram was made part of the proceedings of the convention.

The following telegram was read by the secretary:

Washington, D. C., Oct. 5, 1923.
Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Portland, Oregon.

Redrafting Immigration Restriction Bill proceeding on lines of last Spring's bill, except the blood relatives are lim-

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ited to two per cent 1890 census, in addition to the other two per cent, and that efforts are being made to revise paragraphs relating to alien seamen. Alien code plan contemplates three units: One, immigration; two, naturalization; three, revision and tightening Chinese exclusion. Immigration unit to be handled first.

ALBERT JOHNSON.

Secretary Morrison: I move that this telegram be incorporated in the minutes of the convention and referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action. (Seconded and carried.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Delegate Carey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates James P. Noonan, G. M. Bugnizet, F. J. McNulty, Julia S. O'Connor, Edward Barton, Martin T. Joyce and H. H. Kirkland of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America, an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which at the time of its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor specifically agreed that its jurisdiction would not trespass upon the jurisdiction of organizations already affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, During the period of federal control the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen did agree with the Railroad Administration and in the presence of officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers that it would not claim jurisdiction over any employee on the railroad who was employed for 50 per cent or more of his time doing work recognized as coming under the jurisdiction of the Electrical Workers; and

WHEREAS, Before and during the railroad strike in July, 1922, the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America has been consistently organizing men who are employed at work recognized as coming under the jurisdiction of the Electrical Workers far more than 50 per cent of their working time; and

WHEREAS, The organization known as the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America is organizing and attempting to organize and soliciting as members employees on the railroads such as division linemen, linemen and other electrical workers whose whole time is devoted to electrical work; and

WHEREAS, This situation is inimical to the interests of not only the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, but all of the other crafts affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department, because of inability to secure adjustments for the men involved, due to this insidious practice; and

WHEREAS, This condition of affairs

can only inure to the benefit of the railroad companies and be prejudicial to the interests of all the men involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be empowered and instructed to call a conference of the officials of the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in accord with the laws of the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment of the existing disputes and basis for harmonious relations in the future, and that such conference be called not later than six months after the adjournment of this convention, either in Washington, D. C., at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or in Chicago, Ill., the headquarters of the Railroad Employees' Department, as may be selected and designated by the President of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to meet with and advise such conference when it meets or, in the event of his being unable to do so, that he designate a representative to act for him in the premises to the end that further controversy inimical to the interests of all concerned, and the labor movement generally, be avoided.

The representatives of both the organizations affected by the foregoing resolution appeared before your committee and agreed to meet in the city of Chicago, in the month of February, 1924, President Gompers, by correspondence with them, to arrange the exact date in that month of the conference.

Your committee endorses this arrangement and recommends that the convention approve same.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates M. A. McConnell, Albert Peterson, A. M. Huddell and Dave Evans, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and the Quarry Workers' International Union entered into an agreement on October 18, 1921, for a period of two years; and

WHEREAS, This agreement provided that no wage scale would be made by either organization without the consent of the other; and

WHEREAS, A strike occurred in the granite industry, which lasted several months; and

WHEREAS, When this strike was settled, the Quarry Workers' International

officers insisted upon agreement being signed with their International Union for engineers; and

WHEREAS, The local unions in Barre, Vt., and Concord, N. H., insisted upon engineers joining their local union, this being done under the direction of their international officers; and

WHEREAS, the above named action was in direct violation of the agreement entered into; and

WHEREAS, When this matter was called to the attention of President Gompers and a conference was asked for, the representatives of the Quarry Workers refused to meet in conference, and from January, 1923, up to the first of May of that year continual correspondence was kept up by President Gompers, trying to bring about a conference at any time or place agreeable to the Quarry Workers; and

WHEREAS, Such failure to meet showed an entire disregard on the part of the Quarry Workers for the agreement entered into, and disrespect to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Quarry Workers' International Union be and is hereby ordered to notify the firms in Barre, Vt., and Concord, N. H., that the Engineers' Local Unions in those states have a perfect right to sign agreements for the employment of engineers in the quarries; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to notify the Quarry Workers' International Union that the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has jurisdiction over men engaged in the operation of engines in quarries; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of the Quarry Workers' international officers not notifying the firms in Barre, Vt., and Concord, N. H., about the rights of the engineers' locals in those places, the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to send such notice to the firms involved.

Your committee heard the representatives of the Engineers, the introducers of this resolution, and also the representative of the Quarry Workers' International Union, and finds that both parties to this controversy, on October 18, 1921, entered into the following agreement:

Agreement Between the International Union of Quarry Workers and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

Both parties hereto, representing their respective organizations, which are involved in a jurisdictional dispute, are desirous of promoting harmony and friendship between the two organiza-

tions, and with that in view, agree as follows:

That in the organizing of the Quarry Workers in new fields, when there are enough engineers to form an Engineers' Local, it shall be done; but if not, the engineers shall join the Quarry Workers' International Union until a sufficient number has been organized in that field to form a local of the engineers, when they shall be turned over to that International Union.

Both parties hereto further agree to call no strike and make no wage scale where the interests of either organization are affected, without the consent of the other.

This agreement to be in force for two years.

(Signed) ARTHUR M. HUDDALL,
President International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

(Signed) FRED W. SUITOR,
Secretary International Union of Quarry Workers.

Witnessed by: (Signed) T. A. Rickert,
Vice-President American Federation of Labor.

Executed at Washington, D. C., on this day, October 18, 1921.

Your committee, therefore, concurs in Resolution No. 55, and recommends its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Sutor, Quarry Workers, opposed the report of the committee, and contended that jurisdiction over all quarry workers belongs to the organization he represents. He stated that when the Quarry Workers' Union was established in 1903 it was made up of a number of local unions composed of all classes of wage earners employed in and about quarries. He called attention to the fact that of the nine men whose names are on the application for the international charter three were quarry engineers. He pointed out that the jurisdiction claims of the Quarry Workers have been affirmed several times; that he felt the jurisdiction claimed by his organization was not out of harmony with the laws and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Sutor called attention to the fact that the United Mine Workers claim jurisdiction over engineers, firemen and all wage earners in and around the mines, that this jurisdiction is never questioned, and that similar jurisdiction should be given the Quarry Workers. He objected

to the effort of the Steam Engineers to take from the Quarry Workers men over whom they have had jurisdiction, as these men are a very important part of their membership and if they were to build a Quarry Workers' organization on a solid foundation it was necessary to retain this class of employees.

Delegate Sutor said that the charter had been granted to the Quarry Workers, and at the time it was granted no protests were entered by any other organization to their jurisdiction claims, and he felt they were justified in retaining all the classes of membership that were included in their claims when the charter was applied for.

Delegate Sutor discussed at some length a conference held with the Engineers in Washington; he also discussed the aid that had been given his organization during the recent strikes in which its members have been engaged, and expressed his appreciation of that help. He spoke briefly of the present condition of the Quarry Workers, and urged that nothing be done that would prevent them from building up their organization.

Delegate Huddell, Steam and Operating Engineers, supported the report of the committee, and in opposing the claims of Delegate Sutor said in part: "It is true that in the organization of the Quarry Workers there was an engineer. His name was McCarthy and he held the position now held by Delegate Sutor, Secretary-Treasurer of the organization. He never claimed to have jurisdiction over the engineers in the quarries; but where there were small numbers of them, not enough for a local, he took them into the Quarry Workers, and the same thing was done in the case of the firemen and other unions. When there were enough engineers to form a local, he desired us to take them over.

"In Massachusetts we have had engineers in the quarry centers every since they were organized, and even before the Quarry Workers were organized, and we assisted them in organizing in different sections. During the months the men were on strike in Granitville we paid strike benefits to the engineers, and we

granted them strike permission. In Concord, N. H., they applied for strike permission, it was granted, and we paid those men strike benefits.

"Delegate Sutor bases his claim on the words 'Quarry Workers.' He claims the term gives him jurisdiction over the entire work, and if he could reach the strength he desires it would reach the granite cutters as well, because he would claim them as quarry workers. I have worked harmoniously and successfully with them and I have worked harmoniously and successfully with other men."

Delegate Huddell also discussed the conference in Washington, the agreement made between the representatives of the two organizations, its carrying out and many other things mentioned by the previous speaker.

Delegate Squibb, Granite Cutters, discussed the question briefly, and asked the delegates to not concur in the report of the committee. He spoke of the condition of the Quarry Workers' organization, the difficulties they have encountered in organizing, and urged that the danger to that organization be not increased by adopting the report of the committee.

Chairman Rickert, in explaining the report of the committee, said in part: "The Engineers' organization was chartered by the Federation about seven years before the charter was granted to the Quarry Workers. At the time the Quarry Workers received their charter there was no protest by the Engineers and for a number of years they worked harmoniously, as stated by the president of the Engineers. There is a record that for a number of years when there were only a few engineers in a locality the Quarry Workers had them in their organization. When their number increased they were turned over to the Engineers.

"At the conference held in Washington the agreement was signed by both parties in my presence. The representatives of both organizations said that when there was a sufficient number of engineers to form a local union

they should be turned over to the Engineers' organization."

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 119 in the affirmative to 32 in the negative.

Secretary Carey: This concludes the work of your committee.

Respectfully submitted,

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman,
D. A. CAREY, Secretary,
EDWARD FLORE,
J. B. ETCHISON,
J. W. KLINE,
H. B. PERHAM,
JOS. N. WEBER,
PHILIP MURRAY,
JOHN M. GILLESPIE,
M. F. TIGHE,
WILLIAM CANNANAN,
ROBT. W. BEATTIE.

Adjustment Committee.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Vice-President Rickert in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Flaherty, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Immigration

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption "Immigration," pages 39-40, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its effective vigilance in repelling the open and the covert attacks on existing immigration laws from those reactionary forces that would flood our country with aliens for industrial exploitation.

It is apparent that this vigilance should be maintained until there has been a complete rout of the advocates of unrestricted immigration. More, organized labor might well take the offensive in urging upon the 68th Congress the need for more stringent restrictions than now obtain.

We recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to advocate before the 68th Congress a more stringent immigration policy under which immigra-

tion shall be curtailed below the present quotas.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee considered jointly Resolutions No. 60 and No. 74, dealing with the immigration question. They are as follows:

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate O. R. Hartwig of the Oregon State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In June, 1924, the present laws governing immigration will expire; and

WHEREAS, Labor, as pointed out by the Executive Council's report, should make every effort to prevent those who would flood our country with cheap foreign labor from doing so; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby demand that Congress pass a law suspending immigration for a period of five years, at the end of said time a general naturalization day to take place for those who are fit to become citizens, and those who are not fit to be deported at once, and provision to be made for those who have wives and children in foreign lands, who have become citizens.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Morris Sigman, Louis E. Langer, Louis Pinkofsky, Max Amdur, Harry Greenberg, Luigi Antonini, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Ever since the founding of the republic it has been the policy of the United States to offer an asylum to all victims of racial, religious and political persecution in the old world; and

WHEREAS, The general political, industrial and moral upheaval of Europe following upon the heels of the devastating world war has produced many renewed outbreaks of religious intolerance, racial oppression and religious persecution, driving thousands of unfortunate men and women from their native land, the American Federation of Labor, assembled in its 43d annual convention at Portland, Oregon, hereby declares that regardless of any provision of the immigration laws of this country, now in force or hereafter to be adopted, and of any restrictions contained in such laws, the United States should at all times maintain the glorious tradition of keeping its doors open to the victims of racial, religious and political persecution in all lands.

Your committee, in its consideration of the general principle of immigration as discussed in the Executive Council's

Report, has recorded its view that the Council should seek further restrictions on alien immigration. Therefore, we recommend reference of Resolutions Nos. 60 and 74 to the Executive Council to be considered in the light of legislative developments on the immigration question before the 68th Congress.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Coolie Labor for Hawaii

Under the caption, "Coolie Labor for Hawaii," page 83, Executive Council's report, we condemn the action of the House and the Senate Immigration Committees in reporting favorably bills permitting the importation of 50,000 Chinese coolies into the Hawaiian Islands.

There is no shortage of labor in Hawaii, according to those in close touch with the situation, and the importation of coolie labor therefore can be viewed as an unwarranted assault upon the Chinese immigration restriction principle. For any importation of coolie labor into Hawaii carries with it the potential danger that it may be extended to the United States.

We recommend a reaffirmation of the position of the A. F. of L. in firm opposition to any change of immigration policy as applied to Asiatic labor.

In this connection your committee considered Resolution No. 86:

Resolution No. 86—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Paul Scharrenberg of the International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, The terrible calamity which recently befell the people of Japan has justly aroused universal sympathy throughout America; and

WHEREAS, There is serious danger that this sympathy for a stricken people is likely to be guided into channels that have always obstructed labor's demand for the effective exclusion of Asiatics; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in 43d Annual Convention assembled, that we hereby reaffirm our previous declaration upon immigration legislation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we again urge Congress to hereafter deny admission, as immigrants and permanent residents, to all aliens who are ineligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States.

This is a reaffirmation of the position of the American Federation of Labor on the subject of Asiatic exclusion and your committee concurs in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to

adopt the report of the committee on the subject of "Coolie Labor for Hawaii" and Resolution No. 86.

Delegate Scharrenberg, in discussing the matter, called attention to the fact that seventy years ago ninety per cent of the people in the Hawaiian Islands were native-born Hawaiians, and that today only nine per cent of the people there were native, about fifty per cent of the residents there being Japanese; more than 50,000 Japanese are Hawaiian-born and thus entitled to come to any part of America whenever they so desire.

He read figures from a report of a post of the American Legion showing that in the registration for the draft during the world war the total registration in Hawaii was 41,541, and of that number the alien and alien enemy registration amounted to 31,535, out of which number only 542 indicated that they desired to become American citizens. The total number of Japanese registered was 21,484, or a little more than one-half of the entire registration, and of that number only thirty expressed the desire to become American citizens.

He called attention to the large Japanese population already in the United States, particularly on the Western coast, and said that in his belief the rapidly increasing numbers of this race constituted one of the gravest problems facing the American people today.

Delegate Sullivan, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, read quotations from a Japanese publication tending to show that their aim at all times was to increase and multiply their numbers in this country in order to meet the anti-Japanese, or, as they referred to it in their publication, the American-Japanese problem. He said that it was not only a problem for California, but that it was one of increasing importance in all the Western States and in other sections of the country as well. In New York, for instance, he pointed out, there were employment agencies at work endeavoring to displace the men and women of the white race with workers from the Orient. Like Delegate Scharrenberg, he felt that the question was a very serious one and one that must have more earnest atten-

tion on the part of the American people than it has had in the past.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Shortage of Labor

Under the caption, "Shortage of Labor," page 136, Executive Council's report, your committee fully concurs in the judgment of the Council that the utmost vigilance should be maintained by our immigration officials to prevent evasion of the immigration laws.

It is recommended that the Council take proper action to see that the 68th Congress appropriates a sufficient amount of money for the upkeep and maintenance of the immigration service so that this important utility may properly function.

It is futile to enact immigration laws and then fail to provide efficient administrative agencies to make them effective.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Convict Labor

Under the caption, "Convict Labor," pages 90-91, Executive Council's report, your committee notes with hearty approval the determination of the Executive Council to renew in the sixty-eighth Congress the fight for the protection of free labor against convict labor competition. The agitation for this needed legislation should be continued vigorously until the exploitation of convict labor is legally outlawed by the Federal statutes.

Furthermore, your committee is of the opinion that, concurrently with the agitation for Federal legislation, there should be agitation in the several states for restrictive state legislation.

We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to call a conference of the representatives of the affiliated trade unions affected by the competition of convict labor with the view of devising effective means of abolishing this menace.

In this connection your committee considered Resolutions Nos. 6 and 21, which are as follows:

Resolution No. 6.—By Delegate W. M. Short, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The manufacture of garments and other commodities in the various state prisons constitutes one of the gravest menaces confronting the workers

employed in the garment making industry; and

WHEREAS, The purchasing public of our country is being deluded into purchasing millions of dollars' worth of such garments and commodities annually without the knowledge of their manufacture by prison labor; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of our nation demand the fullest protection the government is capable of for all free labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we petition the United States Congress to enact legislation prohibiting the manufacture and sale of any and all commodities in state and federal prisons that enter into competition in the open market with the products of free labor.

Resolution No. 21.—By Delegate John H. Walker of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Many of our State prisons are engaged in the manufacture of overalls, shirts, brooms, and various other articles; and

WHEREAS, These commodities are being sold in the open market and at retail prices far below that of similar articles manufactured by organized workers under union conditions throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, This unfair competition is working a great hardship on our organized crafts by undermining production costs, and will eventually lower our standards of living by reducing our earning power; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, through its accredited officers, communicate with all State Federations of Labor affiliated with the A. F. of L., urging them to use every means in their power to abolish this unfair competition, and keep up the fight continuously until all convict labor, wherever it enters into competition with free labor, is stamped out forever; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this matter be brought to the attention of the A. F. of L. at its convention to be held in Portland, Oregon, next month, by the delegates representing the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends that Resolutions Nos. 6 and 21, considered in conjunction with that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Convict Labor," be referred to the Executive Council for its consideration.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Manning, Union Label

Trades Department, discussed the question briefly, calling attention to the fact that in the average penitentiary, where the contract system is in force, the prisoners have the choice of but one or two industries, regardless of what their previous calling may have been, that the largest of these was the shirt making industry, the second largest the binder twine industry, and another large one the making of brooms. Ninety-two per cent of the states which deal in the contract system, he said, provide that none of the products made in the prisons shall be sold within the boundaries of the States making the contract.

He stated that labor was anxious to stop this exploitation of the human element involved, and that if the policy outlined by the committee and the recommendation of the Executive Council were acted upon whole-heartedly by the representatives of State Federations and International Unions whose members are involved, it would not take so long to make real progress in the future as it has in the past.

Failure of Congress

Under the caption "Failure of Congress," page 81, Executive Council's report, we concur in the Council's observation that "the 67th Congress will find an unenviable place in history." We are heartened, however, by the knowledge that the overwhelming repudiation of this Congress by an outraged people will bring into the 68th Congress a greatly changed personnel from whom better results are confidently expected.

In this connection your committee considered that part of the Executive Council's Report, pages 79-80, under the caption:

Report on Labor Legislation

There are enumerated under this caption various legislative measures that were enacted into law by the 67th Congress. There are also enumerated other measures that were defeated through the vigilance of organized labor.

In view of the fact that the 67th Congress was in session for the most part during a period of industrial and political reaction, the record made by organized labor in defeating hostile

legislation and securing some measures beneficial to the workers is an excellent one, and your committee commends the Council upon it.

The report of the committee was adopted.

"Lame Ducks" Menace of Progress

Under the caption "'Lame Ducks' Menace of Progress," page 81, Executive Council's report, the Council very pertinently points out the incongruity existing in our National legislative procedure whereby defeated members of Congress are still vested with authority to function as legislators after having been repudiated by their constituencies.

We believe that legislation along the line of the Norris Bill, which passed the Senate in the 67th Congress and which provided for the new Congress meeting in the January following the election, should be promptly enacted into law and we direct the Executive Council to take appropriate steps in endeavoring to accomplish this end.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Sales Tax

Under the caption "Sales Tax," page 82, Executive Council's report, we approve the Council's observations regarding the danger of the sales tax. It is significant that the principal sponsor of this pernicious proposal is Senator Smoot of Utah, the arch reactionary of the Senate, whose only concern for the wage earners appears to lie in looking for opportunities to further exploit them.

Representative Frear of Wisconsin, the courageous progressive, has earned Labor's commendation for his fearless denunciation of the Smoot taxation scheme.

We urge the forces of Labor to be on guard at the forthcoming session of Congress to fight vigorously any attempts by the Smoots in Congress to foist this discriminatory form of taxation upon the wage earners.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Naturalization

Under the caption "Naturalization," pages 84-85, Executive Council's report, we concur in the judgment of the Coun-

cil that any policy of registering aliens, such as was proposed in the 67th Congress, would react to the disadvantage of the workers by placing additional power into the hands of Federal judges to intimidate strikers from the exercise of their rights. More, it has many other dangerous aspects, as the Council points out in its report.

We recommend, in view of the potential danger of this proposal, that the Executive Council use every effort to defeat any legislation of this kind which may be introduced in the 68th Congress.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Trade Union Legislative Conference Committee

Under the caption "Trade Union Legislative Conference Committee," pages 45-46, Executive Council's report, your committee approves whole-heartedly the organization of a Trade Union Legislative Conference Committee in Washington, D. C. This committee has already rendered signal service in developing team work among the union legislative representatives.

It is recommended that copies of the synopsis of the minutes of these meetings of the Legislative Conference be sent to the officers of all national and international unions in order that they may be kept informed on legislative activities in Washington.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Post Office Night Work

Under the caption "Post Office Night Work," page 87, Executive Council's report, it is gratifying to note that considerable progress was made during the 67th Congress toward a reduction of postal night work requirements by the establishment of a time differential between the hours of six p. m. and six a. m.

We recommend that the Council continue its co-operation with the affiliated postal organizations in advocacy of this just concession for the postal night workers.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Civil Service Retirement Law

Under the caption "Civil Service Re-

tirement Law," page 87, Executive Council's report, the Council is commended for its aid in bringing about improvements in the Retirement Law and we recommend a continuation of this close co-operation with the bona fide affiliated government employees in all efforts to strengthen this humane law, which is of such great value in stabilizing government employment.

In connection with this subject your committee considered Resolution No. 37, which is as follows:

Resolution No. 37—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Wm. P. Hohmann, Chas. W. Redfern, Abram M. Steckle, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, Grace E. Talbott, J. C. Grady, W. H. McManus, National Federation of Federal Employees; Wm. M. Collins, B. E. Thompson, A. A. Sutton, Charles Brown of the Railway Mail Association; T. J. McQuade of the Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union:

WHEREAS, After continued agitation on the part of organized government employees, supplemented by the effective co-operation of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of the United States enacted legislation establishing a Federal retirement system under which aged employees are retired on service annuities; and

WHEREAS, While this Federal civil service retirement system has had a stabilizing effect on government employment and has brought relief to many superannuated government employees, it is evident, from a close observance of the operation of the law, that it would be greatly improved if promptly amended in at least two respects, viz: the annuities should be increased above the present inadequate rates; and, secondly, eligibility for optional retirement should be based on length of service, not to exceed 30 years; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to continue to give its assistance to the affiliated government employees in securing from the 68th Congress the remedial legislation required to correct these inadequacies in the present federal retirement system.

Your committee concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

At 5:30 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 a. m. Friday, October 12.

Eleventh Day—Friday Morning Session

Portland, Ore., October 12, 1923.

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock a. m., President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees

Gillmore, Holtschult, Austin, Brock, Keegan, Bryan, Askew, Hogan, J. T. Carey, Parker, Winberg, Robinson, Pratt, Sturm, O'Dell, Keckler, Sims, Frampton, Mrs. Martin, Bower, Carl S. Evans, R. T. Wood, Wm. Meyer, Thad Stevens, Alter, Tyden, Jacques, Mezzacapo, Olsen, Rincker, Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Eliott.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Topeka, Kansas, Oct. 11, 1923.
Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, City Auditorium, Portland, Oregon.

Topeka Industrial Council, in regular session, unanimously invites your convention to Topeka next year. Topeka is the center of the country. It is the birthplace and home of the Industrial Court and the home of the Santa Fe Railroad. We can take care of the convention.

(Signed) A. W. ERSKINE, Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Flaherty, secretary of the committee, continued the report, as follows:

Bonus for Federal and District Employees—Reclassification

Your committee considered these two subjects in the Executive Council's Report together.

Under the caption, "Bonus for Federal and District Employees," it is heartening to note that under the operation of the Classification Act, which becomes effective July 1, 1924, the annual fight for a continuation of the bonus for Federal and District of Columbia employees will no longer be necessary. Hereafter, under the provisions of the Classification Act, the bonus will be part of the base pay.

Under the caption, "Reclassification," page 91, Executive Council's Report, it is

gratifying to note that the long fight for the adoption of the principles embodied in the Classification Act is nearing a successful end. The Executive Council and the organized government employees affected by this long-sought legislative reform are commended for achieving substantial results from a Congress that was reluctant to heed Labor's wishes.

Having won the legislative fight, organized labor must now watch carefully the administration of the Classification Act so that the intent of Congress is not nullified by restrictive or reactionary interpretations.

We therefore recommend that the Executive Council use its best endeavors to see that the workers affected by this legislation are not deprived of its benefits through faulty administration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Wm. P. Hohmann, Chas. W. Redfern, Abram M. Steckle, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, Chas. Brown, B. E. Thompson and A. A. Sutton, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States on June 5, 1920, in response to an aroused public opinion, stimulated by the affiliated postal organizations and the trade union movement, enacted legislation establishing higher pay rates for Postal Employees; and

WHEREAS, This wage was accepted by the Postal Workers with the expectation that its adequacy would be enhanced through a reduction in living costs; and

WHEREAS, The experience of the past three years has fully demonstrated the inadequacy of the Postal Wage Award of June 5, 1920, as reflected in an increasing labor turn-over and the great difficulty in getting efficient workers to

enter or to remain in the Postal Service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the importance of providing sufficient and dependable manpower for the necessary public utility, and appreciating the justice of paying adequate wages to experienced employees, instructs the Executive Council to co-operate in every possible way with the affiliated postal organizations in urging upon the 68th Congress the need for a substantial increase in postal pay rates.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers, supported the committee's report and said, in part: The whole purpose of this resolution will not have been achieved, nor will justice have been done the delegates to this Convention nor to the postal workers, unless your attention is briefly drawn to the dire necessity of, not only the adoption of the resolution, but of your whole-hearted cooperation in carrying out its provisions.

In this connection I want to call your attention to the comparatively deplorable standard of living among the postal workers of the nation as compared with the standard of living of other organized labor groups. I listened with great interest to the many mentions made in this Convention of the higher standard of living achieved by the workers through the American Federation of Labor, and I was particularly gratified by the magnificent tribute paid to the American labor movement by Frank Hodges, of the British Miners. Later on you were told by the now fallen angel that the standard of living was deteriorating instead of advancing. There is no group of workers in the world better qualified to give actual testimony as to the standards of living of the workers of the United States than the letter carriers. The city letter carriers enter every home; we are in intimate contact with every phase of the daily life of our people, and through our experience I can bring to you the absolute testimony that the workers of the United States, in the three great essentials of life, which are food, clothing and shelter, are far better off now than ever before.

We are told about the labor grafter,

and it may be that here and there an instance will be found that the subsidized press will greedily seize upon to attempt to cast shame upon the movement, but the real grafters of the labor movement are the men who accept the results of your labors and mine without contributing one penny toward that result. Those are the people who are the real grafters, and unfortunately the Federal employees have not at their command the means which most of you have to deal justice to these men. There is no such thing as a union shop in federal employment. We have to work with these men who appropriate to themselves the result of our work and pay not a penny for it.

While I speak with pride of the general increases for labor obtained through the medium of the American Federation of Labor, I regret to say that the postal employees in particular have not shared in that general improvement in the standards of living to the extent to which they should have shared. Although our wage scale has increased 50 per cent in the last five or six years, nevertheless the maximum is 50 cents per hour for letter carriers, and that of the post office clerks only a trifle better, so we appeal to you to help us get a better wage scale. We cannot dicker and negotiate with our employers, as you do, and we need your help; we expect the help of every one of you in giving us this measure of justice which has been too long delayed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee considered Resolutions Nos. 13 and 78 together, both bearing on the same subject. They are as follows:

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates James P. Noonan, F. J. McNulty, G. M. Bugni-azet, Julia S. O'Connor, Edward Barton, Martin T. Joyce and H. H. Kirkland of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, The American Bell Telephone Company maintains a policy of antagonism to Organized Labor, sponsors company unionism, employs the blacklist and the spy system, intimidates and persecutes its employees into subjection on the question of labor affiliation, and by every means within its power seeks to keep the workers in this industry,

men and women, disorganized and powerless; and

WHEREAS, The zeal and fervor with which the telephone company labors to defeat any measure of industrial freedom and justice for its employees is paralleled by its efforts to hold and extend its monopolistic grip on the means of telephone communication; and

WHEREAS, In view of the arrogant despotism assumed both toward its workers and the public by the telephone company, there is grave reason to doubt whether the valuable stewardship which has been granted this corporation by the people is being administered in the public welfare; and

WHEREAS, The entire question of the contractual relations existing between the American Bell and its associated companies is a matter of great public moment; and

WHEREAS, This organization, including in its membership employees of this company, and being aware that the administration of this company is contrary to public policy and defeats public interest; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby call upon the Federal Trade Commission to conduct a thorough investigation of the practices of the said American Bell Telephone Company, and the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to act with and render assistance to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in bringing about such an investigation in order that the American public may be fully informed as to the price it is paying for monopolistic control of the communicating industry, as well as the practices of that monopoly.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Jeremiah H. Driscoll of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The New England Telephone Company, enjoying a complete monopoly over the giving of telephone service in this and other states which it serves, has persistently and unreasonably, and at the cost of public hardship, refused to submit to unbiased scrutiny through arbitration the justice of its recent refusal to grant increased wages and improved working conditions to its operating employees; and

WHEREAS, It is at the present time further demonstrating its contemptuous disregard for the public interest through its policy of locking out competent operating and supervisory employees and subjecting the public to the harassing inconvenience and hardship of the miserably inadequate grade of service being given by incompetent forces; and

WHEREAS, In view of these circumstances there is grave reason to doubt whether the valuable stewardship which has been granted this corporation by

the people is being administered in a manner which serves the public welfare; and

WHEREAS, The question of the immediate restoration of decent service is a matter of great public moment to the industrial, commercial and social life of our communities; and

WHEREAS, The problems of the relation of telephone rates to telephone wages, the greatly increased cost of telephone service in recent years, the surtaxes devised in the way of installation and removal charges, the annual tribute paid by this company of several million dollars to the American Bell, the great salaries of executives enormously increased during the years in which wage increases have been arrogantly denied to the working employees, all challenge public concern; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Convention of the American Federation of Labor consider the matter of an investigation by the Federal Trade Commission of the nation-wide telephone monopoly.

Resolutions 13 and 78 deal with the same subject matter—namely, the monopoly over telephone communication by the American Bell Telephone Company and the mistreatment of its employees by this gigantic monopoly.

The resolutions request an investigation of the American Bell Telephone Company by the Federal Trade Commission.

Your committee recommends reference to the Executive Council with instructions to co-operate with the Electrical Workers in securing the desired investigation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, American citizenship was extended to Porto Rico as a token of the island's permanent and indestructible union to the United States; and

WHEREAS, The influence of the people of the United States in the destinies of the people of Porto Rico has been responsible for such progress as is observable in the island and the extension of the Constitution of the United States to Porto Rico would represent a real guarantee of civil and political liberty, favorable to the enjoyment of individual rights by the laboring masses; and

WHEREAS, It is vitally necessary, in order to make the relation between continental and insular Americans harmonious and cordial as well as permanent

and indestructible, that a full measure of self-government, compatible as that is with American sovereignty, shall be granted to the island; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, the Congress and the American people are inadequately informed as to the deplorable position and condition of the workers of Porto Rico, among the causes of which are the following:

(1) The rapid development of illegal monopoly of lands and of products of wealth created by labor in the island, by powerful resident and absentee individuals and corporations, which places the industrial and agricultural producing masses at the mercy of an arbitrary condition of affairs which imposes upon them the most miserable wages, driving them thus to pauperism;

(2) The violation of the organic act of the island by powerful corporations and individuals, resident and absentee;

(3) The avoidance by powerful corporations and individuals, resident and absentee, of an increase in taxation proportionate to the increase in wealth produced by the workers;

(4) The steady emigration of sixty per cent (60%) of the wealth produced in the island, representing an appalling amount of underpaid labor and initiative that goes to enrich other communities at the expense of misery and wretchedness in Porto Rico;

(5) The control by four hundred and forty-seven (447) corporations and individuals, American, Spanish and French, of seven hundred and sixty-six thousand, three hundred and ninety-six (766,396) acres of land, valued at fifty-seven million, eight hundred and thirty-two thousand, four hundred and thirty-seven (57,832,437) dollars, a control that has been proved to exist in a legal document forwarded to the Senate by the President of the United States on January 18, 1918; and

WHEREAS, Unemployment is at all times to be found on the island, the number of jobs never approaching the number of men and women eager to take them, due to a relatively slow industrial development, which in its turn is due to the large amount of capitalizable wealth that annually leaves the island never to return, and to the consequent exorbitant interest rates; and

WHEREAS, The Legislature of Porto Rico has appointed a commission from its membership in which are represented all shades of opinion, including that of the organized toilers, which is going to Washington to try to obtain from the President, the Congress and the people of the United States the following grants: A declaration as to the final status of the Island of Porto Rico; granting of powers to the Legislature of Porto Rico to legislate on all local matters without restriction; the granting of an elective Governor; the extension to Porto Rico of all measures of national character that

tend to benefit education, labor, agriculture, and other sources of knowledge and of wealth, in the same proportion in which they are extended to all the States of the American Union; and

WHEREAS, The political control indirectly exercised over the island by powerful individuals and corporations, resident and absentee, is largely due to a defective method of popular representation, and it is desirable to institute the modern system of proportional representation and responsibility in the public life of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, The conditions of education, sanitation, industry and credit, while they have improved under the American sovereignty, are still far from what they should be; and a substantial loan should be granted by Congress, free of interest, with which to wipe out the public debt, take back the bonds of private insular and municipal loans, place school and sanitary facilities within reach of the whole population, and for the creation and extension of industrial and agricultural enterprises to absorb the surplus labor population and to generally bring the standard of living of American citizens in Porto Rico nearer to that of their brothers of the continental United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

(1) That the fullest moral support of the American Federation of Labor be given the labor representatives in the aforementioned Commission in their endeavor to accomplish the aforementioned ends;

(2) That as soon as practicable after the adjournment of this convention, the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the bona fide labor delegation from Porto Rico, shall call upon the President of the United States to urge upon him the desirability of his recommending to Congress in his next message the granting of the measures embodied in this resolution, as they have been recommended by the insular Convention of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to direct the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. to co-operate toward the enactment by Congress of the desired legislation.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly expressed its deep sympathy with the aspirations of the workers of Porto Rico and we have time and again aided them in their righteous struggle for larger measure of freedom and a fuller life.

This resolution, in substance, calls for a reaffirmation of our position on the

Porto Rico labor question and your committee concurs in it.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Protest Against "Blanket" Legislation

In addition your committee desires to call the attention of the delegates to the widespread activities of the proponents of the "blanket" legislation which would force upon women wage earners so-called equality through a constitutional amendment.

The Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor condemned this proposed legislation as a positive danger to working standards of women wage earners which have been established through years of agitation by the trade union movement.

Agitation for this constitutional amendment is now being carried on before the several state legislatures. Members of organized labor are urged to vigorously oppose the approval of this objectionable amendment by their respective state legislatures.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Flaherty: This completes the report of the Committee on Legislation, which is respectfully submitted and signed.

CHAS. L. BAINE, Chairman,
JOHN H. YEARSLEY,
LUTHER C. STEWARD,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
THOS. C. CASHEN,
A. ADAMSKI,
EMANUEL KOVELSKI,
WM. GUNTHER,
J. H. WILLIAMS,
J. H. SYLVESTER,
WM. M. SHORT,
JULIA O'CONNOR,
CHAS. J. SHIPMAN,
F. J. FLJOZDAL,
N. P. GOOD,
THOS. F. FLAHERTY, Secretary.

Upon motion of Delegate Flaherty, the

committee's report was adopted as a whole.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Pan-American Federation of Labor

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption, page 112, the committee reports as follows:

Your committee has given to this subject the consideration and attention it so richly merits. A perusal of the report fully justifies our Federation's steadfast determination to stand back of the well nigh defenseless but freely exploited workers of our sister republic to the south.

We take satisfaction over the demonstrated fact that our Federation was of material assistance in forming the Pan-American Federation of Labor and of its helpfulness in directing its activities along constructive trade union lines.

We concur in the action of our Executive Council and its work in this connection.

Your committee has, moreover, taken note of the fact that for the first time in the history of a president of a sister republic, together with other responsible officials, they have given expression to their high appreciation of and acknowledgment for the sustaining action of President Gompers and of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and of their helpfulness in expediting the official recognition of our Government of our sister republic of Mexico, and the treaty that finally brought about political and commercial relations between the two great countries.

The attention of the committee has been called to the correspondence between President Gompers, Secretary of State Hughes, and President Obregon, and the President of the Mexican State Federation of Labor, the correspondence having been conducted by the Executive Council.

Your committee believes that the action taken was timely and conducted in good taste and with gratifying results. This

correspondence has been made a part of and is attached to this report. We recommend that it be made a part of the permanent record of this 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is as follows:

Copy of Western Union Telegram

New York City, September 1, 1923.

Honorable Charles E. Hughes, Secretary
United States Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

It is with sincere pleasure that we learn of the re-establishment of full diplomatic relations with the government of the Republic of Mexico. It is a deep satisfaction to us to know that these two great nations once more enjoy mutual official confidence. I am directed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor now in session to extend to you these felicitations and I most gladly fulfill the obligation. The event is one of happy significance and the working people of our country are especially pleased. We feel that your own part in the achievement of this result is worthy of commendation. We extend to you, to the American commissioners and to our people as a whole the congratulations of the American Federation of Labor. Our own relations with the organized wage earners of Mexico have long been most cordial and helpful, and, we believe, helpful in maintaining peaceful and harmonious relations at a time when great danger confronted the people of both nations. The resumption of diplomatic relations is, we feel, the official sanction and culmination of a continued deep feeling of friendship between the people of the respective republics.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

President American Federation of Labor.

Copy of Western Union Telegram

Washington, D. C., Sept. 4, 1923.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, New York City, N. Y.

In the absence of the Secretary of State I hasten to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your telegram of September first, addressed to him, and to assure you of the Department's appreciation.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS,
Acting Secretary of State.

Copy of Western Union Telegram

New York City, September 1, 1923.

Honorable Alvaro Obregon, President
Republic of Mexico, Mexico, D. F.

We learn with feelings of deepest satisfaction of the re-establishment of full diplomatic relations between the governments of the United States and Mexico. When so much of the world is torn by dissension and discord it is a happy omen for humanity that these two great American Republics should be finding their way to full mutual trust and understanding. The American workers cherish the

long continued friendship and relations with the wage earners of Mexico. The relations now so happily established between our governments have long existed between our peoples and particularly between our organized labor movements. I am directed by the unanimous vote of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, now in session, representing the wage earners of the United States, to extend to you our sincere and cordial felicitations. It is our hope that the peoples of our two countries may go steadily forward in the development of a higher civilization in the freedom which we cherish in common. May the progress, the peace and the freedom of the peoples of the United States and Mexico be a beacon of hope and encouragement to humanity everywhere. Please accept our congratulations for yourself, your government and the masses of the people of Mexico.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

President American Federation of Labor.

Telegram

Mexico City, Sept. 7, 1923.

Samuel Gompers, Washington, D. C.

High concepts contained in message of congratulations you transmitted to me September first in behalf of organized workers of that country are a source of legitimate satisfaction to me and regarded as additional proof of the deep interest with which the working people of your great nation regard all matters in which we are concerned. I feel sure that this interest is born out of the mutual understanding of the nobility of our purposes, which in the main have been and are to seek a less painful situation for our working classes. These being the aims of the workmen's organizations throughout the world, all governments who would fulfill their mission are obliged to give a larger measure of support to the workers so they may secure the fullest measure of well-being to which they are entitled within the bounds of morality and equity. I beg of you to convey to the workers whom you represent the expressive and sincere greetings of the people of our country and of the government over which it is my honor to preside, for the moral support they rendered in divers ways to the cause of Mexico, a cause which is based on the highest principles of authority and social confraternity. Cordially.

ALVARO OBREGON.

President of the Mexican Republic.

Copy of Western Union Telegram

New York City, September 1, 1923.

Mr. Eduardo Moneda, General Secretary
Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana, Apartada Postal 14-53, Mexico,
D. F.

By unanimous vote of the executive council of the American Federation of

Labor, now in session, I am directed to convey to you and through you to the organized wage earners of Mexico the felicitations of the wage earners of the United States upon the resumption of full diplomatic relations between our respective governments. It is an achievement in which we find deep satisfaction and which, we feel confident, will bring to our peoples new opportunities for mutual helpfulness and understanding. The relations of the wage earners of the United States with the wage earners of Mexico have long been of the most friendly character. We have been enabled to co-operate in many endeavors for the mutual benefit of our peoples. The official action of our government is the final and satisfying seal upon the friendship that our respective peoples have never ceased to feel. We look forward with you to new opportunities of mutual service and helpfulness in the cause of human freedom, justice and democracy.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President American Federation of Labor.

Telegram

Mexico City, Sept. 1, 1923.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

In view of Mexico's recognition by the United States government I have the honor to extend congratulations in behalf of the organized workers of Mexico for the intelligent and successful negotiations of representatives of both governments, and to express our recognition of the efforts which you and your colleagues had been making for a long time to the same end.

Fraternally,

EDUARDO MONEDA,

General Secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

Address: Belizario Domingues 64, Mexico City, Mexico.

The report of the committee was adopted.

International Federation of Trade Unions

The committee reported as follows upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, page 112, under the above caption:

A reference to the Executive Council's report discloses that there has been no change in the position of the International Federation of Trade Unions in the direction of meeting any of the objections recorded by the American Federation of Labor as a part of our affiliation.

The workers overseas in all lands

need our counsel. We welcome theirs. We concede the right of their trade union movements to fix their own standard and their own method of development as best suit their own judgment and action, but our trade union movement reserves the right to fix our economic standards, our political destinies and social status in our own way and in accord with our experience, predicated upon the past, the present, and upon our optimistic, hopeful anticipation of a better, brighter and richer life for all workers who give material service.

We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to continue negotiations in the hope that opportunity may yet be had for affiliation with the organized workers of the old world. We are eager to bring about the re-establishment of fraternal relations as soon as it can be done without the sacrifice or repudiation of principles which the American trade union movement regards as inviolable.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue its efforts to urge the International Federation of Trade Unions to remove the barriers at the earliest possible moment, that have heretofore, and do now, prevent our affiliation with the organized trade unions affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Fraternal Delegates to the British Trade Union Congress

Your committee has considered the report of our fraternal delegates, Benjamin Schlessinger and Edward J. McGivern, to the British Trade Union Congress, page 113 of the Executive Council's Report.

The committee also directs attention that Messrs. Anthony J. Chlopek and Peter J. Shaughnessy have just returned from the recent meeting of the British Trade Union Congress and the fact that their report, therefore, could not be included in the Executive Council's report.

We are pleased to note the good accounting given of the activities of our

fellow trade unionists across the seas, in their efforts to advance, protect and safeguard the material welfare of the workers of Great Britain.

The report of the committee was adopted.

American Federation of Labor Fraternal Delegate to Canada

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under this caption, page 115, the committee reports as follows:

To the delegate who carried the fraternal greetings of the American Federation of Labor to our fellow trade unionists across the invisible line which separates the two movements we express our appreciation for the splendid report he has made through the Executive Council to this Convention.

We recommend that all students of the working activities of our brothers in the Dominion of Canada give the report undivided attention. We register satisfaction over the fact that so friendly a relation and so thorough an understanding exists between the workers of our common country, who are united in a world-wide effort to bring into the lives of all workers better working and living conditions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate W. M. Short of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The League of Nations Opium Commission is arranging international conferences looking to suppression of the production of narcotic drugs except such amounts as are strictly necessary for scientific and medical purposes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, First, that the American Federation of Labor record its gratification at this important step of progress toward control of these deadly drugs and will give its moral support to the utmost to all wise measures formed to that end; and, second, that the American Federation of Labor request the Secretary of State of the United States to extend to these conferences on behalf of the people of this nation a cordial invitation to hold their sessions in some city of this country.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution

No. 77 by adding the following language to the last "Resolve": "Provided, the investigation called for in this resolution justifies such action." The amended resolution reads:

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Luis Munoz Marin of Federal Labor Union 17712, of San-Juan, Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, It has been persistently alleged for the past ten years by workers, newspaper men and others, native and non-native, coming out of Venezuela, that the present government keeps possession of the power of the state in that country by violence and tyrannous oppression, that it has rendered null the right to suffrage, the freedom of speech, of assembly, and of organization, and denies to the workers the right to cease work (strike) in defense of their just aspiration for a higher standard of living; and

WHEREAS, It is further alleged that the methods employed to prevent effective protests against that tyranny are in many cases more inhuman than those employed for similar purposes during the darkest centuries of the history of mankind, and include the confinement of free men, without any process of law whatever, in infected cells and dungeons for indefinite periods of time, with iron balls chained to their ankles; the use of the rack; hanging by the toes, the fingers, and by parts of the body unmentionable in a convention of decent American workmen, and other revolting tortures; and

WHEREAS, It is further alleged that among those arbitrarily imprisoned by the present government of Venezuela there have been American citizens, inscribed, when at all, under foreign names and ascribed to nationalities other than that of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is a member of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, an organization founded to carry to the sister republics of the American hemisphere the fight for better economic and civil conditions for the workers that has been so conspicuously successful in the United States; and as the most powerful body in the P.-A. F. of L., the A. F. of L., is depended upon by the oppressed masses of those republics for moral support in their nascent struggle against economic and civil disqualifications; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by this 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Portland on the first day of October, 1923, that it denounces in the strongest terms the establishment and permanence of any sort of despotism in Venezuela or in any other country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention instructs the President of the A. F. of L. to request the Central Office of the P.-A. F. of L. at Washington, D. C., to

make a thorough investigation of the allegations embodied in this resolution; that, if the result of the investigation carried out by the P.-A. F. of L. confirms in a detailed manner the allegations generally embodied in this resolution, the President of the A. F. of L. is instructed hereby to appear before the President of the United States, and his Secretary of State, and place before them the facts, with the request that they, as constitutional executive powers of a Christian nation, give consideration to the convenience of withdrawing diplomatic contact with the present Government of Venezuela; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That, provided the result of the investigation by the central office of the P.-A. F. of L. confirms the allegations embodied in this resolution, the Convention hereby instructs the delegates of the A. F. of L. to the forthcoming Convention of the P.-A. F. of L. to present to that convention the subject matter of this resolution, and all the findings related thereto that may at that time be of the knowledge of said delegates, with a view that the denunciation of and protest against the present inquisitorial Government of Venezuela may be accentuated by the great masses of organized labor in Mexico, Central and South America, as well as in the United States, and that the workers in our sister republics to the south may be urged to present to their respective governments requests similar to the one the A. F. of L. shall have presented to the Government of the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the executive offices of the Latin-American labor organizations affiliated with the P.-A. F. of L., and to the labor and liberal press of the United States and the Latin-American republics where labor organizations affiliated with the P.-A. F. of L. function; provided, the investigation called for in this resolution justifies such action.

With this amendment your committee concurs in the intent and purpose of the resolution and recommends its reference to the Executive Council to employ such methods as its experience and judgment may feel will successfully accomplish the object sought. We are appalled by the suggestion that such a state of affairs as alleged in this resolution can exist in any country.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Woll: This completes the report of the Committee on Interna-

tional Relations, which is respectfully submitted and signed.

GEORGE W. PERKINS, Chairman,
JAMES DUNCAN,
MAX HAYES,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
B. A. LARGER,
D. J. TOBIN,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
JOHN H. WALKER,
C. L. BAINE,
W. D. MAHON,
W. J. BOWEN,
J. J. HYNES,
SARA CONBOY,
TIMOTHY HEALY,
W. J. SPENCER,
ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK,
PETER J. SHAUGHNESSY,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary.

Upon motion of Delegate Woll, the report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, submitted the following supplemental report:

Resolution No. 100—By the Committee on Resolutions:

The Committee hereby calls to the attention of the Convention the misfortune which has befallen Mr. Edward Canavan, delegate to this convention from the American Federation of Musicians, through the sudden death of his dear wife in the City of Seattle en route to this Convention, and recommends that the Convention express its heartfelt sympathy to Brother Canavan and his family in their bereavement.

President Gompers: The chair would ask that the vote on this resolution be taken by rising, out of respect to the late wife of Delegate Edward Canavan.

The request of the chair was complied with, and the resolution was adopted by unanimous rising vote.

Your committee, having been impressed with deplorable conditions reported to exist in St. Croix and St. Thomas and the need for greater ac-

tivities in organizing the wage earners of these islands than ever before, because of the attacks being made upon the right of wage earners in these islands, submits the following for your approval:

Resolution No. 101—By Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, Labor in St. Croix and St. Thomas is being attacked in the courts, the legislature, as well as in the industrial field; and

WHEREAS Federal Labor Unions No. 17515 and No. 17261 are requesting the support of the American Labor movement and having submitted most urgent appeals in the hope of receiving all possible help for the protection and promotion of the best interests of the suppressed and depressed workers in these islands; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That National and International Unions, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, having organizers or organizations in Porto Rico, be requested to have such organizers or representatives of such local unions visit the Virgin Islands for the purpose of furthering trade union organizations, and that the Executive Council be and is hereby requested to delegate the general organizer situated in Porto Rico to visit these islands from time to time.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 102—By the Committee on Resolutions:

In order to most effectively further the political and economic interests of the wage earners as expressed by the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the Executive Councils and officers of state federations of labor are urged to avail themselves of every opportunity to present labor's position and to press for the fulfillment of its just demands, in the formulation of political platforms, national and state, and through any other channel that may be afforded.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

It has been brought to our attention that the Employers' Association of Oregon, through its secretary-treasurer, Thomas McCusker, has attacked the right of E. E. Schwartztrauber, delegate from the American Federation of Teachers and teacher in a Portland public school, to urge co-operation of the American Federation of Labor in

the organization of the teachers of America, your committee urges approval of the following:

Resolution No. 103—By Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, This attack has within it the implied intent to intimidate Portland union teachers and to obstruct their efforts toward further campaigns of organization; and

WHEREAS, Investigation of the charges against Delegate Schwartztrauber has been instituted in the Board of Education; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning the action of the spokesman for the Employers' Association; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor heartily re-endorse the action taken urging renewed activity by the American Federation of Labor in the organization of the teachers of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor through its officers convey to the Portland Board of Education the assurance that the organization of the teachers of America is actuated by a supreme desire to co-operate with public school administrators in promoting in our public schools true American ideals and furthering thereby the cause of democracy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 104—By the Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, It is the sincere desire of the officers and delegates to this, the 43d Annual Convention, to give articulation to the deep feeling of appreciation entertained toward all having contributed so helpfully to the success of this annual meeting of the American Federation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we hereby record our profound thanks and manifest our feeling of pride for the exceptionally competent manner in which the local committee has provided for our social hours.

RESOLVED, That we give expression to that feeling of gratitude, and appreciation that was inspired in our hearts by the warm and fraternal words of welcome extended to this Convention, its officers and delegates by Mr. Otto Hartwig, President of the Oregon State Federation of Labor, and Mr. G. A. Von Schrlitz, President of the Portland Central Labor Council.

RESOLVED, That we extend to the Honorable Governor Walter M. Pierce words of commendation for the warm welcome tendered us and give voice to

our feeling of appreciation for the hearty welcome extended us by His Honor George L. Baker, the Mayor of Portland.

RESOLVED, Too, that we extend words of our kindest feelings toward all speakers having addressed this convention, who by their presence and contributions have added grace, dignity, civic, religious and national pride in our great trade union organization, the American Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That we likewise record our keen appreciation to the representatives of the press, present at this convention, for their evident desire to report accurately and fully the attitudes and actions of this convention, to furnish their respective newspapers with comprehensive and reliable information concerning the work of this convention and to familiarize through them their readers and the public generally with the high motives, the human inspiration and civilizing objectives which have guided the deliberations, the conclusions and administration of our affairs.

RESOLVED, That we renew our pledge of unity, of fraternity, of helpful and constructive co-operation and keep alive the spirit having prompted our decisions and attitudes; that we remain true to our unhesitating and unalterable devotion to our cause and unflinching adherence to conclusions reached to the end that we will attain the early and full realization of the policies approved, the procedures outlined and the high and noble and human objectives declared for.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Woll: This completes the report of the Committee on Resolutions, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman,
G. W. PERKINS,
O. A. HARTWIG,
B. A. LARGER,
JOHN A. VOLL,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
A. A. MYRUP,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
J. W. MORTON,
DAVE EVANS,
P. J. MORRIN,
THOS. L. HUGHES,
THOS. E. BURKE,
MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was adopted as a whole.

President Gompers called upon Mr.

James A. Sullivan, Fraternal Delegate from the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, to say a few words:

Fraternal Delegate Sullivan said that the knowledge he had gained at the convention would strengthen him in his work among the laboring people of Canada. He stated also that the Canadian movement had been challenged, as well as the American movement, by the foes of democracy and fair play, and that he felt the convention had, by its action, squarely met this challenge. In his opinion, he felt that the Portland convention was one of the most successful ever held by the Federation, in so far as the interests of humanity were concerned. He felt, too, that as a result of the convention's actions there would come about a better understanding of the labor movement upon the part of those outside the movement who in the past have held erroneous beliefs concerning the movement and its aims and objects.

In closing, he expressed grateful appreciation of the many attentions shown him and of the cordial hospitality extended by all with whom he came in contact.

Election of Officers

Delegate Julia O'Connor, Electrical Workers, in the Chair.

Chairman O'Connor: Nominations are in order for a candidate for president.

Delegate Perkins: Cigarmakers: A year ago it was arranged to have the nominating speeches limited to one minute. Happily, so far as I am concerned, one minute will suffice in which to place before you a candidate for president of the American Federation of Labor. On previous occasions when I performed a similar function I exhausted my vocabulary in explaining why the man whom I shall nominate should be elected President of the American Federation of Labor. Without repeating the sentiments then expressed, I am going to nominate Mr. Samuel Gompers.

No further names were offered, and upon motion of Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men, the secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous ballot

of the convention for Samuel Gompers for the office of President. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and Samuel Gompers was declared duly elected president for the ensuing term.

Delegate Lewis, Mine Workers: I do not arise as an individual delegate, but rather as the spokesman of the delegation representing the United Mine Workers of America. I rise to place in nomination a man for the position of First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor who is not a young, untried soldier in the ranks of labor, but rather that great veteran within our councils who for the past twenty-nine years has served in that capacity.

Brother James Duncan, to whom I refer, was a worker in the ranks of labor before the present speaker and others of the delegates were born. He has fought the battles of labor with a rare devotion and with exceptional ability. He possessed capabilities that would have enabled him to represent, not only labor in its own councils, but would have enabled him, had the fates been so kind, to have represented the citizenship of our country in Congress and in the councils of the United States Senate.

I esteem it an honor, not only to myself, but to my fellow delegates of the United Mine Workers of America, to place in nomination for the twenty-ninth consecutive time the name of James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters, as First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

There were no other nominations, and upon motion of Delegate Kovelski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the secretary was authorized to and did cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Mr. James Duncan, who was declared duly elected First Vice-President.

Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers: I feel it a great privilege to once again place before this convention for your favorable consideration for the office of Second Vice-President the name of that great trade unionist and fellow

worker of ours, Joseph F. Valentine, President of the International Molders' Union.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen, offered the motion which authorized the Secretary to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and Joseph F. Valentine was declared duly elected Second Vice-President.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: As in previous conventions, I rise to place in nomination the name of the present incumbent, and I do not think it is necessary for me to take the time of the convention extolling the good qualities of the man I am about to nominate for Third Vice-President. I therefore present the name of Frank Duffy, General Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Kovelski the secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy. The instructions were complied with and Frank Duffy was declared duly elected Third Vice-President.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men: I arise at this time to place in nomination a man who is young and yet has given a number of years to the work of the trade union movement of our country. Not only has he done great work for his own organization, but he has done great work for the trade union movement as a whole. I have had the pleasure of working with him on the Executive Council and I always found him sincerely working to promote the best interests of the working men and women of America. Therefore it gives me great pleasure to nominate for Fourth Vice-President William Green of the United Mine Workers.

Delegate Lewis, Mine Workers, moved that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green. The motion was seconded and carried, the secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and William Green was de-

clared duly elected Fourth Vice-President.

Delegate Manning, Label Trades Department: At the St. Paul convention of this great organization I was privileged to offer a name for the consideration of the delegates at that convention. It has been my pleasure to offer to delegates of succeeding conventions the name of the present incumbent of the office of Fifth Vice-President, the president of the United Garment Workers, T. A. Rickert.

No other nominations were offered, and upon motion of Delegate Mahon the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for T. A. Rickert. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and T. A. Rickert was declared duly elected Fifth Vice-President.

Delegate Baker, Journeymen Barbers: For the office of Sixth Vice-President I offer the name of Jacob Fischer, the present incumbent, the General Secretary-Treasurer of the Barbers' International Union.

No further candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Willson, Pattern Makers, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Jacob Fischer. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and Jacob Fischer was declared duly elected Sixth Vice-President.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union: It has been my very pleasant privilege on several occasions to nominate for the office of Seventh Vice-President of this great organization a young man for whom at the beginning I made the pledge that he would give good service in that office. I believe the delegates who have watched him develop, as most of you have, will agree with me that he is entitled to reelection—Brother Matthew Woll, President of the Photo-Engravers' Union.

There being but one nominee, upon motion of Delegate Brady, Photo-Engravers, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll. The instructions of the convention were complied

with, and Matthew Woll was declared elected to the office of Seventh Vice-President.

Delegate Perham, Railroad Telegraphers: When the word was sent forth that our friend William D. Mahon had resigned from the Executive Council on account of physical disability we were all deeply concerned. We are delighted to see Brother Mahon here, apparently in good health and good for many years of service in the labor movement.

When the vacancy was filled by the appointment of the present incumbent at least two million workers in the railroad service were highly pleased with the action of the Executive Council, and the railroad men, who compose one of the most important industries in the United States and Canada, well knew that their interests would be conserved and their affairs looked after as they should be.

It is my pleasure and honor at the present time to nominate Brother Martin F. Ryan, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, for Eighth Vice-President.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: At several previous conventions of this Federation the men representing the railroad group tried to elect one of their members as a member of the Executive Council, but of course we were not strong enough to do so. While I am not selected to speak for the rest of the railroad group, I believe I express their sentiments at this time when I thank the Executive Council for their wisdom and good judgment in selecting the man they did to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Brother Mahon. Therefore it gives me great pleasure to second the nomination of Martin F. Ryan.

No other name being presented, upon motion of Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Martin F. Ryan. The instructions were complied with, and Martin F. Ryan was declared elected to the office of Eighth Vice-President.

Delegate Hughes, Teamsters: I arise at this time to place in nomination for

the office of Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term, Daniel J. Tobin, President of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs' International Union.

No other candidates being nominated, upon motion of Delegate Mahon, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Daniel J. Tobin. The instructions were complied with, and Daniel J. Tobin was declared duly elected to the office of Treasurer for the ensuing year.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen: Because of his loyalty to the trade union movement, I offer the name of Frank Morrison of the Typographical Union for the office of Secretary.

No further nominations were offered, and upon motion of Delegate McCullough, Delegate George L. Berry was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Secretary Morrison. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and Frank Morrison was declared duly elected to serve as Secretary for the ensuing term.

Delegate Berry: I arise at this time to bring to the attention of this convention for the position of first delegate to the British Trades Union Congress the name of Peter J. Brady, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union and a delegate to this convention. I am sure there is no man or woman in this convention who knows Peter Brady who can either question his loyalty to the trade union movement or the service he has rendered to every organization that has ever had the privilege of having his service. There is no man, in my judgment, who can better represent the ideals of the American labor movement than Peter J. Brady, and I am delighted to have this honor of contributing something in reciprocation of the services he has rendered the movement in the past, as a delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Upon motion of Delegate Healy, Firemen, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Peter J. Brady. The instruc-

tions of the convention were complied with, and Peter J. Brady was declared duly elected a delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Vice-President Green: I esteem it a very great honor to be privileged to present the name of a candidate for associate delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. In doing so I not only voice the sentiments of myself, but I am confident it is the sentiment of the entire delegation of the United Mine Workers of America. The candidate I shall name has been serving in a very responsible position as the president of one of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, an organization that has made great progress and that has worked aggressively for the advancement of its members. Recently a convention of that organization was held and attracted the attention of government officials as well as members of the trade unions. At that convention the candidate I shall name was unanimously elected to lead that organization for the ensuing term. I want to present to you Edward J. Gainor, of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

The nomination was seconded * by Delegate Flaherty, of the Post Office Clerks.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters, moved that the secretary cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Edward J. Gainor. The motion was adopted, the secretary complied with the instructions, and Edward J. Gainor was declared duly elected.

Delegate Voll, Glass Bottle Blowers: I take great pleasure in presenting a candidate for fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress from this body. He is a man who has been attending the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for a long time, but up to this time has not sought any of its offices. The organization of which he is the head, and he individually, have made good in the labor movement. Those who know him will realize that through his work and his personality he is well qualified for the position for which his friends have

put him forward. I take great pleasure, therefore, in presenting the name of Walter W. Britton, President of the International Metal Polishers' Union.

Delegate Franklin moved that the secretary cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Walter W. Britton. The motion was adopted, the secretary complied with the instructions, and Walter W. Britton was declared duly elected fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Selection of Convention City

El Paso, Texas, was placed in nomination by Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen.

Detroit, Michigan, was placed in nomination by Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers.

The nomination of El Paso was seconded by Delegate Furuseth, Seamen; Delegate Connors, Switchmen, and Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union.

In nominating El Paso and in seconding the nomination, stress was laid upon the fact that an opportunity would be offered by holding the convention in that city to become better acquainted with the Mexican labor movement, and allow the workers of Mexico to become better acquainted with the American labor movement, as both conventions would be held in November, 1924.

Roll Call on Convention City

For El Paso, Texas—Myrup, Beisel, Goldstone, Kline, Powlesland, J. A. Franklin, Reed, McGuire, Dohney, Reddick, Frincke, Lovely, Balne, J. A. Brennan, Carlin, Mary Noonan, Preece, Corcoran, P. A. Doyle, Skinner, Childs, Horne, Frank Kasten, Wm. Tracy, Morrin, Edward Ryan, O'Brien, Quesse, Rankin, M. F. Ryan, Buckley, Hyland, Ware, Flaherty, Hohmann, Redfern, Steckle, Sylvester, Shurtleff, England, Pickett, P. J. Kelly, Funte, M. J. Browne, J. P. Noonan, McNulty, Eugeniazet, O'Connor, Barton, Joyce, Kirkland, Feeney, J. J. McAndrews, Huddell, Evans, Peterson, McConville, L. C. Steward, Grady, McManus, Talbott, F. W. Baer, L. N. Riley, Healy, Beattie, Morton, James Reid, Lawlor, Hollander, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Morreschi, Jos. Marshall, Etchison, Davies, Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Farrell, Koveliski, McDevitt, Tighe, Brewster, Wheale, Greenstein, McSorley, Case, Duty, Brock, Keegan, Gainer, Cantwell, C. D. Duffy, Mugavin, Swartz, Wm. H. Johnston, Good, Haggerty, Geo. Marshall, Larkin, J. F. Murray, Fijozdal, Milliman, Carroll,

E. E. Clark, Gassman, Hynes, Barrett, J. J. Ryan, Crawford, R. H. Stickel, O. R. Hartwig, Thos. F. Clarke, E. J. McGivern, Donlin, Peter G. Cook, Wm. A. Brennan, Coefield, T. E. Burke, McLaughlin, Anderson, Gunther, Bailey, Cartledge, Berry, McDonald, Youngs, M. L. Peters, Krause, Mahon, Quinlan, Schultz, Jas. Rodgers, Conn, W. M. Collins, Chas. Brown, Thompson, Sutton, Furuseth, Scharrenberg, Helt, Cage, Cone, W. F. Canavan, P. J. Ryan, Suarez, Malloy, Yearsley, T. C. Cashen, Connors, Sweeney, Sillinsky, Soderberg, Schwartztrauber, Manion, Ramsay, Perham, Smart, J. H. Williams, McMahon, Pacelli, Typographical delegation (453 votes), Kohn, Walsh, Valentino, Greer, E. G. Hall, Iglesias, G. W. Fisher, H. L. Franklin, Karston, Rooney, L. Bowen, Freshney, W. J. Moran, J. F. Burke, Andler, Nelson, J. C. Coulter, J. S. Horn, Dempsey, D. A. Anderson, McDonagh, Alex. Manning, Von Schrititz, Kreyling, Ganiard, Theodore Johnson, Howat, T. F. Burns, Covert, representing 14,587 votes.

For Detroit, Michigan—Mullaney, Shanessy, Fischer, Worthall, Mehl, R. H. Baker, Jilson, Kline, Belair, Obergfell, Kugler, Sullivan, Hutcheson, F. Duffy, Michaels, W. T. Allen, J. H. Weaver, Kelso, Wm. J. Kelly, White, Perkins, Gompers, Campbell, Sexton, Deserte, Conway, Woll, Brady, Rickert, Larger, Doyle, Adamski, Houck, Sigman, Langer, Amdur, Antonini, Greenberg, Pinkofsky, Voll, Dall, Wm. P. Clarke, Shipman, Easton, James Duncan, H. S. Marshall, J. A. Madsen, Gorman, Lane, C. S. Hartwig, Lewis, Green, Murray, Kennedy, Mooney, Farrington, Moore, L. Hall, J. N. Weber, D. A. Carey, C. A. Weaver, E. Canavan, N. F. Smith, C. M. Madsen, J. Wilson, Britton, Diehl, J. T. Wood, McQuade, Launer, Tobin, Hughes, Gillespie, Neer, Casey, Rox, S. A. Conboy, Geiges, Riviere, Typographical delegation (228 votes), J. J. Manning, M. M. Smith, Hulsbeck, Ely, G. W. Adams, Bill, Hammer, Watson, Finley, Sumner, E. F. Duffy, Hickey, Giles, J. Rogers, M. J. Flynn, E. J. Tracy, representing 12,885 votes.

Not Voting—Mountford, Gilmore, Boyer, Holtschult, Austin, Kaufman, Squibb, W. E. Bryan, Askew, Bock, S. C. Hogan, Chas. H. Moyer, McMullen, Angleton, J. J. Doyle, J. T. Carey, Parker, Hannah, Bergstrom, J. P. Burke, F. W. Sultor, P. J. O'Brien, J. A. Short, Funder, Burk, P. Thomas, Walden, Spencer, O'Connell, Jewell, Mikel, J. H. Walker, T. N. Taylor, Driscoll, J. F. Holland, Stack, J. J. Riley, Altman, F. E. Morris, W. M. Short, Ohl, H. W. Fox, Winberg, W. J. Robinson, Hushing, Kearney, Pratt, H. P. Leonard, McVey, May Hill, Van Patten, Sturm, O'Dell, Grace, McSpadden, Keckler, J. L. Sims, D. W. Stevens, Frampton, Martin, Bower, Emme, J. C. Blair, Horrigan, Jas. A. Duncan, Paulson, Evans, Wood, Meyer, Pettipiece, Thad Stevens, Alter, Saylor, Tyden, Bohm, Jacques, Mezzacapo, L. M. Martin, Olsen, Ben Murphy, Rincker,

Sesma, Belknap, Sherman, Elliott, R. B. Walker, W. C. Robinson, J. A. Sullivan, representing 1,116 votes.

The Chairman declared El Paso, Texas, selected as the city in which to hold the 1924 convention.

Closing Address of President Gompers

I assume it is appropriate that some observations be made before we adjourn this Convention. This Convention, the forty-third in the history of the American Federation of Labor, is soon to come to a close. We have finished our work. Not a resolution was presented that has not had the consideration of the committee to which it was referred, that was not later reported to this Convention and the Convention has decided as to its course.

I doubt if there is any other group or association in any part of our country or in any other country on the face of the globe where every proposition is given consideration. Any delegate having any proposition to submit knows that it must receive consideration; it cannot be smothered by the Convention or in any of its committees. This Convention, as all previous Conventions, has been a full, free and open forum.

Our antagonists may point to an incident in this Convention and undertake to deny that statement. The answer to that denial is this: This is a Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor is made up of trade and labor unions, and any man who is avowedly hostile to the trade and labor unions has no right to try to enter the conventions of the American Federation of Labor; he has no more right to have a voice in determining the policies of the American Federation of Labor than a pronounced member of the Democratic party would have to sit in the conventions of the Republican party and shape its policies, or a pronounced Republican to sit in the conventions of the Democratic party and undertake to shape its decisions.

One who is avowedly hostile to the makeup of the American labor movement, one who will in this year of grace 1923 say that the conditions of the American worker have become worse and worse and worse, knows, if he hasn't bidden good-bye to his reason, that his statements are false, untrue and misrepresent the actual conditions.

To attempt to besmirch the character, first, of our movement, and, secondly, of our men, is unworthy of even a fair antagonist. Differences of opinion are not only tolerated but invited; but these differences of opinion must be within the labor movement to thresh out as to how best that movement can function, not for its destruction.

I am persuaded fully that the actions and decisions of this Convention have been such as to clarify the atmosphere. We have been altogether too tolerant,

not in opposition to differences of opinion, but to the men who have openly avowed and declared that they are boring from within, for the undermining of the principles and policies upon which the American Federation of Labor is founded. The men who secretly and in the midnight go out in the woods or forest to plan to destroy, not only the government of our Republic, but also the American trade union movement, these men may continue if they will, but they must do so on the outside and not on the inside.

I am not sure of this one statement I am about to make, but I have been informed that it is true—and the man who informed me is one I have never known to state what is not true—that Dunne was not elected as a delegate from the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly, but that he solicited a credential with the understanding that the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly would not have to pay his expenses. In the British Trades Union Congress there was a rule which barred any delegate from attendance at its congresses if the union or the organization that sent him had not paid his expenses. I don't know whether that rule should absolutely obtain in our movement, but I do ask you, my friends and fellow delegates, why should Dunne come to this Convention and relieve the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly from paying his expenses as a delegate? From whence comes this plethora of money to pay the expenses of Mr. Dunne?

The charge and insinuation has been made that our labor men are receiving large salaries. In some instances I think that is quite true. I think the delegates will bear me out when I say that I fought with whatever ability I might have in protest against the increase in salaries of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. But this may be said on the subject: That everybody who wants to know may know the means by which the officers of the American labor movement receive their income. It is provided in the laws of the organization; no one need inquire from whence the salaries are paid.

Is it not a source of proper inquiry to ask by what means and from what source do these men, who come to disrupt our movement, receive their salaries?

A few months ago a conference was held in Chicago with representative labor men of that city and of the state. When William Z. Foster referred to me to give him a clean bill of health as to his conduct, he had the confidence in me that I would give him a clean bill of health, otherwise he would not have asked the question. I told the gathering what he was and who he was and how he had tried to deceive a lot of men in the labor movement, and that I for a time had been deceived by his declarations of loyalty to the labor movement. He then answered that he would throw open the books of his movement. My answer is

that it is the general observation that crooks don't keep books.

Somehow or other the enemies of our movement take great delight in emphasizing acutely the fact that there has been a diminution in the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and some of our own trade unionists, in their simplicity, like parrots, repeat the statement. Of course we have lost some members. Has anyone given consideration to the fact that for nearly two years there were from five to five and one-half millions of America's workers unemployed? And assuming that there were from one million and a half to two millions of the union men who were among the five and one-half millions who were unemployed and who could not pay their dues, and the unions in turn could not pay their per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor for those who were out of work and not earning wages.

During the year 1922 there were strikes which covered a period of months, and the men and women in these strikes could not pay dues to their unions, and the unions in turn could not pay per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

I would like at this moment if we could know the exact membership of our affiliated unions. Bear in mind that the American Federation of Labor counts its membership, not by the exact membership of the unions today or this month, but covering the period of the year previous, an average membership; and in the report made to this Convention a period of 16 months is covered, from June, 1922, to September 1, 1923, the period of unemployment, the period of strikes and lockouts involving one and one-half millions of America's workers. The average membership during the period of 16 months is the membership reported to this Convention.

And yet I say some of our own members will emphasize that we have lost membership, and, echoing the maliciously formed terms of our antagonists, take out of the hearts and minds of the union men the confidence they have in the organization, and endeavor to impress them with the idea that the organizations of labor of America are decaying. The same prattling, the same terms that the employers and big business are hurling at our movement.

Just a few weeks ago the American Bankers' Association had its annual convention, and they made the same statement that we read in this antagonistic press—that the American Federation of Labor has lost membership. We have made the morale, the spirit of the membership, move in spite of the drive of every antagonistic employer in our movement, the drive for the so-called open shop, the drive for that treacherously named "American Plan," the whole financial interests being thrown in the scale against

us; and then, in spite of and in addition thereto, finding in our own ranks people who dare, consciously or unconsciously, drive the heart and soul out of the weak-kneed men.

That we haven't lost more, that we have retained the stature and the status of our movement, speaks for it. The confidence, the hope of the toiling masses of our country, bespeaks to us the tribute of honor, of progress, of constructive legislation that shall bring light into the life and the work of the toilers of America.

Speaking of the American Bankers' Association. In their last convention they insisted that there must be wage reductions. They said the prices of labor are too high. And then as a remedy they declared that the floodgates of immigration must be opened, and the wages of the men who work and produce wealth must be reduced. I submit that if the proposal to reduce the wages of the working people of America is a remedy, why don't these bankers start in with themselves?

I shall not attempt to say that modern banking has not its proper function in our industry and financial life; but I think the service performed by the baker, the carpenter, the bricklayer, the tailor, the plumber and all the rest of us is more important to civilization than the banker.

The enmity or antagonism of greed and ignorance on the part of that type of men I have just referred to is to be expected, and we can meet them anywhere and beat them anywhere. It is different with the sneak, the one who comes behind you by stealth and stabs you in the back.

I believe that the decisions of this Convention have and will do many things. I have not the time to enumerate them, but I do believe that it has given notice to all who want to dominate this labor movement, who are not part of it, who are antagonistic to it, to understand that the cleavage has been made, and it will encourage our own trade unionists to more clearness of thinking and solidarity of action. It will tell those who are outside that they can come within our fold and receive our co-operation, they in turn to give theirs to us.

It will give notice to those who would destroy our movement that this is an American labor movement, a movement of the worker, for the workers and by the workers, and not any so-called intelligencia. Anyone who has a suggestion to make, anyone who has any advice to give, anyone who will help in this great task before us, is most heartily welcome, but when he or they attempt to impose their will upon our movement, we cry a halt. And we have given notice of a halt, and he who does not heed the warning to halt must be swept aside so that we can go on.

We have been in session now for nearly two weeks. There has not been a dele-

gate who in that time has desired to speak to this Convention but has had the opportunity. One instance in which this did not happen was due to no fault of anyone, I am sure, and it is regrettable, because it is my earnest desire that this shall be continued as a real open forum.

In the opening of our Convention I took occasion to say that the galleries of this beautiful hall were open to the public and that the newspaper men of the country and of this city were in their places making notes of things which transpired, utterances, declarations, decisions, manners and mannerisms, and all that sort of thing. We may be seen at work, at our best and at our worst.

When this Convention adjourns, as it will in a few minutes, there will be time for the newspaper men, for the people of Portland, for the people of Oregon, for the people of the country, to make up their minds in the summing up of the total of our work. I am perfectly willing to submit our work and our conduct to their judgment.

We shall leave Portland without leaving a bad odor or a bad taste behind us. We have done our work. I feel that we have done it well. We have not reached the age or time of perfection. There occurs to me just a statement made in this Convention, "What are we doing and how do we expect to end our movement?" The question was asked: "After you have exerted your constitutional rights, after you have attained your rights within constitutional lines, what then?"

The answer is that we are fighting in our day to make the conditions of the great masses of the people better, and that in so doing we improve the caliber, the intelligence, the virility of the people who are to follow us. I am perfectly willing to see a mile ahead so that when the grand army of labor shall reach that milestone in its progress it may be the better prepared to see the next milestone, visualize that which cannot be accomplished in their time, improve, the stand-

ards of the toilers of their time, so that they in turn again may go on, and on, and on. I am perfectly willing to leave the solution of the far distant future to the future, working along today on the road for that future.

Perhaps I may be going too far, and yet I feel sure that I am not when I say on behalf of my associates and myself whom you have honored with a unanimous election for another term, we return our grateful appreciation for the confidence that you have reposed in us. We shall endeavor to serve you and the great mass of labor and the people of our country, contributing something for the alleviation of the misery and for the uplift of all of those who suffer, no matter where they may be, to help in the great work of a better understanding.

And you men and women, coming fresh from the organizations you have the honor to represent in this Convention, having done and thought and acted likewise, when you return to your homes with safety, may you be greeted with happiness and joy and congratulations upon the work performed by you in this Convention; and then when we shall meet, or as many of us as shall meet in the 1924 Convention, let us take there the hope and the satisfaction of the year's work well done in the service of labor, in the service of America, in the service of justice, in the service of international accord, in the service toward universal peace, prosperity, progress and happiness.

I thank you.

As there is no other business before the Convention we will adjourn sine die, or until the date set by our constitution. God bless you and good luck.

At 12:45 p. m., Friday, October 12, 1923, the 43d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Portland, Oregon, October 1 to 12, 1923, was adjourned sine die.

Frank Morrison

SECRETARY.
American Federation of Labor.

F. C. Simmons

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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